

E 13774



THE RIGHT HON EARL GRANVILLE K G

PICTORIAL EDITION.

THE
LIFE
OF THE RIGHT HONBLE
WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE
M.P. D.C.L.
HISTORICAL · POLITICAL · BIOGRAPHICAL

BY J. EWING RITCHIE.
AUTHOR OF "MODERN STATESMEN," "THE LIFE OF DAVID LIVINGSTONE."



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

JAMES SANGSTER AND COMPANY,
PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

THE PICTURE ALBUM

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND.

BY

J. EWING RITCHIE ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF

"HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND DISCOVERIES OF DAVID LIVINGSTONE," ETC.

EMBELLISHED WITH WELL-EXECUTED WOOD ENGRAVINGS, AND A
SERIES OF AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS PRINTED IN COLOURS.

VOLUME II.

JAMES SANGSTER

AND CO.

London:

JAMES SANGSTER AND CO.

PATERNOSTER ROW



CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME

CHAPTER XXXV.		CHAPTER XLIV.	
Mr. Gladstone's Parliamentary Work for a Year.....	1	The Irish Land Act.....	403
CHAPTER XXXVI.		CHAPTER XLV.	
The General Election—Dissolution of Parliament—Lord Beaconsfield's Manifesto—Electioneering Incidents—Mr. Gladstone's Campaign.....	11	Mr. Gladstone in the City.....	440
CHAPTER XXXVII.		CHAPTER XLVI.	
Mr. Gladstone and Bishop Wilberforce—The New Gladstone Ministry—Difficulties of Selection—Changes, etc.....	68	Mr. Gladstone in the Country—Speeches on the Opposition.....	472
CHAPTER XXXVIII.		CHAPTER XLVII.	
Parliament at Work—The Oaths Bill and Mr. Bradlaugh—The Budget—The Bursala Bill and Irish Legislation.....	131	A Memorial Address—Poetry—Markes—Contested Election—Miscellaneous—Parliament—Strong Feeling in Favour of Mr. Gladstone.....	497
CHAPTER XXXIX.		CHAPTER XLVIII.	
Abuse of Mr. Gladstone—Parliamentary Scenes and Incidents—Irish Affairs—Mr. Gladstone and Prince Albert—Testimonials to Mr. Gladstone—Home Rule Oratory.....	178	Mr. Gladstone's Vote on the seventy-eighth Birthday—Course of the Government—The Press at the Death of Mr. Gladstone.....	540
CHAPTER XL.		CHAPTER XLIX.	
The Earl of Beaconsfield—His Birth—His Career—His Literary and Political Character.....	234	The Land Question.....	73
CHAPTER XLI.		CHAPTER L.	
Foreign Affairs—South Africa, India, Egypt, and the East.....	287	The Session of 1882—The 16th of June.....	598
CHAPTER XLII.		CHAPTER LI.	
Mr. Gladstone again a Financier.....	344	Miscellaneous Business of the Session of 1882—Attack on Her Majesty—The Government's Delay—More Irish Affairs.....	
CHAPTER XLIII.		CHAPTER LII.	
The Session of 1881—Speeches in the House—The Irish Obstructives—The Bradlaugh Interlude.....		Mr. Gladstone's Last Budget.....	
		CHAPTER LIII.	
		Conclusion.....	567
		INDEX.....	669



The Earl of Kimberley	303	Scene in the Highlands	3
Joubert, the Boer Leader	301	Mr. Thomas Hughes	4
The Forties, Widdin	308	Sir Henry James	4
Egyptian Irrigation	313	Universities, Edinburgh	4
Henry, Prince of Wales	312	The Cathedral of St. Mary, Edinburgh	5
Michael Angelo	324	St. Henry Storks	5
Adrianople—Mina: outside Ghazni	327	Fortress and Town of Usipah, Serbia	5
Adrianople—Mina: inside Ghazni	334	Casket presented to Mr. Gladstone	5
St. Sophia, Cyprus	341	Alderman Ellis, Lord Mayor of London	5
The Duke and Duchess of Connaught	351	Osborne House, Isle of Wight	5
Library of Trinity College, Dublin	373	Doorway, Chester Cathedral	5
The Right Hon. W. P. Adam	385	Scene in Greece	5
The Right Hon. E. Horsman	389	Peasant's Cottage, Ireland	5
Wellington's Birthplace, Dublin	397	Evicted	5
The Earl Spencer	404	The Duke of Wellington	5
Mr. Gladstone at Guildhall	409	— As Prime Minister	5
Pius IX.	415	Building at Sandhurst	5
Mr. Henry Richard	423	Scene near Sandhurst	5
The Countess Cowper	433	A roadside café	5
John Bright's Birthplace	437	Lord Frederick Cavendish	5
Lord Cranbrook	441	The Princess Helen of Waldeck-Pyrmont	5
Penquet to Mr. Gladstone at Leeds	457	Prince Leopold	5
Woman of Eleusis	464	Claremont House	5
The Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers	469	Archibald Forbes	5



LOUIS PHILIPS



MR. STANSTONE'S PARLIAMENTARY WALK FOR A YEAR.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MR. STANSTONE'S PARLIAMENTARY WALK FOR A YEAR.



CRITICAL history is a series of surprises. The ways of man are wonderful. There is no treachery in the remark, but it is true, and especially so, when the superficial observer, at a glance, it seems as if man were but a sport of the winds and waves of the accidents of life. One moment he is happy, the next is

depressed and even, at times, almost one moment at the height of life, the next driven to despair and poverty and death by the very men who have hitherto been his closest to sing his praises. And if we look below the surface, we will find the strong arm is attempting to break the law and bends everything to his own will.

Under the Beaconsfield Administration

seemed that Mr. Gladstone was nowhere; that the people had gone over to his rival, and that he had lost his power to charm; that Toryism and Jingoism, and a bastard Imperialism were henceforth to rule the land. Insulted, brow-beaten, the butt of Tory wittings and pot-house politicians with their brains as frothy as their beer, busy at work in Harley-street or Hawarden, losing not one iota of heart or hope, the old man eloquent, still remained true to his trust, faithful among the faithless, in detecting the specious schemes of his adversary; in showing their dangerous nature and extravagance; in warning the people against the difficulties into which they would plunge us, and the extraordinary complications they would create. Nor did he labour in vain. In time he had won over all the people by the might of his logic and the strength of his will, and he came back to power with a majority which was unexpected as it was irresistible.

It is well if we stop to glance in more detail at Mr. Gladstone's marvellous capacity and love of work. No one denies him the possession of these qualities in an extraordinary degree, but it is difficult to realise how in this respect he is far ahead of his fellows. It is often said, "Uncasy lies the head that wears a crown;" the same may be said of a premier, or of a leader in opposition in a free and constitutional country like England. It is almost difficult to say where the work of such a man as Mr. Gladstone ended or where it began. At home or abroad, in the House of Commons or outside it, in the season or the recess, he was always at work, always in harness as it were. It is a terrible, the amount of hard work a public man has to do. It is only men of the strongest constitution can stand the wear and tear. As we write, Sir Charles Reed is being borne to his last long home, amidst national regret at the comparatively early age of sixty-one. Cobden was not a long-lived man; many of our foremost men at the bar, or on the press, or in the senate, die young. The strain is too great—the pace is killing.

Dickens, Thackeray, Douglas Jerrold, Charles Kingsley, were none of them old men when they died. Sir William Molesworth, one of our most promising statesmen, was cut off in the prime of life, as were Pitt and Canning, and Fox before him. Men like Sir James Graham became a power in politics simply by virtue of a good constitution. They had great power of work, and work did them no harm. It is clear, then, nature has given Mr. Gladstone a splendid constitution, or he would have died long before this, and long life means much in the political world. We did not think much of Lord Henry Petty when a young man, but when he became the venerable Marquis of Lansdowne, we all regarded him as a Nestor. It was just the same with regard to the Earl of Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington; while as to Lord Palmerston, when in his very prime, Mr. James Grant was rash enough to prophecy that he would never make any figure in politics or be a great statesman. In this country a man must live long and be able to work hard, and it is because Mr. Gladstone is long-lived and can work as hard as any one, that he has risen to be the foremost man of his time. Whatever he may not have been no one can affirm that he is an idle man.

As a sample of Mr. Gladstone's busy life, let us take one year, and give his public utterances as they are briefly recorded in the year 1878. The House met in January, and we find on the 17th, Mr. Gladstone rejoices to have the Chancellor of the Exchequer's assurance that no proposals will be made till Russian demands are known—this renders discussions on many points needless, nothing yet known justifies appeal to Parliament with a view to precautionary measures.

On the 30th, Mr. Gladstone receives addresses from Liberal Association of Oxford in regard to the Eastern Question. "The Government," he says, "means Lord Beaconsfield—he is number one, and all the others are cyphers—my purpose has been for the last eighteen months to coun-

teract what I believe to be the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield."

On February 4th, Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons supports Mr. Forster's amendment to vote of credit in a temperate and conciliatory speech; suggests that both vote and amendment be withdrawn, and that both Houses address the Crown pledging themselves to support the Government in the Councils of Europe. On the 8th, he does not object to the sending part of the fleet to Constantinople, warns Government against an Austrian Alliance, opposes the vote of credit as unprecedented, unreal, unnecessary and unjustified, and votes against it.

On the 9th, we had the publication of the Layard-Gladstone correspondence, of which we have already spoken. Mr. Layard admits (Oct. 29, 1877) that after a very hasty perusal of a letter from Mr. Gladstone to M. Negroponte, a Greek, he informed a newspaper correspondent that Mr. Gladstone was stirring up the Greeks to make war in Turkey, which statement afterwards appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*. Mr. Gladstone's letter of July 21, 1877, published on the 8th instant, does not, he admits, bear this interpretation. Mr. Layard also charges Mr. Gladstone with suppressing letters, which Mr. Gladstone says were never either written or received by him.

On the 10th, Mr. Cowen, M.P. for Newcastle, made a speech in the House of Commons defending Turkey, and making a furious and eloquent attack on Russia—"her first word is gold; her second the sword; her third Siberia." Replying to this speech on the 11th, in the same place, Mr. Gladstone said that perhaps it was better to produce it on this occasion than that so valuable a composition should "blush unseen;" it was not well adapted to soothe the public feelings.

Feb. 14th.—Mr. Jenkins, then M.P. for Dundee, made a speech deploring the unfortunate position in which the country was placed, owing to the fact that they had an invertebrate government, and on his own side a flabby and molluscous set of gentle-

men, clinging like imps to the opposition bench, and forming a thing like tone to the policy of the Government. Commenting on the speech of Gladstone said:—"The hon. member has expressed an aversion, in which I am not at all absolutely share, to any interference whatever with Austria, or any other power for the purpose of limiting the freedom to be granted to the Slavs. That is an issue upon which, if it became necessary to raise it, we may boldly make an appeal to all classes and descriptions of Englishmen. I own that I do not feel that it would be fair at this moment to ask the Government to make a conclusive declaration upon this subject."

On the 27th of March, there appears an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, on "The Paths of Honour and of Shame," in which Mr. Gladstone reviews the position of the Eastern Question—sees no cause for war, and condemns Russia's proposed petty spoliation of Roumania.

March 11th.—Mr. Gladstone announces his intention of not again standing for Greenwich.

March 12th.—Debate in the House of Commons on Mr. E. Ashley's motion, censuring Mr. Layard for his conduct in the Negroponte affair. Motion lost by 206—137.

March 23rd.—Addresses deputation from the Liberal Five Hundred of Greenwich, declines to stand again for the borough. On the Eastern Question, he says Government had flung away the chance of a bloodless settlement; there are things in the treaty which ought to be altered—the great extent of Bulgaria and the retrocession of Bessarabia, but nothing to create a cause of war.

On the 28th, Mr. Gladstone addresses a deputation from Leeds.

In the House of Commons, April 8th, in the debate on the Queen's Speech, Mr. Gladstone at some length criticised the conduct of her Majesty's Ministers. If a clear understanding was necessary before the Congress, why he asked, was the preliminary Conference refused? He said this country was sliding upon a declivity,

and it behoved it to consider where the movements of the Government would end. There remains this satisfaction, that there is no cause for war, and that it is not yet wholly forgotten that a causeless, voluntarily incurred war was one of the greatest and most abominable crimes a country could commit. He found fault with the spirit and the matter of Lord Salisbury's despatch. It contained statements, he said, that were not creditable to the Foreign Office, and its method of dealing with the terms of the treaty of San Stefano was a contentious method. In a long argument, quoting many documents, Mr. Gladstone maintained that "in the month of June, or at the latest in the month of August, 1877, her Majesty's Government was made privy to the whole of the stipulations which in the month of April this year formed the subject of an inflammatory despatch by Lord Salisbury. How were these things received at that time? Why, without one word of remonstrance. Russia had now concluded peace substantially on the same terms as those which she announced in June and August last, and I think if the Government then entertained the views which they do now, they should have warned her."

April 10th.—Mr. Gladstone addressed a meeting of workmen delegates in Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, at which resolutions were carried in favour of peace. He there said that the majority of the people were for peace, especially in Scotland.

Mr. Gladstone, on April 18th, was presented with a memorial from 400 Non-conformist Ministers protesting against the warlike policy of the Government. In his reply Mr. Gladstone argued forcibly, and at some length, against England allying herself with Austria, a Power which had never registered a title to the gratitude of mankind. If, said he, we threw our weight into the Austrian scale, we should drive Russia into alliance with Turkey.

On May 3rd there was a great meeting at Liverpool of working men on the Eastern question, at which a letter from Mr. Glad-

stone was read. In it he said: "What are we for now? We are for the faith of treaties, and we are ourselves advisedly breaking them by keeping our fleet in the Sea of Marmora during peace. We are for the interests of Europe, but let Europe, and not our Indian army, look after its own interests. I, for one, will not willingly go into this war till I know what it is about. If what the Government mean is to set up Turkey again, as Mr. Bright suspects, in God's name let them say so, and we shall know how to deal with them. As for myself, and I trust and believe it will be just the same with the other opponents of this wrong-headed and wrong-hearted policy, I hope to oppose it steadily to the end, and even I may live to see the day when its unexampled folly will be looked back upon with a unanimity of grief and amazement." While this letter was being read and pondered at Liverpool, on the very same day Mr. Gladstone received at Hawarden two deputations, one from Manchester and one from Wales, to which in reply he observed that he was not ashamed to be called an agitator; that the position of the Liberal party was most grave, as a large number of the Liberal educated classes were opposed to Liberal principles. Mr. Gladstone proceeded to complain of the removal of Indian troops to Europe without the sanction of Parliament, whose financial control had been ignored. He warned the people to watch and guard their constitutional liberties, which at that time were endangered in many quarters.

On the 21st, Mr. Gladstone is again back in the House of Commons supporting Lord Hartington's resolution condemning the transferring of Indian troops to Malta. In the course of the debate Mr. Gladstone said: "The Government have violated its paramount duty in not making known the whole of the charges it anticipated, when it submitted the financial measures of the year. The Government has acted unconstitutionally in placing the House under the necessity of meeting an expenditure incurred without its sanction. The charge

could not be allowed to fall on the Indian revenues, so that the House was not free to vote the money. The Government has dealt unconstitutionally with Parliament in order to give effect to their special conception that diplomacy best conducted with bayonets gleaming outside the door."

On the 24th, we find Mr. Gladstone in a new character, presiding as Chairman at the Annual Festival of the East London Hospital for Children, and in that capacity we may well be sure that he deserved alike, and received alike, the support of friends and foes. At this time Mr. Gladstone seems to have been much in request, as on the 23rd we find him receiving a deputation in the Westminster Palace Hotel, which presented addresses signed by over 1,600 Scottish Ministers and Nonconformist bodies approving his conduct in connection with the Eastern question. The men of Scotland have always been on Mr. Gladstone's side. Blood with them evidently is thicker than water. Equally active at this time was Mr. Gladstone with his pen. On June the first we find him contributing an article to the *Nineteenth Century* on "Liberty in the East and West," in which he elaborates his arguments, stated previously in the House of Commons and elsewhere, on the unconstitutional character of the removal of the Indian troops to Maita, and so effective was the argument, at any rate so great was the displeasure it created in the Tory ranks, that we find, two days after, that is, on the 3rd of May, Mr. Hanbury gave notice in the House of Commons for a vote of censure on Mr. Gladstone for the article in question. Happily, however, no debate took place on the subject, as Mr. Hanbury repented of his folly and withdrew his motion.

On June 11th, we find Mr. Gladstone back at Hawarden and addressing the Ancient Order of Shepherds on the economical and social and moral benefits of friendly societies. Thrift is a virtue always dear to Chancellors of the Exchequer, and especially of the order of which Mr. Gladstone is one.

Mr. Gladstone, on the 13th June, in the House of Commons, opposed Mr. Rylands, motion for submitting treaties to Parliament for ratification.

On the 18th, Mr. Gladstone spoke on the Scottish Establishment debate, to the effect that he would not object to inquiry within clearly defined limits but thinking at the same time there is an entire absence of any feeling in favour of the nation.

In July, we find Mr. Gladstone speaking at a large meeting in London in favour of the Charity Reform Association. At that meeting he strongly advocated the abolition of the present system of voting for admission to charities, and characterised the system—as undoubtedly it is—as immoral, wasteful, and as an unmitigated nuisance.

July 12.—Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Bulgarians of Bourgas acknowledging a complimentary address they had sent him, and recommending them that they should not avenge themselves on the Mussulmans.

July 20.—Mr. Gladstone addressed meeting of Liberal Association at Southwark, at which he said the acts of the Government had raised the question whether the nation was to be governed, its future pledged, its engagements extended, and its taxation increased without its counsel or knowledge. He maintained no Government, however despotic, would have dared to enter into such an engagement as the Anglo-Turkish Convention, which he characterised as an insane covenant.

On July 23rd, Mr. Gladstone moved in the House of Commons, that all proceedings taken under the Indian Vernacular Press Act should be placed before Parliament from time to time. This motion, however, was rejected by 150 to 56.

On the 30th, Mr. Gladstone speaks for Lord Hartington's motion on the Treaty of Berlin and the Anglo-Turkish Convention. He said the English plenipotentiaries had exerted their influence on the side of civility. The Convention was a "bold undertaking," and an offence against European law. Again he read a letter addressed to Lord Beaconsfield, asking him

to specify the words on which he grounded his attack on him in his banquet speech (27th).

Sept — Mr. Gladstone contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* an article on "England's Mission," in which he reviewed the latest phases of the Eastern Question, and the Government Policy. In the same month appeared his article in the *North American Review*, "Kim beyond Sea," maintaining that America was surpassing us commercially, and describing for them the benefit of the English Constitution.

In the October number of the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Gladstone, in an article on "The State of the Nation," arraigned the Roman Catholic Church. In a study of the Reformation, he denied that the Roman Catholic Church in England has progressed numerically, but admits that it has gained immensely in intellectual and social influence.

On the 3rd, Mr. Gladstone visited the Isle of Man, and received an address at Douglas.

On Oct. 4th, there was a publication of correspondence between himself and Lord Claude Hamilton, in which the latter challenged his statement that the constituencies, when they had the opportunity, had returned men opposed to the Government policy.

On October 10th, there appeared from Mr. Gladstone's pen a letter to a Coventry working-man, in which he stated his belief that Free Trade has increased the average income of the working-men in this country by 30 per cent.

On the 11th, Mr. Gladstone made a speech at Rhyl condemning the transmutation of the Queen into an Empress, and the concomitant policy of determining critical questions without the consent of or consulting Parliament. At the same time he was ready to admit that it was unjust to charge Government with the full responsibility for the hard times.

November came, and as usual found Mr. Gladstone hard at work. On the 7th, he wrote to the Northern Counties Conference

in reply to an address, pointing out need for vigilance to keep the country from being swept into an unjust war without the consent of Parliament. On the 12th, he wrote in reply to an address from the Bedford Liberal Association, criticising Lord Beaconsfield's speech of the 9th. On the 21st, he wrote to the Afghan Committee, condemning commencement of the war without Parliamentary sanction, and declaring that the India Act of 1858 had again been trampled under foot. On the 30th, he made his memorable speech, when he took farewell of his Greenwich constituents, many of whom, being engaged in Government dockyards, were not supposed to be too favourable to a minister devoted to Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform. In a speech at the luncheon, Mr. Gladstone advised the Liberal party to be thoroughly organised for the coming election. In the evening he addressed an enormous assembly, in a speech of which we have already given the principal points, at the Woolwich Skating Rink. Mr. Gladstone maintained that the chief point to be decided at the coming election was that of personal government, as the Ministry had trespassed on the prerogatives of Parliament, and declaring that we reap dishonour from our war with the Ameer.

On December 5th, we find Mr. Gladstone suggesting verbal alterations in the address, which, if agreed to unamended, would commit the House to the opinion that the conduct of the Ameer had left her Majesty no alternative but to declare war. He asked also for some information as to the rectification of the Greek frontier, and expressed a hope that when Mr. Stanhope's resolution was moved, accurate information would be given as to the cost of the military operations.

On the 10th, Mr. Gladstone supported the vote of censure on the Government Afghan policy, complained warmly of the concealment practised by the present Government, and impeached the trustworthiness of documents laid before Parliament, which, he said, contained gross mis-

statements, showing unprecedented recklessness and negligence. He contended that when Lord Northbrook left India the Ameer was friendly to us, and required nothing more from us than a continuance of the old policy, and to be released from the demand for British agents. He maintained that the old policy had succeeded in all its objects, and that the Chamberlain mission to Afghanistan, in the September previous, was a direct violation of the agreement between Prince Gortschakoff and Lord Clarendon.

On the 16th of the same month we find Mr. Gladstone again recurring to the subject of India. He opposed the motion in the House of Commons to sanction the defraying of the expenses of the Afghan war out of the Indian revenues, and had insisted that the Ministry had broken the Government of India Act, which required the previous consent of Parliament before any money could be issued from the Indian Exchequer, except in cases clearly defined. He said the intention of the Act was to give Parliament the power of preventing un-chievous wars, but that the course taken by the Government, backed up by the House of Commons, had defeated this object entirely.

On the 17th, Mr. Gladstone, in his abundant energy and active charity, seems to have written to Lord Blaquiere to promote a fund for the relief of the distressed Rhodians, that they might have much individual staff, and be enabled to maintain themselves. He was appalled to find that his Lordship's reply to Mr. Gladstone's appeal to Lord Blaquiere had declined to do anything of the kind suggested. If the public wished to do anything in that way, he argued they could do so of their own accord.

On the 26th of December Mr. Gladstone bitterly attacked the man who had been Sir John Don-

Wanchope, in connection with Mr. Gladstone's alleged candidature for Midlothian. The event seems to have deeply stirred his opponent's bile. No language was too strong. According to Sir John, Mr. Gladstone's Ritualistic and Romanising tendencies rendered him especially unfitted to represent a Protestant, and more especially a Presbyterian constituency. "Again," observed the hon. gentleman, "in regard to Mr. Gladstone's bitterness to Lord Beaconsfield, it perhaps reached its zenith in Mr. Gladstone's speech at Oxford, January 10th, where his outbursts were more like the insane screechings of a female scold than the calm utterances of a statesman. But whence arises this bitterness on Mr. Gladstone's part towards Lord Beaconsfield? I believe Mr. Gladstone has never

published a single article in which he seems to have been friendly to the Government, or that he has not justly abused its misdeeds and mismanagements, and much papers. It seemed as if he were a Commandant of the British Army. There is a charity, and not charity. Gladstone's and even the most out of the world, but he had in the *Daily Telegraph* when in power praise, made him nauseous conversations were jingoes. He had been in the wind. Street smashed

the man, the

29th of December these friends repairing to Hawarden, and presenting him with a silver axe, in recognition of his exploits as a woodman. Of course there was a little oratory on the occasion. It is needless, however, to do more than refer to it. It is more to the purpose to state that the head of the axe is of solid silver, weighing 6 lbs. 10 oz. and the handle is of ebony. It was in the *Echo* that the idea of presenting Mr. Gladstone with the silver axe, "by a few admiring friends," first was mooted. There had been an effort to present Lord Beaconsfield with a gold wreath, but the affair had been so ridiculously mismanaged that his lordship was compelled to decline it. The fate of the unhappy wreath and of the unwarded getter-up of it excited immense laughter every where, and even now the name of Turnerelli provokes a smile.

But the year 1878, as regards Mr. Gladstone, was not to end in this peaceful way. Once more he was to make an indignant appeal to the world and invoke public indignation against the conduct of a government to which he was bitterly opposed, and in which he did not believe. On the 31st of December there appeared from his pen, in the *Nineteenth Century*, an article under the title of "The Friends and Foes of Russia." In that article Mr. Gladstone sought to establish the following propositions:—1. The British forces are the natural and traditional allies of Russia in the policy of absolutism which she commonly has followed in continental affairs. 2. They only depart from her when, as in the case of Turkish oppression, she departs from herself, and is found fighting on the side of freedom and humanity. 3. In thus departing, they have so managed their resistance that they have played her game, fortified her position, and humbled their country before her. And when our roystering politicians begin their preparations for the coming elections these propositions may afford them some instruction, and may render a degree of aid to the people in solving the great question they must then

answer—whether the present mode is the way in which they wish the country to be governed?" To these propositions Mr. Gladstone applied his usual wealth of language and felicity of argument.

The Eastern Question, as settled by the treaty of San Stefano, was:—1. Rectification of frontier of Montenegro. 2. Montenegro to be treated as an independent State. 3. Independence of Serbia, with an increase of territory. 4. Estates of Mussulmen in Serbia may be let, or may be administered by others for them. 5. Independence of Roumania, with a war indemnity; the result being that at a later day we see the Prince of Roumania raised to the rank of a king. 6. Bulgaria to be an autonomous tributary principality, with a Christian Government and a national militia, and with increased territory. 7. Prince of Bulgaria to be freely elected by the people and confirmed by the Porte, with the assent of the Russians, and the Ottoman army to evacuate Bulgaria—the ancient fortresses to be diminished; Russian troops to occupy Bulgaria for about two years. 8. Amount of Bulgarian tribute to be determined by agreement between Russia, Turkey, and the other Powers after one year. 9. Ottoman troops, &c., may pass through Bulgaria by fixed routes. 10. Letting or administration of Mussulman property in Bulgaria; questions to be determined by Turco-Bulgarian commissioners, under the surveillance of Russian commissioners. 11. All the Danubian fortresses to be demolished. 12. Navigation of the Subina passage to be restored; losses by interrupted navigation of the Danube to be indemnified. 13. Reforms recommended at Constantinople Conference to be introduced into Bosnia and Herzegovina. 14. The organic law of 1868 to be applied to Crete. 15. Reform to be at once introduced in Armenia. 16. Porte grants indemnity to all offenders; prisoners to be released. 17. Administration of Turco-Persian frontier. 18. War indemnity 140 million roubles, greater part to be paid in territory—Tultcha, Aidahan, Kars, Batoum, Bayazid, &c.;

balance, 100 millions roubles. 20. Pending lawsuits of Russian subjects to be settled. 21. Inhabitants may remove from lands annexed to Russia. 22. Toleration of Russian ecclesiastics in Turkey; protection of Russian embassy and consulates. 23. Previous commercial treaties to have force. 24. Bosphorus and Dardanelles to be open to merchant-vessels of neutral states in times of peace and war. 25. Russian troops to evacuate all Turkey, except Bulgaria, in three months. 26. Russian administration in places occupied to continue till the evacuation. 27. Ottoman subjects compromised through the war not to be punished by the Porte. 28. Prisoners of war to be exchanged. 29. Ratifications to be exchanged at St. Petersburg within fifteen days. Such was the celebrated San Stefano treaty, around which the battle raged so loudly and so long. At that time the Hellenic question had scarcely cropped up. France, it was true, supported the interests of Greece, because that was her traditional policy, and negotiations on the subject were discussed at the Berlin Conference. The principal item of the year as regards Greece was the circular sent by Saffet Pasha to European ambassadors, charging Greece with fostering insurrection in Epirus and Thessaly. That there was some shadow of truth in the charge is highly probable. In the unsettled state of Turkey, Greece was anxious to do all for herself that she could. Mr. Gladstone did well to vindicate his views. We must recollect that it was only at the beginning of the year, at a great meeting held in James's Hall, no less distinguished a personage than the Duke of Sutherland had asserted of Mr. Gladstone that he and General Ignatieff were Russia's chosen agents in England. Nor was the Duke of Sutherland alone in his opinion. On Oct. 16th Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, late Member of the Indian Council at Madras, had written to the *Times*, in which he argued that it is necessary for this country to possess paramount influence in Afghanistan, in order to ensure the safety of our

Indian Empire. The question, he said, was, as England and Russia must meet in Central Asia, how can we take security for the frontier between them being so drawn that Russia shall not have the power of invading us at pleasure? If everything falls back into the drifting position in which it has been for years, Russia and Afghanistan will at once be in alliance. Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded Lord Derby as Foreign Secretary in March, who had been presented with the Order of the Garter, and made free of the City of London, and entertained with Lord Beaconsfield at a Conservative banquet, had been equally emphatic in his support of the Government view, and equally severe where Mr. Gladstone was concerned. For instance, in August, on receiving an address from the Conservative Association of South East Lancashire, he said the great results of the Government policy had been that they had rescued from the grasp of Russia a territory as large as Ireland, and provinces apparently doomed to be under the domination of the Turkish race. He accused Mr. Gladstone of having used language calculated, if not designed, to embitter the relations between this country and France and Italy. In assemblies where better things might have been expected, the language was equally severe; and while addressing his constituents at Sheffield, Mr. Roebuck actually went so far as to say that Lord Beaconsfield had upheld the Cross of St. George as no Englishman in our day had done. In July, referring to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield said: "I must say that that speaker on several occasions has taken the opportunity of making personal allusions to myself; allusions which were intended to be extremely offensive, though I am glad to say that they were allusions which did not much trouble me. I may refer, besides other instances, to a speech at Oxford, Jan. 30th, which I believe was not even an after-dinner speech, but was made in cold blood. He singled me out of the Cabinet; he charged me with all the

effences of the Cabinet; he described me as a dangerous, and even a devilish character." As was to be expected, Mr. Gladstone did not remain quiet under Lord Beaconsfield's chastisement. On the 30th, according to his Lordship replying in the third answer to Mr. Gladstone's letter asking his Lordship to specify the words to which he referred in his banquet speech; refers to Mr. Gladstone's Oxford speech, July 30, and the speech of one of Mr. Gladstone's friends at Hawarden, in which Lord Beaconsfield was compared to Mephistophiles with Mr. Gladstone's approval. Lord Beaconsfield intimated that, at some future day, he would be able to verify his charge—but that he never did so was abundantly clear.

We have already given a few letters written during this period; the following has recently come under notice. It hails from "Hawarden," and is addressed to Mr. Saunders. It is as follows:—"Dear Sir,—I thank you very much for sending me the volume which contains an account of your American travels. I came down here on Saturday night and since that time have nearly finished it. The first half of it is I think the most interesting and stocked with information among all the books of travellers that I have read. Among the points where you do not speak as eye-witness, I am struck with the very clear account of that extraordinary constitutional crisis which took place in the election of Mr. Hayes, and with your most instructive and judicious comparison between the use of the ballot in this country and the other. The volume will attract the attention of all who are interested in the subject, to which it so well deserves." It was in this year (1879) that Mr. Gladstone found leisure to revise and prepare for the press his "Gleanings from Past Years."

Compared with his rival, Lord Beacons-

field, how much more active has been his life! Disraeli seemed to devote himself almost entirely to politics. Even in his novels he had an eye to business and his outdoor utterances were on all occasions political. Even Lord Palmerston was not so absorbed in the business of politics. For many years Lord Beaconsfield never travelled at all, having done the grand tour in his youth; in his early days, after the olden fashion, he settled down to London and parliamentary work altogether. Once or twice during the Second Empire he visited Paris; once, as we all know well, he visited Berlin. He went to Scotland occasionally on State business when he was a Minister, and he now and then attended a political meeting in Edinburgh or Glasgow when he was in opposition. His parliamentary career almost realised the description he has himself given of Lord George Bentinck. He was hardly ever absent while the House was sitting; in truth, he gave himself up entirely to the business of political life. In this respect, Mr. Gladstone has led a far more varied career. Theology, Church History, as well as Chinaware, or Homer, have attracted much of his time and superabundant energy. Equally varied have been his experiences, one while feasting with high churchmen, another while dining at dissenters' houses, with such men as Dr. Allon, one of the leaders of English Congregationalism. As a parliamentary candidate, how much happier was the lot of his illustrious rival, who had no opposition worth speaking of to encounter, and to whom buccolic Buckinghamshire was faithful to the last. The noble earl may be said in this respect to have fed on fat pastures, and to have walked beside the still waters. Mr. Gladstone's temperament, on the contrary, seems to have ever impelled him to press where the fight was the fiercest, and the battle the most exciting and severe.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GENERAL ELECTION—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—
LORD BEACONSFIELD'S MANIFESTO—ELECTIONEERING
INCIDENTS—MR. GLADSTONE'S CAMPAIGN.



IN the summer of 1879, it was manifest to the most careless observer that a parliamentary election was at hand, and that Ministers would have to appeal to the country for a renewal of confidence and for a fresh lease of place and power.

At that time the Conservatives believed they would be reinstated, and their enemies only kindly anticipated such an increase of strength as would make the minority not quite so forlorn a hope as previously it had been. But there was, as perfectly natural, a great reluctance on the part of Ministers to make the appeal, and it is clear that the event would have been long delayed had it not been for Mr. Cross's far-famed Water Bill.

The speech from the Throne had been unusually unmeaning. When Parliament met in February, her Majesty is reported to have said :—

"It is with much satisfaction that I again resort to the advice and assistance of my Parliament.

"My relations with all the Powers continue to be friendly. The course of events since the prorogation of Parliament has tended to furnish additional security to the maintenance of European peace, on the principles laid down by the Treaty of Berlin. Much, however, still remains to be done to repair the disorder with which the late war has affected many parts of the Turkish Empire. A convention for the suppression of the slave trade has been concluded between my Government and that of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan. At the close

of your last Session I expressed my hope that the Treaty of Gandamak had happily terminated the war in Afghanistan. In conformity with its provisions, my Envoy, with his retinue, was honourably received and entertained by the Ameer at Cabul. While engaged, however, in the exercise of their duty, he and those connected with the Embassy were treacherously attacked by overwhelming numbers, and, after an heroic defence, were almost all massacred. An outrage so intolerable called for condign chastisement, and my troops, which, pursuant to the stipulations of the Treaty, either had withdrawn or were withdrawing from the territories governed by the Ameer, were ordered to retrace their steps. The skill exhibited in the rapid march upon Cabul, and in the advances upon the other lines of action, reflects the highest credit upon the officers and men of my British and native forces, whose bravery has shone with its wonted lustre in every collision with the enemy. The abdication of the Ameer and the unsettled condition of the country render the recall of my troops impossible for the present ; but the principle on which my Government has hitherto acted remains unchanged, and, while determined to make the frontiers of my Indian Empire strong, I desire to be on friendly relations alike with those who may rule in Afghanistan and with the people of that country. My anticipations as to the early establishment of peace in South Africa have been fulfilled. The capture and deposition of the Zulu King, and the breaking up of the military organisation on which his dynasty was based, have relieved my possessions in that part of the world from a danger which

has seriously impeded their advancement and consolation. In Basutoland, a native outbreak of considerable importance has been effectually quelled by my colonial forces: while the Transvaal has been freed from the depredations of a powerful chief, who, having successfully resisted the former government of the country, had persistently rejected our attempts at conciliation. I have reason to hope that the time is now approaching when an important advance may be made towards the establishment of a Union or Confederation under which the powers of self-government, already enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Cape Colony, may be extended to my subject and other parts of South Africa. Papers on these and other matters will for my kind be sent you.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—I have directed the estimates of this year to be prepared and presented to you without delay.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The Commission which at the close of the Session, I informed you I had issued to inquire into the causes of agricultural depression throughout the United Kingdom, is pursuing its labours. In the meantime, the serious deficiency in the usual crops in some parts of Ireland has rendered necessary special precautions on the part of my Government to guard against the calamities with which those districts were threatened. With this view, they have called upon the authorities charged with the duty of administering relief to make ample preparations for the distribution of food and fuel, should such a step become necessary, and they have also stimulated the employment of labour by advances on terms more liberal than those prescribed by the existing law. I feel assured that you will give your sanction to the course which has been adopted where it may have exceeded the power entrusted by Parliament to the Executive Government. A proposal will be submitted to you for providing the funds required for these exceptional advances on the security of the

property administered by the Church Temporalities Commissioners. I trust you will be able to resume the consideration of the Criminal Code and of the improvement of the Law of Bankruptcy. Bills will be laid before you for enlarging the powers of owners of settled land, for consolidating and amending the Lunacy Law, and for simplifying the practice of conveyancing. I commend to you these and other measures which may be introduced for your consideration, and I trust that in discussing them, you will be able to give direct and effective aid.

In the course of the evening Mr. Cross, in reply to Mr. James Smith, said that he intended to introduce a Bill for the purpose of purchasing the water companies, and for amending the water supply of London which is notoriously bad. In making such an arrangement he intimated that if the Government would take the stocks as they found them on such a day, the last day of the half-year, and that no speculative change in the value of the stocks would have the smallest weight with the Government. This was a praiseworthy declaration; nevertheless a large advance took place in the autumn, the price of shares at which the Water Bill was brought in it was found, to the astonishment of the unaccounted that Mr. Cross proposed to give an enormous advance on the market price of shares as they stood the previous August. The original cost of the water companies and all their works was under nine millions. The market value in the share list in the August referred to was under nineteen millions, and Mr. Cross proposed to purchase the companies nearly thirty millions. Mr. Cross judiciously refrained from offering explanations of the calculations on which those high figures were founded, and so general was the confidence in his sagacity and prudence that it was by many persons supposed that he had good reasons for buying the enormous sum advanced. Mr. Edmund James Smith, however, in his speech referred to in his speech, having observed

him in his negotiation with the water companies, was not so prudent as his chief, and published a series of letters in the *Times* showing the principles on which his calculations had been made, which made it clear that some one had blundered very seriously in the matter. With such a measure, supported by obvious fallacies on the part of its official promoter, it was not surprising that Government received early intimation from some of their supporters that they would not vote for the Water Bill. The expressions of surprise and indignation at such a proposal deepened daily, and it was soon obvious that if it were pressed the Ministry would be defeated on a division. Having pledged themselves to the companies to submit the measure to the House, the Government was in a dilemma, and it is pretty clear that this unexpected difficulty hastened the decision for a dissolution. As Mr. W. Saunders writes:—"The contrary supposition would indeed be most damaging to the reputation of the Government, for it cannot be imagined that on March 3rd, when they brought in the measure, an immediate dissolution had been contemplated. Such a course would involve a contempt for the interests committed to them which no Government would intentionally show at any time, and certainly not on the eve of a general election. It must also be remembered that a day had been fixed for the introduction of a bill for the appropriation of the vacant seats. A solemn promise had been given that these vacancies should be filled up before a dissolution, and as by doing so the Government would secure six votes, it is obvious that a sudden emergency had prevented the fulfilment of this promise."

The House of Commons on Monday, March 8th, was startled by the announcement of a dissolution. The few members in the lobby at the time made a rush for the telegraph office, which was at once blocked by an eager crowd, and some confusion arose from the failure of the supply of telegraph forms, for which there had been quite an unprecedented demand. It was

indeed a surprise. A dissolution had, of course, long been anticipated and carefully prepared for, but at that time, after circumstances already referred to, no one had anticipated the event being so near. It seemed as if special care had been taken to lull the public into repose. It appeared that the announcement had been made to the House, after the usual questions had been asked and answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the following manner:—

"I think before the House proceeds to the business of the evening, I may be allowed to trespass upon its attention for a few moments. It would, under any circumstances, be convenient, as Easter is approaching, that some statement should be made with reference to the arrangements for the business of the House; but there is a larger and more important question behind which is of interest not only to the House, but to the country at large. I apprehend that if hon. gentlemen are to go down to the country at Easter in ignorance of the views of her Majesty's Government with regard to the dissolution of Parliament, they will pass some agitated holidays themselves, and what is of more importance, that the uncertainty and consequent anxiety which will prevail in the country may be injurious to the interests of trade and to the convenience of the public; and, therefore, sir, I am desirous on the part of her Majesty's Government to state what are the views of Government with regard to the dissolution of Parliament. I wish, in the first instance, to point out that it was not in our power to come to a decision upon this subject earlier than the present time. In the course of last autumn the state of Ireland caused no inconsiderable amount of anxiety, and we perceived from an early period that it was probable, and as time went on we saw that it was necessary, that we should take measures upon our own responsibility as a Government to prevent distress or to alleviate distress in that country. Those measures we took without the authority or sanction of Parliament, and it was necessary that

Parliament should be called together in order to consider and give its sanction to what we had done, and also to consider what further measures ought to be taken. That has been the business with which Parliament has been occupied since we assembled in February, and the measures we proposed have in the main been adopted. We have almost reached their last stage, and we may therefore consider that that difficulty and embarrassment in our course is now at an end. We have therefore to consider what is the most convenient time for the dissolution of Parliament. Now, there are obviously three periods in every session. First there is the period from the commencement to Easter, then there is the period from Easter to Whitsuntide, and next from Whitsuntide to the close of the session, which is generally the end of July, or rather the beginning and far on in August. I think it is unnecessary that I should delay the House by pointing out how very much more convenient a spring dissolution is than an autumn one, especially if an autumn dissolution would in any way interfere with harvest operations. Well, looking at the first period to which I have referred, that between Easter and Whitsuntide, we observe that there is a great deal of business which it is absolutely necessary to get through within the first two or three months of the session of Parliament, and before the close of the financial year. That generally occupies the pre-Easter period of the session, and as with that business we have made very considerable progress, of course there will not be any difficulty in completing it, if the House so pleases, before the usual time for rising for the Easter holidays. Besides that business, however, there is a good deal of matter which is of interest and importance. There are measures which have been introduced, and which it is desirable that Parliament should proceed with, which we could not expect to finish by Whitsuntide, and which, on the other hand, if we were to dissolve at Whitsuntide it would be quite too late to take up when

Parliament reassembled after Whitsuntide. Now, in these circumstances her Majesty's Government, after giving very full consideration to the position of the case, have come to the conclusion that the most convenient course is to advise her Majesty to dissolve Parliament at Easter. The effect of that, I believe, would be that Parliament could meet again at the beginning of May. The probability would be that the new House would be in working order in the course of the first week in May, and there would therefore be three months which would be tolerably clear and available for the consideration of the measures which would then, if Parliament pleased, be taken in hand."

At that time it is clear that Sir Stafford Northcote had no idea of a change of Government, or he would not have anticipated so speedy a resumption of Ministerial work. Sir Stafford continued :—

"There is an important subject which I must mention—and that is the budget. Now usually we desire, as most convenient, to bring in the budget after the close of the financial year ; but as Easter falls so early, if we think of going to the country, it is important that before then the financial proposals of the Government should be before the House and the country, and I propose to introduce the budget in the usual way on Thursday next. There are two measures on which I ought to say a word. One relates to the question of the disposal of the vacant seats. It is now perfectly obvious that it would be impossible to pass any bill, and therefore it would only be waste of time to attempt to introduce one. With regard to another bill, the Parliamentary Elections Bill, I do not think that it will be at all impossible for the House to deal with that bill, and also with the particular question to which the hon. baronet, the Member for Chelsea, Sir Charles Dilke, called attention the other night. I mean the question of the conveyance of voters in boroughs. That is a question which ought not to be left untouched." Sir Stafford having intimated that he hoped that the House

statement and upon its conclusion every hon. gentleman, with the exception only of those on the Treasury Bench, retired from the chamber. A desperate endeavour was made to bring hon. gentlemen back to the paths of business. To a certain extent it succeeded. The naval authorities returned to their allegiance, in order to hear Mr. Smith unfold the Navy Estimates, but the House never filled up. A spirit of languor prevailed, which hon. gentlemen were unable wholly to thrust off, and to-night Parliament was held virtually in the lobby and in the smoke-room."

The next thing to attract public attention was the Beaconsfield manifesto in the shape of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It stated that the acts of agitators, which represented that England, instead of being the generous and sympathising friend, was indifferent to the dangers and sufferings of Ireland, have been defeated by the measures at once liberal and prudent which Parliament has almost unanimously sanctioned. "During the six years of the present administration," continued the noble Earl, "the improvement of Ireland and the interests of our fellow-countrymen in that island have much occupied the care of the Ministry, and they may remember with satisfaction that in this period they have solved one of the most difficult problems connected with a government and people by establishing a system of public education to all classes and to all creeds. Nevertheless a danger in its results, scarcely less disastrous than famine and pestilence, and which now engages your Excellency's anxious attention, distracts that country. A portion of its population is attempting to sever the constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain in that bond which has favoured the power and prosperity of both. It is to be hoped that all men of light and leading will resist this destructive doctrine, the strength of this nation depends on the unity of feeling which should pervade the United Kingdom and its wide-spread dependencies. The first duty of an English

minister should be to consolidate that co-operation which renders irresistible a communion educated as our own in an equal love of liberty and law. And yet there are some who challenge the expediency of the Imperial character of this realm. Having attempted and failed to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition, they may now perhaps recognise in the disintegration of the United Kingdom a mode which will not only accomplish, but precipitate that purpose. The immediate dissolution of Parliament will afford an opportunity to the nation to decide upon a course which will materially influence its future fortunes and shape its destiny. Rarely in this country has there been an occasion more critical. The power of England and the peace of Europe will largely depend upon the conduct of the country. Her Majesty's present Ministers have hitherto been enabled to secure that peace so necessary to the welfare of all civilised countries, and so peculiarly the interest of our own. But this ineffable blessing cannot be obtained by the passive influence of non-interference. Peace rests on the presence, not to say the ascendancy of England in the councils of Europe. Even at this moment the doubt supposed to be inseparable from popular election, does not diminish certainly assents her influence, and is a caution for not delaying an appeal to the national will. Whatever may be its consequence to her Majesty's present advisers, may it return to Westminster a Parliament not unworthy of the power of England, and resolved to maintain it!"

On Tuesday, the London dailies were earnestly read to hear what they had to say as to this doctrine of disintegration and decomposition, which to the general public seemed more ingenious and novel than convincing. The *Times* especially laboured hard to say something in its favour. What it did say was as follows:—"It is perhaps only too ingenious in the skill with which the main point is gradually introduced, and few political writers would have conducted us in so short a space and

a continuous argument from Ireland to the position of England on the continent of Europe. If the method is circuitous, the language is also a little thing, but these defects, as many will confess them, will not diminish the importance of the document, nor can they obscure its import. The main drift of this indirectness to the constituencies may be very easily summed up. Lord Beaconsfield appeals to the country for a vote of confidence on his foreign policy. He observes that there are some persons who challenge the expediency of the imperial character of the realm. He does not say who they are, but he describes them as having attempted and failed to enfeeble the colonies by their policy of decomposition, and he suggests that these persons do not now recognise in the disintegration of the United Kingdom a mode which will not only accomplish but precipitate their purpose. As a description of the general course of liberal policy, his language could be, to say the least, excessive. No considerable party that we know of has deavoured to enfeeble our colonies by a policy of decomposition, and it is inconceivable how they can entertain a design of accomplishing such a purpose by disintegrating the United Kingdom. But these exaggerations lead directly to the main subject of the letter. The country is to be asked to decide whether it approves of a policy which aims at maintaining its imperial character and its position in Europe. Rarely, says Lord Beaconsfield, in this country has there been an occasion more critical. Her Majesty's Ministers have hitherto been enabled to preserve peace, but this ineffable blessing cannot be maintained by the passive principle of non-interference; peace rests on the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of England in the counsels of Europe. These are strong impressions, and perhaps imprudently strong; but the country will not fail to be impressed with the importance of the facts which must be assumed to have prompted them. They are plain declarations that

affairs in Europe, and that, in the judgment of the Premier, they can only be successfully averted by the due exercise of English influence. Ascendancy of course, in the sense, we shall all repudiate. But so far as it may be taken to mean the exertion of a moderating influence it is legitimate, and it may be necessary. Such is Lord Beaconsfield's opinion; but he says that a doubt, supposed to be inseparable from popular elections, if it does not diminish, certainly arrests the attention of England. This, he adds, is a main reason for not delaying an appeal to the national voice. We may safely conclude that it is the main reason. If great political questions are before Europe, it is a matter of vital importance to know whether the Ministry of the day has the confidence of the country, and whether its policy can therefore be relied on. This is the issue raised, and Lord Beaconsfield concludes by expressing a hope that whatever may be the consequences to Her Majesty's present advisers of the appeal he makes, the country will return to Westminster a Parliament not unworthy of the power of England, and resolved to maintain it. There can be no doubt that for some important reasons this constitutes a credible appeal. Recent elections have shown that at this moment, on a mere issue of foreign and imperial policy, the Government may fairly count on the support of public opinion. The Liberal party during the last few years have made such false errors that it may be almost said of them that they have left no further faults to be committed. . . . At present, on a question of foreign policy, the presumption is decidedly in favour of the Ministry, and it is upon foreign policy that the battle will be fought. But the Liberals have yet to declare themselves, and the country will scan their utterances without prejudice."

The *Standard* put the case as follows:—"It will now be clear to every one from the letter of the Prime Minister to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, that circumstances of far greater gravity than even the progress

of domestic legislation have determined the government in the step which they have taken. It is to be gathered from Lord Beaconsfield's manifesto that there are two questions on which it is considered necessary that the country should decide at once. The first is the maintenance of the union between Great Britain and Ireland; the second is the foreign policy of the present administration. Under existing circumstances, the repeal of the Union would only be a step towards the disintegration of the Empire—a prelude to the severance of our connection with the colonies which makes England the great civilising power of the world. Any material departure from the attitude which we have assumed in reference to continental affairs, which the present administration, strong in the confidence of the country, has hitherto been able to avert would be greatly to be deplored. The time, however, has arrived, according to the letter of Lord Beaconsfield, when the continued existence of this confidence is called in question by European diplomatists, who seem to think that it is dependent on the issue of a general election; the Government has therefore, come to the conclusion that a dissolution ought no longer to be delayed. The opinion of the country must be proclaimed in unmistakable terms, both on the question of Irish disaffection and on the necessity of a predominating English influence in the councils of European Government. As soon as these are convinced that the policy of the present administration is supported by the nation at large, designs will die away which have been only left alone by doubts about English public opinion, the peace of the world will be insured, and the integrity of the British Empire will be safe. Such seems to be the gist of the rather remarkable document issued yesterday afternoon from Downing-street."

Let us now turn to the *Daily Telegraph*, which spoke as follows:—"It is the future which must to-day engage the thoughts of every man who loves his country, and has

intelligence to comprehend the vast importance of the question to be carried to the constituencies. The First Minister of the Crown has tersely stated those questions, nor is there any vital point to be decided by the electors which does not lie included in the letter addressed by Lord Beaconsfield to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The unity of the realm at home, the strength and safety of the Empire and the peace of the world abroad—these are the immense, the majestic interests referred to the sense of the British public. Set free to make appeal to them by the passage of the measures for Irish relief, and by the forward state of public business, the Premier takes for his ground those topics which undoubtedly occupy general attention, the menace to our unity involved in the Home Rule agitation, and its supporters, and the problem of the future influence of Great Britain abroad. It must seem strange that such questions can for a single hour divide opinion, and still more strange that they should constitute and complete the manifesto of the Leader of the Liberal Party. But the simplicity of this challenge is well justified by what has befallen. . . . In effect, as the letter of the Prime Minister indirectly shows, we are proceeding to an action unique in its character. The old party cries are completely absent from the contest. They may be, and perhaps are, to be revived, but popular attention will give little or no heed to them. It is not necessary to belong to this or that division to know on which part an Englishman should stand when the matter for his judgment is whether the unity of the kingdom shall be undermined, and the empire's power and influence diminished abroad. It is only necessary to feel with the hearts of our forefathers, and to see with the clear and plain comprehension of those who in times past and present have placed the love of country before passion and partisanship. On these simple issues accordingly the Government of Lord Beaconsfield goes to the country."

In an article upon the dissolution, the *Pall Mall Gazette* said :—"We are convinced that there is far more chance of fresh wars and convulsions in Europe if the Gladstone party come into power, than if Lord Beaconsfield's administration remained in office."

Thus wrote the wise men of London—the gentlemen of the Press.

Lord Beaconsfield, however, did not feel quite so secure as he did. Alarmed at the interpretations which had been placed on his claims for ascendancy in the councils of Europe, he took occasion to make the following explanation in the House of Lords :—"There is a great difference between the word ascendancy and the word supremacy. Ascendancy involves something in the nature of moral attributes." But it is to be feared that the explanation, however well meant, had little effect upon the public at large. There was in some quarters a faint hope that the Budget would restore the fortunes of the party. That hope was soon dashed to the ground. "It is certainly not an heroic Budget," said a dejected follower of Sir Stafford Northcote in the lobby, on the night of its introduction. "No," was the reply of a robust Liberal, "it is certainly the most discreditable Budget that has ever been brought before the country."

In fact, the substance of the Budget was :—

An accumulated deficiency of £8,100,000.

Increase of Probate Duty on Personal Estate, £700,000.

Abandonment of the Sinking Fund for five years.

Four millions left to chance.

An estimated surplus of only £184,000.

The new arrangement also, while it relieved the landed interests as regarded the succession duties, increased the burden on the tradesman and the tenant farmer. This was a blunder. Another blunder was the Corruption Bill, a bill, the direct aim of which was to make elections more expensive by fastening on the candidates the cost of carriages for taking voters to

the poll. In one small borough, numbering under six thousand electors, in consequence, the cost of cabs alone exceeded £600. The challenge thrown down by Lord Beaconsfield was soon taken up. Lord Hartington, in his election address, said :—"The Prime Minister has stated in his letter to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland the issue which, in his opinion, the country would be called upon to decide. I seek to evade no issue which the Government can raise ; but it is necessary that they should be plainly stated, and that others which he has accorded should be brought before you. I know of no party which challenges the expediency of the imperial character of this realm ; I know of none who have attempted to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition."

Lord Hartington went on to say : "If our colonies are at this moment more loyal to the throne, more attached to the connection of the mother country, more willing to take the common responsibility and burden which must be borne by all the members of a great Empire than at any former time, it is due to the fact that, under the guidance of Liberal statesmen, they have received institutions of complete self-government, and have learned to recognise the truth that entire dependence on imperial assistance for their protection and defence is not compatible with their dignity or freedom."

As to Home Rule, his Lordship continued : "No patriotic purpose is, in my opinion, gained by the use of the language of exaggeration in describing the Irish agitation for Home Rule. I believe the demand so described to be impracticable, and considering that any concession, or appearance of concession, in this direction would be mischievous in its effects to the prosperity of Ireland as well as that of England and Scotland, I have constantly opposed it in office and in opposition, and I shall continue to oppose it. The agitation has existed during the whole of the continuance of this Parliament. It has been treated by the Government until now, if not

with indulgence, with indifference, and the attempt to rouse national animosities by descriptions of danger worse than pestilence or famine appears to me to be unnecessary and evasive. This agitation must be met not by passionate exaggeration, but by firm and consistent resistance, combined with the proof that the Imperial Government is able and willing to grant every reasonable and just demand to the Irish people for equal laws and institutions. We have willingly, and without reference to

ment, but we preferred to assist in the passing of measures which, though in our opinion inadequate in some respects, and not calculated to provide a final settlement of the question, at least gave a proof to the Irish people of the desire of all parties in Parliament to meet a reasonable Irish demand. Much, however, remains to be done in removing those inequalities of the law which still exist to the disadvantage of Ireland, before we can hope that the Irish people will be convinced of the just impar-



WITH THE AFGHANS—A MIDNIGHT ATTACK.

party considerations, co-operated with Her Majesty's Government in the measures which they have passed for extending to the Irish people, without distinction of religious creed, the advantages of intermediate and university education. The efforts of the late Government in this direction were defeated by a combination, of which the party now in power formed the principal element. It would not have been difficult for us to have formed a similar combination for the purpose of embarrassing the Govern-

ment, but we preferred to assist in the passing of measures which, though in our opinion inadequate in some respects, and not calculated to provide a final settlement of the question, at least gave a proof to the Irish people of the desire of all parties in Parliament to meet a reasonable Irish demand. Much, however, remains to be done in removing those inequalities of the law which still exist to the disadvantage of Ireland, before we can hope that the Irish people will be convinced of the just impar-

ment, but we preferred to assist in the passing of measures which, though in our opinion inadequate in some respects, and not calculated to provide a final settlement of the question, at least gave a proof to the Irish people of the desire of all parties in Parliament to meet a reasonable Irish demand. Much, however, remains to be done in removing those inequalities of the law which still exist to the disadvantage of Ireland, before we can hope that the Irish people will be convinced of the just impar-

tions, in the aggrandisement of Russia, and the destruction of the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire; the declared objects of their policy has been frustrated. The settlement of the Eastern question, which the Government claims to have effected, rested in a main degree on the Anglo-Turkish Convention, which stipulated for the reform of Turkish rule in Asia Minor. In the time which has elapsed since that convention was signed, no progress whatever was made towards giving

turbs Eastern Europe is as far from solution as ever. Thus the policy has failed, but the immense responsibilities incurred by this country remain responsibilities, in return for which the acquisition of Cyprus, which adds nothing to the military strength of the nation, affords no adequate compensation. In Africa, Her Majesty's Ministers had created a war which they did not sanction, and which they deplore—a war which has brought no honour and no advantage in return for the blood and treasure



HER MAJESTY'S MAIL IN AFGHANISTAN.

effect to its provisions. Her Majesty's Ministers themselves will not deny that all the remonstrances they have addressed to the Porte, and all the efforts they have made to reform its Government, have totally failed. And the convention itself still remains a dead letter. We were told two years ago by the Government that Greece had obtained all that a reasonable Power could demand in the frontier defined by the Protocol of Berlin. But Greece has obtained nothing, and that question which still dis-

which they have spent. In Afghanistan they had created a war which had destroyed a nation, the strength and independence of which they declared, in common with their predecessors, to be important for the safety of the frontier of India. The flower of the Indian army and the resources of India are still employed in guarding the ruins which they have made, and in repressing the anarchy which they have let loose. The policy of the Government has involved India not only in great present expense,

but in future permanent charges which are yet undefined, but which must be immense, and that at a time when it is only found possible to balance the finances of India by a reduction of those public works which are necessary for the well-being of the people, and the development of the resources of the Empire."

We must make one extract more :—"The great influence of England in the councils of Europe is an object which the Liberal party has pursued with at least as much sincerity, and certainly with more success, than has attended the policy of the present administration. The creation of the independence of Belgium was the work of a Liberal Administration, and the successful measures taken by the Government of Mr. Gladstone to protect Belgium when menaced, may be well contrasted with the result of the Turkish policy of Lord Beaconsfield. But the influence of England is not based on a basis of ascendancy over Europe, irrespective of the objects for which that ascendancy is to be employed. It rests on the firmness and moderation of our conduct, based upon the moral and material strength of our position, exercised in concert with other nations on behalf of peace, justice, and freedom. I have shown that the Government by claiming to have exerted a paramount influence have failed to bring about a permanent settlement of any of the questions in which they have interfered. And now, when they are asking the country to re-establish the influence of England, which, as they have said, has been arrested, they fail to indicate in the slightest degree the objects to which in the future their influence is to be directed." On the question of Home Policy his lordship's statement was equally distinct and satisfactory. In one part he said :—"It is acknowledged that the system of popular representation in Parliament is still incomplete; that the principles of local self-government have been as yet imperfectly applied in our counties and rural districts, and the artificial and obsolete restrictions of law still hinder the natural distribution

of land in a manner which would be most advantageous to the State." Such was the popular programme of the leader of the Liberal opposition. Is it to be wondered at that it was preferred to the achievements of Sir Stafford Northcote as Chancellor of the Exchequer, or to the far-famed letter of my Lord Beaconsfield? The former said of his Government: "It has laboured to avert war, and where that has not been possible it has successfully striven to limit its range, and to prevent complications which would have been menacing alike to the particular interests of this country, and to the general peace of Europe. It has emphatically proclaimed the national determination to maintain, strengthen, and defend our great colonial and Indian empire. It has earnestly promoted measures for the advancement of the true interests of Ireland, while it has steadily resisted proposals, however plausible, tending to weaken or even to dissolve the ties which bind together the great members of the United Kingdom. In its domestic legislation it has kept in view the importance of aiming at the general good of the community, and of doing strict justice between apparently conflicting interests, without sacrificing the welfare of one class to the claims and prejudices of the others. At the same time it has been on its guard against the danger of attempting to remodel our ancient institutions in accordance with theoretical ideas unsuited to the national character. Guided by these principles, it has been able to effect substantial improvements in many of the laws directly or indirectly affecting the great industrial classes, both in their relations one to the other and in the amelioration of their social, moral, and educational condition." Sir Stafford Northcote thus defended his commercial policy: "After a period of almost unexampled commercial depression, and of grave agricultural losses, during which we have had to incur the expense of defending our interests in three different quarters of the globe, the taxation of the country is lighter than in almost any year previous

to the accession of the present Government to office, while the real amount of the National Debt stands now at £18,000,000 below the sum at which we found it. The Crimean war added upwards of £40,000,000 to the National Debt, and left the taxpayer subject to an income tax of one shilling and fourpence in the pound, besides heavy imports on the necessaries of life. The war into which, but for a decided policy, we should probably have been drawn, would have been more burdensome, both to the tax-payer of our day and to posterity. I trust, gentlemen, that the period of our anxiety is now drawing to a close, and that it will be in the power of the next Parliament to carry on the work of social and domestic improvement with undivided energies. Should the coming elections result in a renewal of the nation's confidence in the present Ministry, it will be our earnest endeavour to show ourselves worthy of that confidence by pursuing the same lines of policy as those which I have briefly indicated, which have been maintained by us in the sight of this empire and the world, and on which the electors of the United Kingdom are now called to pronounce."

On March 19th, Mr. Gladstone issued his address. It was as follows:—"In the electioneering address which the Prime Minister has issued, an attempt is made to work upon your fears by dark allusions to the repeal of the Union, and the abandonment of the Colonies.

"Gentlemen,—Those who endangered the Union with Ireland were the party that maintained there an alien church, an unjust land law, and franchises inferior to our own; and the true supporters of the Union are those who firmly uphold the supreme authority of Parliament, but exercise that authority to bind the three nations by the indissoluble tie of liberal and equal laws. As to the Colonies, Liberal administrations set free their trade with all the world, gave them popular and responsible government, and organised the great scheme for uniting the several settlements of British

North America into one Dominion, to which, when we quitted office in 1866, it only remained for our successors to ask the ready assent of Parliament. It is by these measures that the Colonies have been bound in affection to the Empire, and the author of them can afford to smile at baseless insinuations.

"Gentlemen,—The true purpose of these terrifying insinuations is to hide from the view the acts of the Ministry and their effects upon the character and condition of the country. At home the Ministers have, neglected legislation, aggravated the public distress by continual shocks to confidence, which is the life of enterprise, augmented the public expenditure and taxation for purposes not merely unnecessary but mischievous, and plunged the finances which were handed over to them in a state of singular prosperity into a series of deficits unexampled in modern times. Of these deficits it is now proposed to meet only a portion, and to meet it partly by a new tax on personal property—partly by the sacrifice of the whole sinking fund to which five years ago we were taught to look for the systematic reduction with increased energy and certainty of the National Debt. Abroad they have strained, if they have not endangered, the prerogative by gross misuse—have weakened the Empire by needless wars—unprofitable extensions and immense engagements, and have dishonoured it in the eyes of the world by filching the Island of Cyprus from the Porte, under a treaty clandestinely concluded in violation of the Treaty of Paris, which formed part of the international law of Christendom.

"If we turn from considerations of principle to material results, they have aggrandised Russia, lured Turkey into dismemberment, if not her ruin, replaced the Christian population of Macedonia under a debasing yoke, and loaded India with the costs and dangers of a prolonged and unjustifiable war, while they have at the same time augmented her taxation and curtailed her liberties. At this moment we are told

of other secret negotiations with Persia, curtailing further liberties without further strength, and from day to day under a Ministry called as if in mockery Conservative, the nation is perplexed with fear of change.

"As to the domestic legislation of the future, it is in the election address of the Prime Minister a perfect blank. No prospect is opened to us of effectual alteration in the land laws, of better security for occupiers, of the reform and extension of local government throughout the three kingdoms, of a more equitable distribution of local franchise, or of progressive questions deeply affecting our social and moral condition. It seems, then, that as in the past so in the future you will look with confidence to the Liberal party for the work of domestic improvement, although the inheritance which the present administration will leave to its successor threatens to be one of difficulty and embarrassment without peril. It is true that you are promised the advantage of presence, not to say ascendancy, in the councils of Europe. The word ascendancy, gentlemen, is best known to us by its baneful connection with the history of Ireland. I must assert the co-equal rights of independent and allied powers. But in the mouth of the present Ministry the claim is little less than ridiculous; you may judge of our present ascendancy in Europe by our ascendancy in the councils of Turkey, where we recently demanded the dismissal of a minister who has not only been retained in office, but selected for special honours.

"There is indeed an ascendancy in European councils to which Great Britain might reasonably aspire, by steadily sustaining the character of a power no less just than strong, attached to liberty and law, jealous of peace, and therefore opposed to intrigue and aggrandisement from whatever quarter they may come, jealous of honour, and therefore averse to the clandestine engagements which have marked our two latest years. To attain a moral and unenvied

ascendancy such as this is indeed a noble object for any minister of any empire."

One more address may be given. Mr. Shaw, the leader of the Home Rule Parliamentary party, issued an address to the electors of the county of Cork, in which occur the following passages:—"I charge the Government with gross and culpable ignorance and neglect. . . . The Prime Minister, not for the first time, misrepresents the general opinion of the people of Ireland, as expressed by a majority of her representatives, in favour of self-government on domestic affairs, as if it meant the dismemberment of the Empire. No one knows better than the Prime Minister that this is not a true statement of the case. We mean by Home Rule, not that the connection between the two countries should be destroyed, but that the relationship may be placed on a healthy and natural and honest basis, and we seek this object by strictly legal and constitutional means. The Prime Minister knows this, but he thinks it a good cry for the English electors, and he sends his party forth to the constitutional struggle with a lie in their right hand.

"There is another Irish question on which the Government have been more reactionary than others. I mean the Land question. I call on the Irish people north and south to answer the insulting menace of the Prime Minister, by returning an overwhelming majority at the next election, pledged to the settlement of this great vital national question; pledged to give ample facilities for the creation of a peasant proprietary wherever possible; to restore, define, and legalise tenant rights in Ulster, and extend it to the whole of Ireland. The country wants a Government that will preserve the integrity of the empire, not by attempted repression and reaction, but by dispensing strict and impartial justice to all classes and to all parts of the Empire, which will be strong at home in the confidence of a prosperous, enlightened, and moral people; strong abroad, by a firm and resolute protection

of other recent negotiations with Persia curtailing further liberties without further strength, and from day to day under a Ministry called in mockery Conservative the nation is perplexed with fear of the future.

As to the domestic legislation of the future, it is in the election address of the Prime Minister a perfect blank. No prospect is opened to us of effectual alteration in the land laws, of better security for occupiers, of the reform and extension of local government throughout the three kingdoms, of a more equitable distribution of local franchise, or of progressive questions deeply affecting our social and moral condition. It seems, then, that as in the past so in the future you will look with confidence to the Liberal party for the work of domestic improvement, although the inheritance which the present administration will leave to its successor threatens to be one of difficulty and embarrassment without peril. It is true that you are promised the advantage of presence, not to say ascendancy, in the councils of Europe. The word ascendancy, gentlemen, is best known to us by its baneful connection with the history of Ireland. I must assert the co-equal rights of independent and allied powers. But in the mouth of the present Ministry the claim is little less than ridiculous; you may judge of our present ascendancy in Europe by our ascendancy in the councils of Turkey, where we recently demanded the dismissal of a minister who has not only been retained in office, but selected for special honours.

"There is indeed an ascendancy in European councils to which Great Britain might reasonably aspire, by steadily sustaining the character of a power no less just than strong, attached to liberty and law, jealous of peace, and therefore opposed to intrigue and aggrandisement from whatever quarter they may come, jealous of honour, and therefore averse to the clandestine engagements which have marked our two latest wars. To attain a moral and unenvied

ascendancy such as this is indeed a noble object for any minister of any empire."

One more address may be given. Mr. Shaw, the leader of the Home Rule Parliamentary party, issued an address to the electors of the county of Cork, in which occur the following passages:—"I charge the Government with gross and culpable ignorance and neglect. . . . The Prime Minister not for the first time, misrepresents the general opinion of the people of Ireland, as expressed by a majority of her representatives, in favour of self-government on domestic affairs, as if it meant the dismemberment of the Empire. No one knows better than the Prime Minister that this is not a true statement of the case. We mean by Home Rule, not that the connection between the two countries should be destroyed, but that the relationship may be placed on a healthy and natural and honest basis, and we seek this object by strictly legal and constitutional means. The Prime Minister knows this, but he thinks it a good cry for the English electors, and he sends his party forth to the constitutional struggle with a lie in their right hand.

"There is another Irish question on which the Government have been more reactionary than others. I mean the Land question. I call on the Irish people north and south to answer the insulting menace of the Prime Minister, by returning an overwhelming majority at the next election, pledged to the settlement of this great vital national question; pledged to give ample facilities for the creation of a peasant proprietary wherever possible; to restore, define, and legalise tenant rights in Ulster, and extend it to the whole of Ireland. The country wants a Government that will preserve the integrity of the empire, not by attempted repression and reaction, but by dispensing strict and impartial justice to all classes and to all parts of the Empire, which will be strong at home in the confidence of a prosperous, enlightened, and moral people; strong abroad, by a firm and resolute protection

the creation of a new party, and the old party has been left in the lurch. The franchise the Tories have lost. Their vocation as Tories is gone. Nothing remains for them but the attempt which they are now making to gain for themselves a new position by stimulating the vanity of the people whom it is their duty to keep, as far as depends upon them,



question," he said, "then resolves itself this:—The Tory, or, if they like it better, the Conservative party, have fairly worn out their old principles. There is hardly a shred of them left. Almost all the exclusions and invidious qualities in which their souls delighted are gone. The proscriptions of Nonconformists, Catholics, and Jews, rotten burghs, close corporations,

in the path of moderation and soberness, and diverting the minds of the nation from the honourable and useful arts of peace and industry to incessant interference and rivalry with the other powers of Europe from which nothing can be gained, and by which almost everything may be lost."

In this election the country had the advantage of some days' longer notice than in

Lord Hartington in North-east Lancashire last night, is a conclusive proof that there is no such change in the balance of political power impending as has sometimes followed an appeal to the constituencies. The Opposition may be left still in a minority, though it is tolerably clear that the strength of the Ministry will in any case be reduced."

On the 27th of March, the *Scotsman*, the most vigorous supporter of the Liberal party in the North, thus wrote:—"Even the most sanguine supporters of the Ministry have now ceased to expect that Lord Beaconsfield will possess in the new Parliament a following nearly so strong as that which obediently did his bidding in the old one, and those members and supporters of the party in power, who possess the best means of judging the probabilities as to the result of the elections, are nervously themselves for the possibility of defeat."

The Central News correspondents seem, however, to have been nearer the truth than any other class of men, as they set down the Liberal majority at eighty; an estimate which was, however, considered very sanguine at the time.

The publication of the following letter, on March 30th, from the Baroness Burdett-Coutts to Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., Chairman to Mr. Herbert Gladstone's Committee, showed that on the very eve of the election the Baroness, who moved in the best circles for obtaining information, had no idea of the impending change. She wrote her ladyship, "I have received a circular, signed by yourself as Chairman, asking me to contribute towards the expenses of Mr. Herbert Gladstone's candidature for Middlesex. I am doubtful whether, in my position, such a step would at any time have commended itself to me, but I do not feel disposed to join in this movement, because it seems to me that, under the present circumstances of the world, the country needs above all a strong Government, and that since the dissolution of Parliament in 1874, by Mr. Gladstone, the Liberal Opposition has been too disor-

ganized to enable such a Government to be counted on."

Great was the excitement of the Lord clubs on the evening of the first day's polling, Wednesday, March 31st. The first telegram coming from the poll was from Horsham, where the result was a different character, and the means so satisfactory. John Hay, at Horsham, was a Liberal success.

The first day's contest was the subject of the *Standard*. Although the result was not altogether suggestive of the possible verdict of the borough constituency of England, it cannot be denied that it is invested with some degree of interest and significance. The issue of the first day's polling on the whole, so what does it tell us to the Government? Of the sixty seats which were decided yesterday the Conservatives have lost more than they have gained. In the face of material defeats, we have no wish to talk about tactical victories. All we need say is, that nothing could be easier than to exaggerate the meaning and the value of the Liberal gains."

The *Times* said—"It will not be surprising if the spirits of the Opposition are raised by the results of 'yesterday's' polling in some fifty borough constituencies in England. The Conservatives must admit very grave discouragement. The fortune of war has shown very strange vicissitudes which we do not venture to explain upon any general principle, but the balance of gain and loss is on the whole, decidedly in favour of the Liberals."

The *Daily Telegraph* reluctantly writes—"Taken altogether, the returns, considerably influenced by Mr. Parnell's admirers, are slightly adverse to the Conservatives but not yet sufficiently so to give a clue to the final decision of the United Kingdom."

Equally unwillingly the *Morning Advertiser*, the organ of the Licensed Victuallers,



CAULSWELL, THE SEAT OF LORD ROSEBERY.

admitted that the first day was a disastrous one for the Ministerialists, and "that not only great effort, but considerable luck, will be needed to reverse yesterday's decision. Probably in the majority of the boroughs contested the verdict of the constituencies was not unexpected. At the last election many Conservatives were returned by very slight majorities, and many others owed their victory to divisions among their opponents. But allowing for all these calculations, it is not to be denied that the Liberals have gained largely in quarters where their success was not expected, and that the successes of the Ministerialists have neither in numbers nor in importance in any degree compensated for their defeats. Keen was the contest everywhere. But of all the elections, as was to be supposed, none excited so much attention as that in Midlothian, where Mr. Gladstone laid siege to the important constituency of Midlothian, and won it from the grasp of the bold Buccleuch." To that campaign, undoubtedly, was due mainly the Liberal triumph. It is to be questioned whether such an event could have occurred had it not have been for Mr. Gladstone's far-famed Midlothian contest.

In 1879, the Midlothian campaign was determined on. At that time Mr. Gladstone felt a strong personal impulse to represent the constituency, and was much encouraged by the promise of support he received all round. It is worthy of remark, as showing how accurate was the Liberal calculation, that an estimate was given of the

balance of power in Midlothian in August, 1879, and then announced in one of the chief papers in Parliament that Mr. Gladstone might depend upon a majority of 10,000 on a matter of fact he was elected by a majority of 211.

In November, 1879, Mr. Gladstone paid a preliminary visit to Midlothian, and spoke with an energy, and was received with an enthusiasm, that astonished every one. One of the places he visited in the course of his canvass was Dalkeith, a little old-world town, which gives the title to the heir of the Duke of Buccleuch, and which, before railways came to interfere with the elder arrangements of the world, was the market, and it remains the centre of a great corn-growing district. It was on that day when Mr. Gladstone paid the place a visit, and delivered a telling speech in the corn market, which stands on ground belonging to the Duke. The gathering was the more remarkable and significant because Dalkeith is, perhaps, the very centre of such feudal proprietorship as the light of modern political life permits to exist. Up to the last four or five years its local affairs were administered by a body whose constitution would have shocked even the experienced mind of Sir Charles Duke. They were called trustees, and were originally twelve in number, with power to add to their number by co-optation in case of death, for it was only death who could dismiss a Dalkeith trustee. Whether owing to a desire to maintain the power in a few hands, or to a conscientious difficulty in finding men among their fellow-citizens worthy of the honour of election, the number was allowed to fall to half-a-dozen. After much manifestation of incipient revolt, Dalkeith astonished the Conscript Fathers by turning them out of office, and the town was incorporated under the Public Health Act. This was a great blow to the influence of the Duke of Buccleuch, and it seemed that the event had not a little decreased his power; but property has its faggot votes as its self-elected trustees, and to the latter the Duke clings with unbroken

consistency. The *Daily Mail* correspondent wrote that he had seen the Duke's property in one part of the town which brought in a rental of £100 for ten houses. By payment of £100 of £105 a year, the Duke could buy ten voters on the constituency each to vote for Mr. Gladstone's opponent, the Duke's son.

"Mr. Gladstone, who was accompanied by Mrs. and Miss Gladstone, arrived at a railway station from Dalmeny shortly after half-past three, and passed down to the Corn Exchange through an enthusiastic crowd, who had flocking from all parts of the district. The appearance of the right hon. gentleman was the signal for the usual outburst of enthusiasm. There was not a foot of standing-room in the long barn-like hall, to which the galleries, heaped up on the right and left at the further end of the hall, added a crowded appearance as if the hall were literally standing on each other's shoulders. There is no difficulty in finding Mr. Gladstone even in distant Dalkeith. His likeness is stuck all over the corn market as autumn leaves. When his figure showed itself in the throng on the platform, the whole audience, numbering some 3,000, uprose and welcomed him with loud cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. The chair was taken by the Provost of Dalkeith, who introduced the candidate in a brief speech. When the renewed applause had subsided Mr. Gladstone commenced by lightly recapitulating the topics dealt with on the previous day at Edinburgh. Touching again on the personal question of his precise position in the Liberal ranks the right hon. gentleman spoke formally, and somewhat elaborately, disclaimed any intention of assuming the position of a leader of the party being anxious to take his place in the ranks and do what he might to direct his fellow-countrymen to a proper appreciation of the issues involved in the forthcoming election. As on the previous day he sought his hearers not to consider his allegations but to consider his proofs and

his arguments. It might have been thought that he exhausted on the previous night, on many former occasions, all the possible to be said about the foreign policy of the Government, but this evening he brought to bear on the argument new illustrations—the one peculiarly appropriate to the place and the audience, and the other calculated to have a wider range. Speaking of the Empire achieved as the result of the restless policy of the Government, he asked the agriculturists before him what they would think of a man who, having a farm of 200 acres, added to it another farm of 200 acres without increasing his farming stock. This, he argued, was what the Government had done, inasmuch as they had added enormously to the responsibilities of Great Britain, while the resources of the Empire were so wholly dependent to fulfil the possibilities, remained practically the same, and to a certain extent not capable of further extension. That did not touch the moral aspect of the case, but he thought it dealt very fairly with the commercial. Whilst thanking God that England was still strong enough to meet her engagements all over the world, he called to mind how Gulliver, landing in Lilliput, was humpered by the puny inhabitants, finding him asleep on the shore. The Lilliputians tied him down with their strongest cables, fastening him to the earth with the most powerful rivets. The cable was not stouter than pack-thread, nor the rivets thicker than the smallest pins, yet when Gulliver awoke it was with the greatest difficulty he released one arm, and he then hit it prudent not to attempt to move the rest of his imprisoned limbs. Thus England was being tied down and bound by all sort of covenants and engagements at once ridiculous and dangerous—no single one of enormous magnitude, but the whole forming a combination that might some day be found exceedingly inconvenient.

Turning from general criticism to particular subjects, Mr. Gladstone raised the

enthusiasm of his audience to a high pitch by the frank statement of opinion that Scotland was not represented in the Imperial Parliament to the full measure which justice demanded. The right hon. gentleman had hitherto been singularly free from interruption of a hostile character, such as frequently marks the intercourse of a candidate with a constituency. At this point, however, a gruff voice, coming from the door at the end of the gallery, interposed the question, "Whose fault is that?" "I'll tell you by-and-by," Mr. Gladstone quietly answered, and proceeded to show how, if population was taken as the basis of calculation, Scotland ought to have seventy members instead of sixty, whilst if regard were paid to Scotland's share contributed to the revenue she should have seventy-eight members. Answering now the question whose fault this was, he said it was clearly the fault of the Conservative Government, who in their Reform Bills of 1867 and 1868 had omitted to do justice to Scotland. To the gentleman at the door, who was probably one of the deposed Conscript Fathers, this explanation did not appear satisfactory, and he showed a disposition to argue the matter. Mr. Gladstone was nothing loth, but in view of the general convenience of the meeting those in the immediate vicinity of the door promptly decided to put the Conscript Father out, which they did forthwith, and at intervals during the continuance of the speech he was heard forlornly knocking for admittance.

On another and even more familiar Scotch topic, hypothec, Mr. Gladstone declared himself very plainly. He was for its abolition, and in some detail he instructed the farmers present in the devices by which a Tory Government, whilst giving full liberty to their Scotch supporters to vote for Mr. Vans Agnew's Bill, succeeded in preventing legislation on the subject. With respect to the liquor laws, on which a small but influential body of electors hold strong and earnest views, he expressed a general approval of the principle of "local

option." Nor did he fight shy of the question of the Established Church—a line which in Scotland sharply divides people not always with mathematical precision of party. This was not, he said significantly, a question for his determination, but for the determination of the people of Scotland. It was neither part of his duty to press it forward nor to press it backward, but he expressed the hope that the question, whenever it was decided, might have a fair trial, in the sense that, as in the case of the Irish Church, it should be dealt with only by a Parliament specially and deliberately commissioned by the country to take it in hand. On the land question he emphatically declared for the repeal of the law of entail and settlement, and he threw out a hint for a reform in the settlement of leases which was very favourably received by his audience. He was

ed to carry out the scheme of county government, the preparation for which was interrupted by the result of the general election of 1874. This brought him to the subject of Home Rule, which he made a condition that it was nothing to be desired on the point of emphasis or precision. He welcomed a zealous support to any scheme that would relieve Parliament of some of its overwhelming duties by transferring to local bodies the charge of a particular class of local business, but he would limit this concession by stopping short of anything that would weaken or compromise the authority of the Imperial Parliament. The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat after speaking exactly an hour and a-half, and a vote of confidence and thanks was awarded with every demonstration of approval. On leaving the hall he proceeded, in company with Mrs. Gladstone and Miss Gladstone, to the house of the Provost, where he met a number of his committee at tea. Afterwards the party proceeded to Foresters Hall, where an album containing Scotch views was presented to the right hon. gentleman, the gift of ladies in the district. At the same time Mr. Glad-

stone was presented with a rich velvet pocketablecloth, the handiwork of the donors—a bevy of factory girls. In acknowledging these gifts Mr. Gladstone made a graceful speech, dilating at some length on the blessings of peace and on woman's special interest therein. To-night Young Edinburgh is "out" with flaming torches lit in honour of Liberalism and to the glory of Mr. Gladstone. Several hundred students are the flame-bearers, and their incessant cheers for Mr. Gladstone are everywhere echoed by the crowd that fills the street.

Touching these faggot votes, quite a controversy hotly raged at one time in the papers. It was pointed out that just outside Edinburgh—so as to secure votes for the county—the Edinburgh operatives were constructing buildings which were intended for political rather than any other purpose; the Duke of Buccleuch's family were specially indignant. The Lord Henry Scott wrote that it till the summer of 1878 when a of Liberals acquired qualification view to Mr. Gladstone's candidature.

and what they came
of the metropolis
Unfortunately
in 1878, the case
was not even
didature did bear

ed by into Liberal
y Mr Addison So
ne Perry Associat
ervative gentlemen
nd buy qualified

the main
country
constitue

Lord Henry Scott objected as the Gladstone Electoral Asylum would contain 160 resident voters, and were a spontaneous protest on the part of the working-men against that organised combination to stifle the voice of the constituency by importing hundreds of strange Tories into the country. These workmen laboured hard, day and night, in all weathers, to get the buildings finished in time; crowds surrounding them, and cheering them on in the name of Gladstone. Fortunately they succeeded.

Great was the joy when Mr. Gladstone, accompanied by Mrs. and Miss Gladstone, left Liverpool for Edinburgh to commence his election tour in Midlothian. The party travelled as far as Wigan by the London and North Western Railway, and then joined the Scotch express at Edgehill. At Edgehill a considerable number of people, and loudly cheered the great statesman, who there and at other places along the route cordially welcomed him with various demonstrations. At Wigan, where he had to remain ten minutes, Mr. Gladstone entered into conversation with a number of working-men who had collected on the platform. At Preston the narrow platform in which the train lay up was crowded to excess, and there was great cheering when Mr. Gladstone appeared at the window of the saloon carriage in which he was travelling. He said—"Gentlemen—I have only a few words to say to you. One is, to thank you for your kind and sincerely to the utmost of my power of this reception. I feel it very much. And the other is, to express my very great anxiety that none of you may suffer any inconvenience or harm from the large numbers in which you have come together. It would be a great grief to my wife and daughter if any one of you should suffer the slightest inconvenience. Railway carriages are awkward things to come into contact with. It is much better to come into contact with a political opponent. Therefore I do hope that you will disperse as quietly as pos-

sible." Long before the hour appointed for the arrival of the train at Carlisle the station was crowded in every part with an enthusiastic assembly, representing various classes of the inhabitants. When the express, thirteen minutes late, came in sight the cheering was deafening. On the right hon. gentleman alighting on the platform, a clear space of which was railed off, he was received by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Mr. James, M.P., and several leaders of the Liberal party in Carlisle and Newcastle. The party then proceeded to the County Hall, where Mr. McLaren, representing the Liberals of Midlothian, took the chair. Addresses of congratulation and approval of the policy pursued by Mr. Gladstone in and out of office were presented from Carlisle, Newcastle, and Gateshead, and also from the working-men of Langholm, the latter accompanying their address with cloth for a suit of clothes, which present, the chairman stated, represented the industry the majority of the people of that place were engaged in and which hundreds of the inhabitants had subscribed their mites to procure.

Mr. Gladstone, on rising to reply, was received with great cheering. He said:—"I am afraid, gentlemen, that the circumstances under which we meet here to-day will scarcely enable me to give every one the acknowledgment of the extraordinary kindness with which I have been received. But I will say in the first place this, that the sentiment which is evidently bursting forth from every heart among those of our political opinions in Carlisle is, in my opinion, a good omen of that which we shall find elsewhere, not I trust in Scotland only, or in Cumberland only—for if the whole country be like Scotland and Cumberland the whole matter is safe enough—but also in every other portion of the country. I accept with the greatest pleasure this gift of the working-men who have been so good as to send a deputation for the purpose of presenting it. I shall wear it with the sense that a great honour has been conferred upon me. I believe if I were to

cause it now immediately to be made up, and were to begin to wear it every day, Sundays included, the probability is that before this dress was worn out the Government under which we at present live would be worn out. When it has been said from Newcastle that the address presented to me expresses the sentiments of the Liberals of Newcastle generally, I trust and believe that the meaning of that is that it expresses the sentiments of the large majority of the inhabitants of the town. This is an occasion, gentlemen, of an extraordinary character. I have had the opportunity of reading the address from Newcastle, and likewise the address from Carlisle, though I have not yet had the opportunity of reading the other addresses, but I have observed in both of these addresses a capital point—a salient point, if I may so speak—on which those who have signed them have fixed; it is this—that the crisis is one of an extraordinary character. It is, gentlemen, a crisis of an extraordinary character which brings you together, necessarily at much inconvenience, many of you coming from a considerable distance, to greet me for a moment on my way northwards. It is, I may say, a crisis of an extraordinary character, and no other than that would have induced me at my time of life, when every sentiment would dictate a desire for rest, to undertake what may be called an arduous contest."

At Hawick, where there was another stoppage, Mr. Gladstone said:—"The welcome which has been asked for my behalf has, I presume to say, already been given, for it is impossible to mistake the feelings of which indications have appeared at every foot of our passage through the town of Hawick. I am deeply affected, gentlemen, by your kindness. I must not forget that the public arrangements of the railway traffic forbid me to expatiate upon that subject. One word I will say that is particularly pleasing to me to find myself in a district which was formerly well known to my remote ancestors, and to which I can assure you I still retain a fond attachment. Gentlemen, the object of my visit

to Scotland does not permit of explanation here, but you well know what it is; and I have to thank you for having already expressed, as I have learned from the courtesy of your chairman, our feelings on the occasion in the form of an address. This, however, I will say, gentlemen we are comrades in a common undertaking; we are fellow-labourers in a common warfare; we have a very serious labour to perform. The people of this country, and you among them in your place, have to consider what is the system upon which such a country ought to be governed. It is a subject on which I for one have a strong opinion which is known to you; and in the endeavour to bring about a great and a fundamental change in those dangerous novelties which have of late been introduced into the policy of this country, which have disturbed the world at large, and certainly aggravated the distress of the nation at home, I believe that in our efforts to do away with that system and to return to the sound liberal and the just principles that have distinguished in our time British administration we have in our charge a cause which is the cause of peace, which is the cause of justice, which is the cause of liberty, which is the cause of honour, and which, in the hands of the people of this country, by the blessing of God, will not fail."

There was a halt for twenty minutes at Galashiels railway station, about 10 miles distant from Edinburgh, where inhabitants turned out in great numbers, some in the band of the local volunteers. "See the Conquering Hero come" some addresses had been handed to the right hon. gentleman, he was wearing the part of the working people's dress—a plaid, and a piece of specially made for him, and a brooch for Mrs G.

Mr. Gladstone, in reply, said he was afraid I can hardly remember in this vast assembly which may pass upon this occasion of any particular interest

[illegible]

What I believe nor what we expect, any more than it is what we desire. What I have to insist upon before you and before the country is this—that it is not a question of this or that particular measure, but that we have most of us, of Liberal feeling, a great interest in many particular measures. There are a great many things we wish to be done, but which are not likely to be done under the present Government. Some of us are anxious for one, some for another, some for all, but it is a great deal more than that—it is the system and the method of government with which we have to deal. Look at the state of the world, look at the disturbed and troubled condition of Europe, of Asia—in India and Afghanistan and of Africa in the remote north. Look at the engagements into which we are involved here, and there and everywhere. Look at the condition of the finances at home. But you may depend upon it this is only the fruit and not the consumption of those strange and most unwelcome proceedings. It is, gentlemen, a new method of government to which we are now subject. But if you, instead of being an assembly of Liberals, were an assembly of those who call themselves Conservative, I would appeal to you and say that of all the administrations that have been in power within the last half century, there never has been one which has introduced so many measures, not only new-fangled, but mischievous, for the purpose of vexing and annoying the people of this country, and compromising the interests of the Empire. I have been reminded by one of the addresses presented to me that there is also an important local question deeply interesting to you in Scotland. Gentlemen, I am coming here not only for the purpose of maintaining what we think to be a sound general policy, but for another purpose which is really not less important—the purpose of vindicating the freedom of election. It is idle to talk of freedom of election if the votes of gentlemen who have nothing whatever to do with particular counties and places are to be

brought in by legal chicanery for the purpose of setting aside the verdict that would be given by independent electors. You know what a faggot vote is. In this borough you have had sorry experience of it. In Midlothian a bold and daring attempt has been made to carry the representation of the county by means of the faggot votes of gentlemen who have no moral right, or little more than I have, to appear upon the electoral list of the county. I have come to assert in opposition to these—what shall I call them?—phantom voters—to assert in contradiction and protestation against a system of this kind, that according to the law and the constitution of this country the right and honour of returning members are to be given to those who have a genuine and legitimate interest in the inhabitants, and as possessors of property in each circumscription of the country—that those who introduce these sham voters—I do not want to use hard words, and harder words might be used—for the purpose of overbearing and overpowering the real voters cannot call themselves friends of the constitution. They are not friends of the constitution. They are defying the constitution. They are trampling the constitution under foot, for they are endeavouring to nullify those passages which are the most fundamental and the most sacred part of our constitution. That is the cause, gentlemen, for which I have come, and I assure you I shall go forward stimulated by the extraordinary manifestation with which you have to-day greeted me."

From an early hour in the afternoon a large number of persons had gathered in the Waverley station at Edinburgh, admission to which was only gained by ticket-holders. The train was due at 4.40, but it was not till three-quarters of an hour later that the long-expected line of carriages slowly steamed into the station. The instant Mr. Gladstone was recognised there was a great outburst of cheers, to which the right hon. gentleman repeatedly bowed his acknowledgments. Among others waiting on the platform were the Earl of

striking the
ing them. men
graceful and generous con-
opponent and his opponent
Duke of Buccleuch. He
fact that he and the noble
one time sat together in the
Sir Robert Peel: that was
ago, and the Duke and he b

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF W. E. GLADSTONE.

erent ways; but he affirmed he was not his former position than the duke, and drew forth a loud cheer by the action, emphatically made, that if Sir Robert Peel were alive to-day he would be fighting on the side of the Liberals in their opposition to the foreign policy of Government. In the course of his

tangled by a question which in its first aspect was local, but which in its ulterior aspect is of the deepest importance, embracing in its scope the whole Empire, and descending to the very roots of our institutions. I thought that on the one hand, at least, my noble friend and myself were agreed; that is to say, that we were agreed in making a com-



EDINBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE GRASS-MARKET.

speech Mr. Gladstone thus spoke of forgotten notes:—

"I thought, when the invitation of the electors of Midlothian was sent to me, that the matter in controversy was one of sufficient breadth and complication, and I then was not aware that it would become all more enhanced and still more en-

mon appeal to the true, essential, legitimate electors of the constituency. I am grieved to find that that is not to be the case; that, mistrusting the body to whom the constitution and the laws have given the power of choice between candidates for Midlothian, an attempt has been made to import into the county a body of strangers having

no natural interest in the county, gifted with colourable qualifications, invented by chicanery of law—and that it is on this body that reliance is placed, in order, perchance, to realise some faint hope of overbearing the true majority of the constituents. I won't dilate upon that subject. I won't expatiate upon it; but this I must say that if anything was wanted to make me feel it more than ever a duty to endeavour to fight the battle with energy and determination, this most unfortunate act is the very thing destined for that purpose. Why, gentlemen, apart from every question of principle, nothing is a venture to be so grossly imprudent as that which is familiarly known in homely but accurate phrase as the 'manufacture of fake votes.' Those who manufacture votes provoke investigation on the part of the law, and of those provisions of law which at the present moment are framed with such extraordinary severity towards the possessors of property. Is it not enough that a man who has not enough property in six or ten counties can give a vote in respect to that county in conformity with the rules of the constitution in every one of those counties? Is it not enough that he who, after all, has only the interests of a citizen in the well-being of the country, shall be permitted by the free assent of all parties to multiply his own individual existence, and to contribute to the issue of six or ten electioneering contests in aid of one? Is not this enough? Is not this sufficiently liberal to the rich man as compared to the poor man, who hardly ever, though he may be a voter, can by any possibility have more than a single vote? Why cannot the Duke of Buccleuch and his friends be satisfied with this state of the law? Is it not a fact that in this country, although the law refuses to give a double vote in respect of a larger qualification, yet it is not the fact that it is the rarest thing in the world to meet a poor voter who has more than one vote, whereas it is the rarest thing in the world to meet a gentleman voter, as he is called, who has

not got more than one vote? Why are they not content with this state of things? Why do they determine on adding to that lawful multiplication of power which, I must say, is based upon remarkable liberality towards the possessors of property? Why, in addition to that are they determined to aim at an unlawful multiplication of power, and to bring it upon you, the genuine voters of Midlothian those guests, those foreigners—for foreigners they are—in respect of the concerns of this county its political concerns, for the purpose of overbearing the genuine and true sense of the constituency? My anticipation is that this extraordinary manoeuvre is utterly, certainly, and miserably fail of its purpose. I have not been surprised to be assured by those among you who have interested themselves specially in the affairs of the coming election that we stand quite as well as we did, or better than we did, before the introduction of these faggot votes."

Meetings in quick succession followed each other, all equally successful and gratifying. Mr. Gladstone terminated his campaign in Midlothian after a few days, when he addressed two meetings—one in the Corn Exchange and the other in the Waverley Market. The latter was intended specially for working men, and was attended by about twenty thousand people. The enthusiasm with which Mr. Gladstone was received was in no way diminished. Indeed it was even more remarkable than it had yet been as he left the meeting in the Waverley Market, and made his way straight through crowded streets and a loudly-cheering throng of people to the Dalmeny House. At the Corn Exchange meeting Mr. Gladstone devoted his speech to a comparison of Liberal and Conservative financial policy. The hall was crowded to the top after three o'clock there was a large neighbourhood of the Dalmeny House. Rosebery was discovered and moved forward, with Mrs. Rosebery. Then came the Duke of Devonshire, leading Mrs. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone then

done, and in a few minutes the floor of the market was flooded with what Mr. Gladstone, looking upon it a few hours later called 'an ocean of humanity.' It is no light impulse or passing fancy that could have drawn together a multitude of this class, or sustained them through what, to many, must have been great physical suffering, prolonged over nearly five hours. To stand from half-past one to half-past five with the mind occupied by nothing but expectation was no slight strain on patience and strength. But to gain this position only after a severe struggle, and hold it at peril of ribs and limbs, is a serious aggravation of discomfort. After three hours' cheerful endurance, the effect of the ordeal began to tell upon some of the weaker in the crowd. Cries for water were heard from various quarters, and at brief intervals numerous figures were lifted up, and, lying prone with ghastly rigidity—strong men overcome with the heat and the crush—were passed over the heads of the crowd on to the platform. Here water and other restoratives were quickly forthcoming, and, the faintness overcome, they were led out into the open air. About seventy addresses from Liberal Associations throughout the country had been sent to Mr. Gladstone, and in acknowledgment of these he made a brief speech, glancing comprehensively at the state of affairs on the Continent, and concluding with an eloquent appeal for British support to the cause of the Christian populations in the East. While speaking, the audience preserved a remarkable silence, hushing attempts at applause, lest a word might be lost; but when Mr. Gladstone had finished the applause broke forth like a thunder-clap, and amid a scene of wildest enthusiasm the right hon. gentleman withdrew, but not into quietness or obscurity. Outside the market the people were massed in tens of thousands. The cheers which had scarcely died away within the building were taken up outside its walls, and as Mr. Gladstone passed out of Edinburgh, after a week that will wipe out years of contumely, forty thousand

people lined the streets, and cried out 'God bless him!'

Mr. Gladstone's return from Scotland was as much a triumph as his journey thither. He had been staying at Dalzell Castle, which he left for the Motherwell station of the Caledonian Railway, where he joined the express for the South. At Motherwell he was loudly cheered by a large assembly congregated in the neighbourhood of the station. At Carstairs, likewise, he had a most cordial greeting, when a local manufacturer asked the right hon. gentleman to accept for his daughter a piece of silk and wool, as a token of honour of her visit to Scotland. At Carlisle station a crowd of several hundred people were assembled, and as soon as the train stopped they besieged the carriage and greeted him with lusty cheers. Mr. Gladstone bowed repeatedly and said, "I thank you very much." But the crowd at intervals returned to cheer him, and his wife and daughter. After a few minutes one of the crowd, advancing to the carriage, said, "Give us a little encouragement for the Liberal cause." Accordingly Mr. Gladstone, presenting himself at the window, said:—"I can say, glad to say, one word, because when we passed through Carlisle before, we marched between great masses of people collected in the station whom there was no opportunity of addressing, and therefore I feel much gratified at being able now to tender my thanks, both for your gathering here to-day, and for the manifestation that was then made. There could be no mistake as to the character of that manifestation; it was an omen of what was going to happen in Scotland. I could not describe to you what I have seen, and the experience I have had in Scotland. It has really been beyond description. I believe that if Parliament were dissolved to-morrow, or at any time, as according to usage it ought to be, our opponents would scarcely show their faces in Scotland at an election. Do not suppose that they would be in bodily fear, for there is no question of bodily fear at all.

In Scotland, while I have seen many hundreds and thousands of people, I have heard as many as a hundred who have hooted me. They were allowed, as they ought to be, to hoot freely; but I must say that they took the precaution that they always hooted in the dark. You know that is the nature of the owl. They do not hoot at any rate in broad daylight, but they hoot at night and before the dawn. The Scotch people perfectly well understand that their opponents have the same liberty as themselves. When I say that they would not show their faces I mean they could hardly venture to contest a great many of the seats, and it was very well said by Lord Rosebery, who is a patriotic gentleman of very high ability and promise, that that feeling was not a Scotch feeling only but that it went from the North to the Tweed, from the Tweed to the Tyne, from the Tyne to the Eden, from the Eden to the Mersey, from the Mersey to the Trent, and from the Trent to the Thames and it will be our business to edify that proof when the time comes." An enthusiastic crowd welcomed Mr. Gladstone at Cosenhalm station. The President of the Kendal Liberal Association presented him with a Kendal travelling rug. Mrs. Gladstone was presented with a bouquet of flowers, and another was given to Miss Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone thanked the ladies, and referring to the candidature of Sir Henry Tufton for Westmoreland,

"I remember being at an inn in 1841, not nearer sixty than fifty years ago, was just after one of the defeats of the Whigs. We were at dinner, and I heard one of the waiters say, as he went round the table, 'We are defeated, but not surprised.' The next stoppage was at Preston, where an address was presented to him by the members of the Liberal Association of that town. Addresses from Blackburn and Blackpool were also presented at the same time. Mr. Gladstone, leaving the carriage and mounting a sort of platform to receive them. At the con-

clusion of Mr. Gladstone's acknowledgments, a bundle of Messrs. Hawkins and Sons' famous coloured longcloth, which had been subscribed for by a number of working-men, was presented to Mr. Gladstone. At Warrington, where there was another stoppage, an immense crowd had assembled in spite of the heavy fog. On the platform were the leaders of the local party, and an address was presented by Mr. Crossfield, head of one of the largest soap manufactories in the kingdom.

Mr. Gladstone's train was timed to arrive at Chester at half-past five o'clock in the evening; long before that hour an immense concourse of spectators had assembled in the square in front of the general station. It was intended to give the right hon. gentleman an enthusiastic welcome on his arrival, and it was further intended that a torchlight procession should accompany him some distance on his way to Hawarden. For this purpose several hundred torches had been ordered from London, but they had not arrived, and at four o'clock no lights had been obtained. Some one happily suggested tarred rope, and lengths of rope were obtained from a shipwright's yard, and cut into six foot lengths. These dipped in petroleum, made capital torches. When the station was reached, the crowd had the utmost difficulty in getting inside. There was a delay of half an hour in the arrival of the train, and the time was spent in perfecting the arrangements.

A passage was formed from the station doors to the arrival platform, at the end of which stood Mr. W. H. Gladstone, M.P., Sir Thomas Frost, President of the Chester Liberal Association, Lady Frost, and a large number of the leading citizens of Chester. As soon as Mr. Gladstone was espied ringing bells were given, and when he and Mrs. Gladstone had been presented with two pretty bouquets of flowers by Lady Frost and Mrs. F. A. Dickson, they were closed in upon and half carried to their carriage which was in waiting. When Mr. Gladstone appeared outside the station, there was a scene of indescribable enthu-

iasm. As far as the eye could reach the streets were studded with human heads, and countless upturned faces shone in the glare of hundreds of torches. The cheers were again and again renewed, and it was some time before the carriage could be started.

the Grosvenor-road; in fact, the entire city had turned out to do honour to Mr. Gladstone, and the scene as the procession passed through the quaint and narrow streets of Chester, lit up by hundreds of lambeaux, the people cheering from every



THE CHURCH, CHESTER, WITH GARDEN

Mr. Gladstone repeatedly bowed to the plaudits of his admirers. Thousands of spectators lined the streets and the rows and the cheers were loud and continuous as the procession marched through City-road, Foregate-street, Eastgate-street, and

coign of vantage, and handkerchiefs waving from every window, was one to be remembered. In Eastgate-street a courtier, elbowing his way through the crowd, and grasping Mr. Gladstone's hand, said "God bless thee, owd mon," another shouted,

"You'll be Premier again after this." A stoppage took place at the City Wall, when Mr. Gladstone addressed the enormous crowd which had gathered round his carriage, and concluded his speech by saying:—

"But what I intended to say and what I wished to say is this, that I really do think that the reception that I have had elsewhere, and in Scotland particularly, was a reception which could not be equalled; but it has been reserved for you in these circumstances to show me that you have an enthusiasm not inferior even to that of the Scottish people. I never can forget—and I must say the same for my wife, for my daughter, and my son—this extraordinary reception. (A cry, 'It is not too good for you!') It will be deeply graven in our hearts; it will be handed down in our family; it will help to the performance of duties; it will be a great encouragement to know how that performance of duty, even though it be humble and imperfect, is appreciated by you. Allow me, in conclusion, deeply to reiterate once more the strongest expression of gratitude that it is in my power to use; and let me speak a word—a wish—for the prosperity of the old city of Chester, and may she do her duty, and when the time comes upon the dissolution of Parliament for her to say—(a voice, 'Mr. Lawley')—Yes, I hope for my friend Mr. Lawley, for Chester to say whether the manner in which the country is now governed is the mode in which Chester wishes to be governed. Good-night my friends good-night."

The procession again moved forward, and escorted Mr. Gladstone to the extreme end of Saltney, three miles from the Chester general station, where Mr. Gladstone again bade the crowd good-night and heartily thanked them, and, amid more cheers, drove off to Hawarden Castle.

It was thus Mr. Gladstone laid the foundation of his ultimate success in Scotland, when, on the 15th of March, 1880, accompanied by Mrs. Gladstone and Lord and Lady Rosebery, he left London for

Edinburgh by the "Flying Scotchman," accompanied also by a powerful contingent of reporters. Besides the representatives of the London Press and of the London news agencies, the leading newspapers in Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, and Newcastle-on-Tyne sent reporters. An effort was made to discourage deputations on special subjects to the right hon. gentleman. "No physical strength of mine," he wrote, "could suffice for the double business of private discussion and public addresses of importance." In one of his addresses he promised to touch on certain special subjects, "but trusted to the good sense of the country in all these matters." The *Echo* expressed a fear that Mr. Gladstone would be overdone. "When we hear of serious designs at village illuminations and torchlight processions," it was clear, according to the paper in question, that the Scotch were going in for a very alarming course of demonstration. But to return to Mr. Gladstone. Large crowds assembled at King's Cross to see him off, and at Grantham, York, Newcastle, Berwick, and the other stopping places on the line, and to each Mr. Gladstone made brief speeches. At York he addressed a crowd of six or seven thousand persons from a window of the Station Hotel, and wished them success in their efforts to return true Liberals for the city, and to turn out the Chief Secretary for Ireland who before he became an official, had earned distinction simply by promotion of detection. On arriving at Edinburgh, Mr. Gladstone was enthusiastically cheered by a large crowd assembled at the station, but without making a speech, the right hon. gentleman at once proceeded with Lord and Lady Rosebery to Dalmeny.

Mr. Gladstone commenced his campaign in Edinburgh, where he told the electors he appeared there not altogether as a stranger, but in consequence of a warm and kind invitation, and reminded them of his Scotch blood, and of the associations of his father and grandfather with that country. Mr. Gladstone then went on to utter a bill of



GENERAL KAUFMANN

indictment against Ministers. "They had," he said, "misused the resources of England to show the international law of Europe tarnished and defaced the good name of England, and needlessly aggravated its unhappy condition by useless and mischievous measures. If," he continued, "these allegations were true, a heavy responsibility devolved upon the constituencies in the event of their continuing the Government in power. For the first time in a general election the leaders who were in power, and especially the very eminent and distinguished man who was the heart and soul, and life and centre of the Government, were attempting to have this great cause tried, not upon the merits of the Government, but upon the merits of the Opposition. It was said that if the Liberals came into power they would at once make an end of all the engagements into which the present Government have entered, and relieve the country of the consequences at no other expense than its honour and good faith. A more baseless fiction was never conceived of man, never was embodied in words by his tongue, or by his faculty of speech. However they might deplore the misdeeds and dangers of the course pursued by Government, the country must abide by the consequences. Prudence, care, and diligence must do much in course of time, but whatever fate requires must be accepted. In Scotland they have something of the spirit of mountain clans and we had chosen to cast ourselves into conflict with that spirit in Afghanistan. We did it once, and we suffered heavily; for we sowed the seeds of a long hatred, and we have done it again. Lord Derby, on succeeding to office, said there was no State whatever with which our relations were not most cordial." Mr. Gladstone proceeded to show how his Government had dealt with Belgium when its independence was threatened in 1870, and contrasted it with the method in which the present Ministry had dealt with the independence and integrity of Turkey. As soon as Prince

of a document by which two of the great powers of Europe designed to destroy the freedom and independence of Belgium, the late Government, on the part of the British nation, enlisted themselves as advocates and champions of that integrity and independence. If they had gone to war they should have gone to war for freedom, for right, and to save human happiness from being invaded by tyrannous and lawless power. In one respect they were greatly inferior to the present Government. Their figures were perfectly contemptible. They knew perfectly well what was required was an indication, and consequently they asked Parliament for two millions only. Prince Bismarck at once, by telegraph, entered into the views of England, and although the evil genius, which at that time dominated the councils of France, led to a delay, after a few hours' hesitation the same course was pursued by France. In Turkey, when a similar contingency arose, the Conservative Government were of opinion that they were bound conditionally to maintain the independence and integrity of Turkey. It would have been perfectly intelligible to have said to Russia, "You shall not invade Turkey. Cross not the Danube. If you cross the Danube expect to confront the power of England on the southern shores." The Bulgarian agitation was too inconvenient to allow the Government to pursue that course which Lord Beaconsfield now told them it would have been right to take, and if they had taken it the sentiment of the country would not have permitted them to continue to hold office. Hence came that vacillation and that ineptitude of policy which they now endeavoured to cover by hectoring and boasting, and which, within the last year or two, they had striven, and not quite unsuccessfully, to hide from the eyes of many by carrying measures of violence into other hands. They were not satisfied with asking for two millions, they asked for six. What did they do? First of all they encouraged Turkey to go to war, and were the chief causes of her plunging into that deplorable and ruinous war from

influences of which Turkey had not recovered, and there was not the appearance of hope that she ever recover. What they did with the millions was to flourish it in the world. They broke the law of Europe by sending a fleet to the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and the consequence was that the Russian army, which had been at a considerable distance from Constantinople, marched close up to that city.

The idea that the presence of certain British ironclads in the sea of Marmora prevented the victorious Russian army from entering Constantinople was absurd. What could these ironclads do? They could have battered down Constantinople if they so liked, but what consolation would that have been to Turkey? The end was the substitution of the Treaty of Berlin for the Treaty of San Stefano, and every Turkish authority had marched out of Bulgaria. What the vote of six millions had achieved was to hand back Bessarabia—that had been a country with free institutions—to despotism, and to place a million and a-half of people inhabiting Macedonia, to whom free institutions had been promised by the treaty of San Stefano, under Turkish rule. We had conceded to take from the Sultan the island of Cyprus as our miserable, paltry share of the spoil and so far as Turkey in Europe was concerned, she had obtained neither integrity nor independence. The Sultan had lost ten millions of subjects altogether, and ten millions more were in some kind of dependence. Albania was possessed by a league. Macedonia was traversed by brigands. The treasury of Turkey was perfectly empty, disturbances spread through Turkey in Asia, and the condition of that Government, which they were told that peace with honour had secured, was more miserable than at any previous period of its history." Thus did Mr. Gladstone fight his battle and win his laurels among the hard-headed men of the North. Well might the *Scotsman*, in an article *apropos* of Mr. Gladstone's depart-

ure from Scotland, say that political history contained nothing greater or more important than the progress of that statesman since he came to Edinburgh. "It has been," it added, "a continuous triumph, and its echoes—and more than its echoes—have been heard in England with an effect which must gratify every sincere Liberal."

Returning to this speech, let us hear what Mr. Gladstone had to say on what is known as the Manchester school:—"Now, gentlemen, there is an allegation abroad that what is called the Manchester school is to rule the destinies of this country if the Liberals come into power. I will endeavour to tell you a portion of the truth upon that subject. What is called the Manchester school has never ruled the foreign policy of this country. It is never true of a Conservative Government, and never especially true of a Liberal Government. Don't let me be supposed to speak of what is called the Manchester school, or sometimes the Peace party, as if I were about to cast disrespect upon them. Gentlemen, I respect them even in what I think to be their grave and serious error. I think it is, I will venture to say, like many errors in our mixed constitution, not only a respectable, but it is even a noble error. Abhorring all selfishness of policy, friendly to freedom in every country on the earth, attached to the modes of reason and detesting the ways of force, this Manchester school, this peace party, has sprung prematurely to the conclusion that wars may be considered as having closed their melancholy and miserable history, and that the affairs of the world henceforth should be conducted by methods more adapted to the dignity of man more suited both to strength and to weakness, less likely to lead man out of the ways of duty, to stimulate his evil passions, to make him guilty before God for inflicting misery on his fellow creatures. Those are the facts of the case. But, gentlemen, no government of this country could ever concede to the management and control of affairs without finding that that dream of a paradise upon earth was rudely

dispelled by the shock of experience. However we may detest war, we cannot detest it too much; there is no war except one—the war of Liberty—that does not contain in it many elements of corruption as well as misery, that are deplorable to consider; but however deplorable they may be, they are among the necessities of our condition, and there are times when justice and the welfare of mankind require a man not to shrink from the responsibility of undertaking it; and, gentlemen, if you undertake war in this way, you are also alleged to take measures which lead to wars."

Another topic on which he spoke at some length was Austrian foreign policy. The Government, he said, possessed exceptional advantages in having the steady support of the House of Lords, a thing the Liberals could never count on unless in times of great excitement. He asked his hearers if they had read in the London papers within the last few weeks an account of the energetic support they derived from the Emperor of Austria. "Did you see that the Emperor of Austria sent for the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliot, and told him that a pestilent person, a certain individual—Mr. Gladstone—was a man who did not approve of the foreign policy of Austria? and how anxious he was that—so the Emperor of Austria was pleased complacently to say, for the guidance of the British people, and of the electors of Midlothian—how anxious he was, gentlemen, that you should all of you give your votes in a way to maintain the Ministry of Lord Beaconsfield? Well, gentlemen, if you approve of the foreign policy of Austria, the foreign policy that Austria has usually pursued, I advise you to do that very thing. If you want to have an Austrian foreign policy dominant in the great councils of this country, give your votes as the Emperor of Austria recommends. What has the foreign policy of Austria been? I do not say that Austria is incurable. I hope it will yet be cured, because it has got better institutions at home, and I heartily wish it

well, if it makes honest attempts to confront its difficulties. Yet I must look to what that policy has been. Austria has ever been the unflinching foe of freedom in every country of Europe. Austria trampled Italy under foot; Austria resisted the unity of Germany; Austria did all she could to prevent the creation of Belgium. Austria never lifted a finger for the regeneration and constitution of Greece. There is not an instance—there is not a spot upon the whole map where you can lay your finger and say, 'There Austria did good'.

Mr. Gladstone subsequently addressed other meetings in all parts of the country, mostly in school-houses and Presbyterian churches, and at one place, Grovebridge, the right hon. gentleman ascended the pulpit. In the course of his various speeches he touched on the Afghan war, and remarked that boasting ourselves to be standard-bearers of freedom throughout the world, we had invaded the freedom of others. With absurd jealousy in regard to Russian schemes which were impossible or impracticable, we had made the Afghans the victims of these jealousies and of our own visionary dreams. The consequences were reacting upon ourselves in a way dishonourable to the character of our great empire. In justification of his charge against the Government that they had embarked the Crown and people in an unjust war, full of mischief, if not of positive danger to India, he pointed out that by the use of their treaty-making and war-making powers of the Crown, they had abridged the just rights of Parliament, and had presented the prerogative of the Crown under an unconstitutional aspect which tended to make it insecure. Referring to the Anglo-Turkish Convention, he characterised it as an act of folly and insanity, which placed us under responsibilities we could not fulfil, as we did not possess the means of sending vast armies to defend the Armenian frontier against Russia. What should we think if the Emperor of Russia declared war against us to please the Fenians? And that would

be a rational act compared with the proceedings to which we were pledged by the Anglo-Turkish Convention. Moreover, that Convention was one of the grossest breaches of the public law of Europe that had ever been put upon record. It took away from Turkey for every practical purpose the island of Cyprus, and it assumed a right of intervention between the Sultan and his subjects over the wide extent of Turkey in Asia. With regard to domestic legislation, Mr. Gladstone had no hesitation in saying that in Ireland it was most desirable to encourage the formation of a small proprietary, but in England or Scotland he failed to see evidence of a general or extensive desire on the part of the people to become small proprietors. He believed that in Ireland there was an opening in that way. So far as the tenant farmers in general were concerned, they had a right to expect that the land should not be laid waste by wild animals, for the sport and amusement of the landlord and his friends; and he was not sure that without the interference of the legislature, the tenant was not strong enough in his position at all times to make his agreement on equal terms with his landlord. The Workshop and Factory Acts were an interference, and a violent interference, with the freedom of contract, and why should not the same principle be applied to the land? The Tory party, who trembled at freedom of contract who had very little scruple in interfering in the name of humanity and justice when it was a question of dealing with manufacturing and trading interests, suddenly became alive to the great sanctity of the freedom of contract when they came to deal with their own tenants. He valued freedom of contract very much, but it should be a real freedom and between parties meeting on a footing of equality. The danger was that some farmers who were genuine sportsmen, would reserve game if they had the exclusive right to the ground game on their farms, and he knew of no way of preventing that except by giving a concurrent right of destruction to

landlords as to improvements by tenants, he reminded the people of Ireland that the Liberal party had legislated for the rights of the farmer in Scotland, and had succeeded in giving him a practical security for the value of his whole improvements, and they could not be the less willing to secure to the Scottish farmer the benefits of his own improvements. Mr. Gladstone next dwelt with the charge, which he denied *in toto*, that the Liberals of this country were not prepared to support the Queen, the Parliament and the Empire. There was not a shadow of evidence to be produced in support of this charge. The men who had colluded with that question, if there were men who were willing to stimulate the Home Rule movement, were not the Liberals, but the Conservatives. He also denied the charge that the Liberals were willing to sever the connection between Great Britain and her colonies. The accusation, he said, was absurd and baseless, nay, even ridiculous and preposterous. No body of men had done more to consolidate the Empire than the Liberals, and he derived consolation from the circumstance that the Government had no better charges than these to bring against their political opponents. With respect to the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, he contended that it was a matter for the decision of the Scotch people themselves, seeing that it was not an alien Church planted by foreign force like that of Ireland, but so far the people of Scotland had not expressed a clear and distinct opinion upon it. He was accused of having said that the disestablishment of the Irish Church was a question out of the range of practical politics and with having been the means of disestablishing it within a short time afterwards. It was quite true that he did make such a statement in 1865, and that he regretted it should be the occasion of an election. The Fenian crimes which occurred in England in 1867 had the effect of drawing attention to Irish questions. He had never said that these outrages were the cause of the Irish Church being disestab-

lished. They did draw attention to Ireland, and when they thought of Irish questions they saw there was a great and scandalous grievance which they determined to remove. There was nothing disgraceful to the country or to the members of the Established Church in the history of the Church of Scotland. The question of the Church of Scotland, if ever it came to be fought out, would be fought out honestly and in good temper, and upon grounds of general expediency and principle, and not under the smart of burning and galling recollections, such as those which attended the whole history of the Church of Ireland. The Church of Scotland grew out of the soil, and instead of being forced upon the people, it was forced by the people and was the efflux of the mind of the people in diametrical opposition to the deplorable case of the Church of Ireland. The Church of Scotland was loved by the people; the Church of Ireland was hated by the people, and was associated with all the memories of their degradation. The Church of Scotland had been referred to the people of Scotland, and the reference must be a real reference. The decision must not only be real, but it must be manifest and undeniable in order to bring about any changes.

Three questions, said Mr. Gladstone, in the course of his speeches, were of real necessity. They were Finance, the Land Laws, and Local Government. He would not answer for what would happen if the country returned a Parliament of the wrong kind, but if they returned a Parliament of the right kind, finance was one of the first subjects which would receive careful and close attention. He included in the land laws, the subject of hypothec; the game laws, adequate security for tenants' improvements; the transfer of land, the law with respect to entails and settlements, as all subjects to be dealt with. As to the question of local government, he maintained that had been simply played with. It required rearrangement on more grounds than one. Both in England and Scotland our local govern-

ment was not constructed upon constitutional principles, but was rather in the nature of an arbitrary system carried out by gentlemen who were nominated and not elected authoritatively. The true method of meeting all the existing difficulties was the introduction of the representative principle. Another urgent question was the cheapening of the cost of elections and simplifying the procedure connected with them. There was nothing more adverse to the due growth and exercise of popular feeling than costly elections, which were a fine upon the free exercise of the judgment of the people. He would have repealed the Income Tax in 1874, but he would not do so now. Six millions to the good were necessary to do this, but now they did not exist. There was no surplus, but a deficit to face. He was accused of trying to bribe the country in 1874 by offering to repeal the Income Tax, but such a charge was absurd; if he attempted to bribe the country it was with the money of the people themselves. He hoped before long they would have an extension of the franchise. It was most unjust to suppose that men who were capable of voting in boroughs were not allowed to do so in counties. This was a matter which he trusted would soon engage the attention of Parliament. He was accused of insulting the House of Lords by using the royal prerogative in carrying out the Army Bill. The fact was, the Bill was for the abolition of purchase and for making the army the property of the nation who supported it. After the House of Commons, in the face of the most violent opposition, had spent half the season in passing the measure, the House of Lords threw it out—that being so, the Government put an end to purchase by the use of the prerogative of the Crown. In fact, Mr. Gladstone admitted the charge, considering that, in doing so, he had made a proper use of the prerogative of the Crown. To the electors of Scotland, at any rate the explanation appeared to be satisfactory.

Another topic of Mr. Gladstone's oratory was the National Debt, of which he main-

tained that the Liberal Government in 1868 had paid off twenty millions. The Tories did not like this old-fashioned way of acting, and therefore introduced a bill to create what was called a Sinking Fund. That fund now amounted to only £174,000, and, said Mr. Gladstone, if it accumulated at that rate they would pay off the National Debt in 4,500 years. In 1874, the Liberal Government estimated a charge for the Abyssinian war of four and a-half millions. During their term of office they imposed three millions of taxes and remitted no less than £15,400,000 of taxes. The Tory Government, instead of beginning with a charge of four and a-half millions, inherited a surplus of over five and a-half millions. They remitted about five millions of taxes and they imposed £6,550,000.

Speaking at West Calder, after the result of the first days' polling in the borough elections had become known, Mr. Gladstone pointed triumphantly to the fact that the Liberals had already now thirty Conservative seats. Said he:—"In the last three days great things have been done. If there were any State in Europe which had crouched in fear of powerful neighbours with gigantic armaments, which had enjoyed and cherished liberty, but which, at the same time, feared lest that inestimable jewel should be wrenched out of its hand by overwhelming force, then he ventured to say that in that state, from the highest to the lowest, from the subject to the Sovereign, joy and satisfaction would have been diffused by the intelligence of these memorable days. He believed the nation was now aroused. They were called upon to undertake and discharge a great responsibility—a duty which would tell, as they were informed, on the peace of Europe and the destinies of England. The nation had found its interests mismanaged, its honour tarnished, its strength burdened and weakened by unjust and mischievous unauthorised and unapproved engagements, and it had resolved that this state of things should cease, and that right and justice should be done." Happily for England and Europe,

and the world, Mr. Gladstone turned out to be a true prophet.

For a special reason we refer to the meetings Mr. Gladstone held on the last day of March. The reporter writes:—"Mr. Gladstone took the opportunity yesterday afternoon, at a crowded meeting of his committee at the Scottish Liberal Club, Provost Mitchell, of Dalkeith, in the chair, to refer to the letter of Earl Grey, published yesterday, in which Earl Grey utterly condemned the present Government, which he said had dreadfully mismanaged the foreign policy of the country, but notwithstanding that he recommended them to be kept in office. This was the degree of wisdom to which an experience of nearly fourscore years had brought that distinguished nobleman. After having condemned the present Government, Lord Grey said:—'You may have a worse Government still; and in my opinion, a worse Government would be a Liberal Government coming in under present circumstances.' He (Mr. Gladstone) was going to make, without the slightest attempt at retort, an examination of the position taken up by Lord Grey. In the first place Lord Grey said:—'Mr. Gladstone is very likely not to be the head of the Government, or a member of the Government, but at the same time he would govern the Government.' If there were the slightest possibility of such a state of things as that, he would very much agree with Lord Grey in advising them not to return the Liberal party to office. In my opinion, continued Mr. Gladstone, you could not have a system more alien to the spirit of the Constitution than a system under which a certain set of men are held up to the country as the responsible Ministers, and behind these men a private individual man, an independent member of Parliament, who uses these responsible Ministers as his puppets, and governs the country through them. In my opinion, that system would be so bad that I should almost agree with Lord Grey that we had better leave things as they are. But on whom does he make this imputa-



HIGH STREET, EDINBURGH.

flattered by it. He thinks such a position that I can take power or from responsibility. But to whom is it otherwise than flattering? For the two men who for years past have been acting as the recognised leaders of the Liberal party. I have always told you I have no personal desire than to follow. I mean Lord Granville and Lord Hartington. Lord Hartington has been in public life for twenty-one or twenty-two years. Lord Granville has been in public life for more than forty years. Has not Lord Hartington during the time he has been leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons shown himself to be one of the manliest, one of the most upright, one of the most outspoken, one of the most independent men that has ever stood in the position of leader of that party? With regard to his friend, Lord Granville, Mr. Gladstone appealed to them whether his lordship had not also during a long life maintained an unblemished reputation as a man, a wise statesman—moderate, considerate, and gentle in all his proceedings, but thoroughly manful and independent. Therefore, in his (Mr. Gladstone's) opinion, this was a very unsatisfactory mode for Lord Grey to deal with these two distinguished men; but he did not think they need fear much in consequence of it. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to quote charges contained in the same letter, viz., (1) that he (Mr. Gladstone) had gone about Midlothian last November promising radical and fundamental changes in the laws of the country in incautious and intemperate terms; and (2) naming the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Irish Land Act as instances of what a dangerous man he (Mr. Gladstone) was, and further alleging that the Act constituted the main danger to the Empire, having been the root of the anti-rent agitation and the whole mischief prevalent in Ireland, and ought to keep the Liberals out of office. The best refutation to the latter charge was contained in a letter written by the Chancellor of the Exchequer

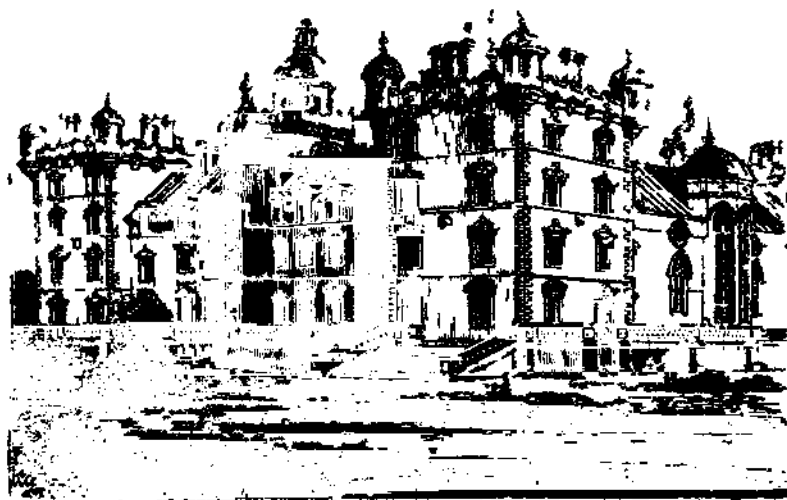
which he had read that morning, who, in answer to a question on the subject, assured the people that the present Government fully embraced all its principles. Mr. Gladstone subsequently addressed an overflowing meeting of his committee, and in doing so proposed 'Success to the Liberal Club' at the inaugural meeting of the club, held in the Music-hall, Glasgow, presided over by Lord Rose-

In Scotland, at election times, the people much enjoy a process called heckling. A heckle has been defined as an instrument with fine teeth used for cleaning hemp, and an unfortunate candidate, when he is well questioned and considerably disturbed by the process, is said to be heckled. Mr. Gladstone, it appears, had very little of it; but his opponent, the Earl of Dalkeith, the heir of the bold Buccleuch, was not quite so lucky. In fact, he was heckled pretty considerably. "At one meeting," writes Mr. Saunders, "Earl Dalkeith submitted to this heckling process for something like two hours, during which his knowledge of his illustrious father's political career was tested, his opinion on certain theological matters ascertained, his political sympathies probed, and he was cross-examined on foreign and domestic subjects with uncompromising severity." At the first meeting of his political electors, which Mr. Gladstone addressed in the Edinburgh Music Hall, one gentleman alone had carefully prepared nineteen questions on which to heckle the right honourable gentleman, but the meeting threw its protecting ægis over the man who had fascinated it by the brilliancy of his oratory, and enthralled it by the wonderful magic of his voice. Although Mr. Balfour attended several meetings subsequently, he never again attempted to heckle Mr. Gladstone, who was fortunate enough to escape with the barest taste of the heckling torture which had been prepared for him. It seems Lord Elcho's happy definition of a Liberal-Conservative was obtained by this happy process of heckling. His Lordship, the son and heir of the Earl

THE LIFE AND DEEDS OF W. E. GLADSTONE.

But the Little Iat-
 one, Mr. Gladstone, the audier
 with great gusto
 He proposed to create a certain amount
 of "the unceasing"
 of the Free Church but the
 general feeling seemed to be that no im-

to applaud and listen and demonstrate
 Triumphal arches were erected at short
 notice and it occasionally happened that
 the Lord of Dalkeith, not a little to his
 mortification undoubtedly, had to drive
 under a triumphal arch intended to do honour
 to Mr. Gladstone's choice, and to read highly-



HERIOT HOSPITAL, EDINBURGH

... committed either by
 ... or his apprentice

In the church or out, it was evident
 that Mr. Gladstone was the winning
 and the popular candidate. Everywhere
 and on all occasions the people were ready

decorated legend is to the effect that Mr.
 Gladstone was 'The Saviour of his
 Country' the representative of "Peace,
 Retrenchment and Reform" and the ex-
 pression of 'Liberty to Oppressed Nation-
 alities'. When the population was thin
 and sparse, the working men gave them-

selves a holiday, and waited patiently for hours to catch a passing glimpse of the illustrious statesman, or to give him a hearty and encouraging cheer. All were anxious to get near him and shake his hand. This demonstration very often caused the right honourable gentleman much embarrassment, and it was apparently with relief that he would regain his carriage and drive off. But every meeting brought the same sort of homage and the same penalties. The people would not be refused, and at the last moment after victory had been won, Mr. Gladstone was fain to escape from the scene of his signal triumph privately, and by night, after sending a letter to the newspapers apologising for his secret flitting. During the campaign Mr. Gladstone's capacity for work without outward evidence of fatigue was a common subject of remark, often of surprise. This physical vigour surprised the constituency of Midlothian and created in their minds the idea that he possessed the strength to carry out whatever his fertile intellect suggested, apart from any aid of ordinary statesmen whatever. This Mr. Saunders thinks, though in that respect we are not exactly inclined to agree with him, may account for the defection of many of the 300 voters of which the Earl of Dalkeith afterwards bitterly complained.

On the day of the poll the *Daily News* correspondent wrote:—"Something more than the April weather, by which the land is alternately bathed by showers or made glorious by sunlight, is required to account for the remarkable prevalence of daffodils with which Edinburgh has been brightened to-day. Every other man, woman, or child one meets is decked with daffodils, or, failing this, sports a yellow ribbon or rosette. In Scotland buff remains the Liberal colour, and daffodils, coming near enough, are selected as emblems of the cause of Mr. Gladstone. The intensity of the feeling excited by the contest which closed this afternoon is illustrated by a story I hear of what took place in this highly-favoured centre of popular education in one of the classes attended by about a hundred girls. A

vote was taken as to the colours to be worn on the election-day. Eighty-eight voted for buff, and a committee was formed to receive subscriptions in order to purchase the necessary ribbon. The draper applied to, astonished at the magnitude of the order, asked for what purpose the ribbon was wanted, and, on hearing that it was to make favours to be worn to the honour of Mr. Gladstone, insisted upon giving the girls the ribbon required. This is a story which shows how the wind blows in Edinburgh, though the direction is clear enough to any one passing along the crowded streets. Almost every one wears buff, and indeed, it is scarcely safe to flaunt Tory blue. Any one even suspected of being a Tory draws upon himself evidences of popular disfavour, which if harmless are annoying.

"Evidences of popular enthusiasm are however, chiefly confined to Edinburgh. The county itself is so thinly populated, and the points of concentrated interest are so scattered, that it is scarcely possible anywhere to get up a crowd sufficiently large to induce outward and visible signs of excitement. In the course of the day I have driven the length and breadth of the county, and on returning to town am able to enter into the feelings of the needy knife-grinder who (as we have more than once heard) had no story to tell. At Roslyn, Dalkeith, West Calder, and the rest, one finds about the school-houses usually appointed as polling places from a score to thirty men, all dressed in their Sunday clothes, lounging in the roadway, talking politics. On both sides the organisation has been complete; every voter has been catalogued, and the aggregate mapped out in sections, each committed to the care of a particular individual. It was known with considerable certainty how each would vote, and as he advanced to the polling station the elector was greeted with cheer, or with that peculiar greeting phonetically described in the Scotch newspapers as 'booing.' At Dalkeith a very distinguished elector was subject to this expression of

contumely. At an early hour Lord Dalkeith, setting an example of obedience to the injunction of both committees, presented himself at the polling station with a determination to 'vote early.' The crowd in the street, naturally coming to the conclusion that of the two candidates his lordship was not going to vote for Mr. Gladstone, generally 'booed' on the Liberal side. This unusual action on the part of a candidate was accepted as a hopeful omen. It was felt that Lord Dalkeith must be in desperate case when he condescended to vote for himself. At one of the Edinburgh polling stations Lord Elcho, unselfishly sparing a few minutes from his own urgent concerns in Haddingtonshire, voted for Lord Dalkeith, the crowd in the street giving vent to their disapprobation in the familiar manner.

"These little demonstrations were dispensed and received with a good humour that took away much of their sting. In the course of a long journey the only sign of disorder I observed was in the broken windows at the Tory head quarters at Dalkeith. These, it was explained, were due to offended moral sense rather than to political animosity. It appears that as early as eleven o'clock in the morning the prophetic soul of the Conservative committee had evolved a profusion of blue placards announcing that in Middlesex Mr. Herbert Gladstone had been 'beaten by Lord George Hamilton, brother-in-law of Lord Dalkeith.' It was felt that this at least was premature, since the facts could not possibly reach Edinburgh before one o'clock. The offended moral sense of Dalkeith led to the discharge of a volley of stones at the misleading placards displayed in the windows, with the disastrous results above noted. The placards were withdrawn, and order was re-established. The profound and far-reaching interest excited by the contest is testified to by numerous incidents. I met this morning a doctor well known in Edinburgh, who had come home all the way from Algiers for the purpose of recording his vote. Literally

the halt, the lame, and the blind have found their way to the polling stations. At Dalkeith I saw an old man who certainly was not less than ninety, carried into the polling station to vote for Mr. Gladstone. Regarded at a distance he had the general appearance of a bale of red flannel, being carefully and completely wrapped up in folds of that material, but on nearer acquaintance and in intervals of an asthmatic cough, he proved to be a singularly lively and intelligent old gentleman. It was, he said, probably the last time he should be out in the open air and know anything about it, but he could not lie in his bed and know that Mr. Gladstone might want his vote without making an effort to record it. In the counting of ballot papers which took place three hours later this old gentleman's vote will just balance that of Lord Dalkeith."

The fitting conclusion of the absorbing enthusiasm and excitement which have prevailed in Midlothian since November last, when Mr. Gladstone first raised aloft the fiery cross of Liberalism, was announced soon after seven o'clock—

Gladstone 1,579

Dalkeith..... 1,368

by far the largest poll ever recorded in the county. The Liberal candidate had gone beyond the majority which in 1874 seemed to make permanent the possession of the seat by the Buccleuch family, but the quick instinct of the crowd saw beyond the figures proclaimed from the Sheriff's Court-House. These showed a majority of 211 for the popular candidate, but deducting from Lord Dalkeith's poll the 200 faggot votes faithfully rendered, the real majority is 411. The great crowd that had for nearly two hours patiently waited for the verdict, filling up the broad street before the Sessions House and all its approaches, gave vent to their feelings in a thunderous cheer, and then breaking up, with one accord rushed off to George-street, where Mr. Gladstone was known to be a guest at Lord Rosebery's town house. Here an immense multitude was already assembled,

threatening by the surging which swayed it to and fro to make a swift end of the barricades which had been thrown up before the house; but these happily withstood the pressure, and when the rush of the new-comers had subsided comparative order reigned. There were loud cries for Mr. Gladstone, at every mention of whose name the cheering broke forth afresh. He was at dinner when the news came, and it was thought expedient to sit out the meal before responding to the enthusiastic invitation of the crowd. Thus half an hour passed, an interval agreeably filled up by "Rule, Britannia," "Scots wha ha'e," and other songs more or less appropriate to the occasion. When the member for Midlothian, accompanied by Lord Rosebery, appeared at the balcony of the house, the excitement of the multitude knew no bounds. Cheer after cheer rent the air, and it was several minutes before he was permitted to speak. He said:—"Gentlemen, let me give you a few words of kindly greeting. I will not include in that one single word that can give offence to anyone. This cause, which has been fought well and gallantly on both sides, is not a personal but a public cause. We will not allow ourselves to mix with it, even in the hour of joy at our success, any personal passion. We have been engaged in an arduous struggle, and it has been carried by the strength of the sentiment expressed in the county of Midlothian, which we now know to be the sentiment of the nation. It has been said, and said truly, that I have oftentimes detained you long. I have been encouraged by your patience and indulgence, but there is no reason that I should now detain you. The words of gratitude and acknowledgment which I have to speak, and which are entirely unmingled, as I trust, with gall, are words that, having passed from my lips, go straight, as I well know, to your hearts. What we have now to show is that we can use the strength which we have shown ourselves to possess, and that we can turn the victory we may be said to have obtained here and elsewhere

to good account for the common and universal benefit of our country. God prosper England, Scotland, and Ireland and all who that dwell in them, be they Liberals or be they Tories. For us who are Liberals, may we be enabled to persevere in bearing what your forefathers would have called a firm testimony to our cause through evil report, as it had been for the last few years, and through good report, as we trust it now will be. To our opponents we heartily wish the benefit of reflection. Our desire is that they should be opponents no longer, but that we should all with one heart and one mind devote ourselves to the performance of our public duties in the maintenance of the interests, the honour, and the high character and repute of a great and glorious Empire."

On the suggestion of Mr. R. A. Macfie, three cheers were given for Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. Lord Rosebery having been called for, appeared after a short interval on the balcony with the Countess, and was received with cheers. He said:—

"The election is over, and I am unmuzzled, and I, as a Midlothian man, can tell you that no Midlothian man, however old he may be, or however long he may have to live, will have spent a prouder night than this. It is a great night for Midlothian; a great night for Scotland; a great night for our county members; a great night for Great Britain; aye, and a great night for the world. It has been the fortune of this county to be chosen as the central battle-field of that great contest that is being waged at this moment. In the county of Midlothian has been fought, not a battle between Whig and Tory, or Liberal and Conservative, but a battle of Constitutional Government and of oppressed nationalities throughout the world. And what has been the reward of Midlothian now that she has fought this battle? You have fought this battle by and for *yourself*, and you are rewarded by having your county member the foremost in the great Britain the greatest champion of liberty that now lives in the world and to use the

words of Pitt, I will only say now that I trust that Midlothian, having saved herself by her own exertions, will save Great Britain by her example."

Mr. Macfie again appeared on the balcony and proposed three cheers for the Earl and Countess of Rosebery, which was responded to by the crowd. The crowd dispersed shortly afterwards, a large number moving along to Princes-street, and hooting as they passed the Conservative Club. Lime-light illuminations were exhibited from several houses, and the crowds continued perambulating the streets for hours, singing "Buttons never shall be slaves." An effigy intended to represent Lord Dalkeith was burned in front of the New Club, the aristocratic club of Edinburgh, about half past ten, and similar proceedings took place at Dalkeith.

Mr. Gladstone, it must be remarked, had a noble return. The people of Leeds, to their honour, resolved that he should have a seat in Parliament, whether he gained the day in Midlothian or lost it, and started him as a candidate for that great borough. The numbers were at the poll as follow —

W. E. Gladstone (Lib.)	24,622
J. B. Smith (Tory)	23,547
W. E. Lockhart (Lib.)	13,331
W. Whellhouse (Tory)	11,965

The result in Leeds was ultimately and tactfully won by Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who made a splendid *début* by his gallant but unsuccessful effort to wrest Middlesex from the yoke of the Tories.

"The great event of Monday, April 5, was the return of Mr. Gladstone for Midlothian," writes Mr. W. Saunders, in his *New Parliament*, "by 1,579 votes against 1,368 minority, 211." As it was known that this would be a close contest, the majority was regarded with satisfaction. On the same day Mr. H. Gladstone sustained an overwhelming defeat in Middlesex, where Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Octavius Coope polled respectively 12,964 and 12,328 against 8,876 votes for Gladstone. Not even the magic of the name, and the enthusiastic support of Liberals, within and

without the constituencies, could bring more than one-third of the voting power to the poll in support of Mr. H. Gladstone. This latter gentleman had, however, nothing to be ashamed of. He had fought a good fight if he had not won a victory. At the previous election the numbers were: Lord George Hamilton, 10,343; O. E. Coope, 9,867; Viscount Enfield, Liberal, 5,623; Mr. Lehman, Liberal, 5,192. Another of Mr. Gladstone's sons also secured a victory. Mr. Gladstone's eldest son, who had entered Parliament as M.P. for Whitby, gained a seat for East Worcestershire by following in his father's steps, and turning out the Tory M.P. Altogether the Gladstone family did brilliantly. They all led the way in desperate struggles; and if one fell in the honourable contest, the other two—the father and the son—gained signal victories; in the first place, personally, of course, but mainly for the good old cause of justice and right—of peace, retrenchment, and reform.

In many respects the results of the general election were encouraging. It was undoubtedly a heavy blow to the great brewing interest, and a fitting punishment to its members for the way in which they had acted when their pecuniary interests were at stake. The *Morning Advertiser*, on March 31st, put the case very clearly. "It remains," it wrote, "to add a few words to the licensed victuallers. Their course has been agreed upon at mass meetings of the trade, organised by leaders in whom they have confidence. Their policy has been freely discussed by friends and enemies. But on the whole we see no alternative to their united action in favour of candidates who will support their interests against the attacks of the temperance party. That party is the assailant, and its allies are in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred Liberals. It is Liberalism which has made a political issue out of the licensing question. It is to the action of Ministerialists that the real defeat of the fifty or more measures of the past few years, some of them ruinous, all of them

hostile, to the trade has been due. Under these circumstances neutrality is suicide, and abstention cowardice. The licensed victuallers, like everybody in the country, are entitled, nay, are bound to exercise their constitutional right at the poll to guard their vested interests. And the more united they are, and the more they make their strength felt, none the less they will have to fear unfair legislation in the future. They know their friends. If the issue is ever doubtful they can make it a certainty. If it is a certainty they can add to its moral significance." The issue thus plainly stated was accepted, and the result was that the licensed victuallers found themselves beaten. The following return was compiled from the answers by candidates on the subject of the liquor traffic:—

Members.			
Supporters of Local Option in the			
New Parliament	...	...	252
Favourable to the principle of			
Local Option	...	...	57
Neutral	...	...	34
Opponents of Local Option	...	...	235
Attitude unknown	...	...	74

In the New Parliament the advocates of disestablishment claim to be able to number at least 150 votes, which is forty votes in excess of the number elected in the Parliament of 1868, which disestablished the Irish Church. It is said that the New Parliament contains 170 Nonconformists, of whom about 50 are Roman Catholics. The working-men do not appear to have cared much about returning men of their own stamp to Parliament; nor is this to be regretted, as a working-man sent there, and supported there not by honest labour, but as a nominee, cannot be said to sustain a very honourable position. It appears that in the last Parliament there were 229 supporters of woman's suffrage, and 362 opponents. Of the supporters, 82 lost their seats, and of the opponents 132. All that can be said is that the slaughter among opponents was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. greater than of the supporters. The ladies, as usual, were very active during the elections. In

North Lincolnshire Mrs. Laycock made energetic speeches on behalf of her husband, to whom it is said that he owed his election. In Manchester several women who had managed to get their names on the register tendered their votes at the polling booth, and the presiding officer had no alternative but to receive them. In this election the railway servants seem to have gone in favour of the members who have generally supported Mr. Brassey's Bill for compensation for injuries. The M.P.'s who supported co-operative stores had in some cases a hard time of it. In the late Parliament the Conservatives had a majority of 101 from the counties, in the present Parliament the Liberals have a majority of nine. Of all changes this perhaps was the most surprising and most ominous. The farmers appear at length to have learnt distrust of their natural friends. At any rate they seemed to think that the Liberals who had expressed their determination to deal with agricultural questions had a claim on them, and perhaps they felt that they could not be worse off under Liberal rule than they had been under the protecting care of their friends. The change represents, as has been shown, "the disappointments of the farmers' hopes from the Conservatives, and their expectations from a Liberal Government. The Farmers' Alliance, which it was the fatal policy of the late government to disregard and expose, took an active part in the elections, and was prepared to support either Conservative or Liberal candidates. About two-thirds of the candidates supported by the Alliance were successful, and of those who are now members forty are Liberals and only two Conservatives." Altogether the victory was decisive, and the gain was great and glorious. Well might the *New York Herald* write, when the news had been flashed across the Atlantic:—"England once more resumes political consciousness and self-government. For periods of Tory domination are mere interludes played while the curtain is down. No previous English election excited so

great an interest in continental Europe; none ever before was watched with so much interest in the East."

The Members of the present Parliament are classified by Mr. Saunders as follow:—

Merchants, Manufacturers, Mine Owners, &c.	199
Shipowners	20
Lawyers	128
Army.....	32
Navy.....	4
Diplomatists.....	8
Chairmen of Railway Companies ..	11
Journalists.....	15
Civil and Agricultural Engineers ..	10
Bankers.....	16
Tenant Farmers	5
University Professors	3
Brewers and Wine Merchants ...	13
Labour	2
Member of Royal Academy (Scotland)	1
Medical Professors	5
Civil and Military Tutor	1
Presbyterian Minister	1
Ex-Dissenting Minister	1
Ex-Clergymen	2
County Squires, Mayors, Deputy-Lieutenant, Sons of Peers, Baronets, &c.....	125
	652

A curious incident occurred in connection with the North Lincolnshire election. Mr. William Tomlinson moved "That this meeting expresses its confidence in Mr. Winn and Sir John Astley as fit and proper persons to represent North Lincolnshire in the House of Commons, and pledges itself to do all in its power to secure their return." Mr. John Turner seconded the motion. He had heard that Mr. Laycock was coming forward. He did not know Mr. Laycock, but whoever he was he must be a very game cock indeed. He would take long odds on the Conservative candidates. (A voice: "This is not a gambling-room.") Well, that was quite right, and he would take the odds when they got out. Mr. Robinson moved, as an amendment, "That

the Conservative Administration of this country is the worst of modern times, and is unworthy the support of every upright and honest Englishman." This was not seconded; and the resolution of confidence was declared carried. The report then went on to state that in consequence of the retirement of the Liberal candidate, there will be no opposition. The nomination is on April 5th. Strange to say, Mr. Laycock, encouraged by the successes of the Liberals, returned from his retirement, and a quarter of an hour before the nomination took place, made up his mind to stand. Stranger still, he was returned at the head of the poll. The defeated candidate, Sir J. D. Astley, as was to be expected, was very wrath. "Gentlemen," said he to the electors, after the declaration of the poll was announced, "I am very sorry I have got to the place I have—at the bottom of the poll. I should much like to have got in again with my friend Mr. Winn, but I may say I should not care about getting in with one like Mr. Laycock. Of one thing I am quite certain—England has gone mad; and another, that this part of the constituency has gone mad with the rest of the country. I may tell you that I never shall have another trial. That I will take my dying oath of before you all, never again with me. I believe that we, as country gentlemen, ought to look to the laurels of the country, and when we see such a man get into Parliament as has been returned this time—(groans, hisses, and applause; the remainder of Sir John's sentence being inaudible). I am extremely obliged to all the gentlemen who have taken the trouble they have taken for my return. I believe I have got just as many friends in the county as I ever had. And remember what I said to you, that I will take my dying oath that I will never try again."

Of the deaths in consequence of the election, two must at any rate not be omitted. Mr. J. S. Wright, Member for Nottingham, was one of the victims of political excitement, and the intelligence of his

appalling death naturally made a deep impression in London and other political circles. Mr. Wright was literally the backbone of the Birmingham caucus, and his energy was only equalled by his enthusiasm in the extension of the system. "A gentleman," wrote a London correspondent who knew him well, "informed me that for fully twenty years Mr. Wright scarcely ever passed an evening at home. He was literally immersed in politics and political organisation, and the demands upon his time were so great that he could not comply with them by a complete sacrifice of his leisure moments. Every night found him at some meeting or other. All his aims were directed in a particular groove, and it was known to be a direct personal object of his life to be returned to Parliament, with the atmosphere and working of which he was already more familiar than many of its members. Nottingham conferred upon him the coveted honour which, however, has been so quickly snatched away to death. Mr. Wright died of apoplexy but there is reason to fear that the excitement incidental to a successful political struggle contributed largely to the same cause. To the same cause no fewer than eight deaths are directly traceable."

Another death due to the election was that of the somewhat notorious Dr. Keneal, Member for Stoke, and the advocate for the notorious Sir Roger Tichborne. Shortly before his departure from London prior to his defeat at Stoke, he complained one night of a violent pain in one of his heels. A surgeon was sent for, the heel was lanced and cauterised, and a running wound was the result. When the Doctor had nearly bled to death it was proposed to arrest the hæmorrhage by amputation. The foot was, however, not removed, as the patient was obviously too weak to sustain the operation. As a matter of fact, mortification set in, and the Doctor died on April 17th. There is little doubt that his humiliating defeat at Stoke aggravated his wound, which gave him excruciating torture during his canvass. Dr. Keneal was an

enthusiast as regards himself. He entered Parliament confident that in five years he would be Prime Minister. He attained no distinction. He ceased even to enjoy the consciousness that he had not failed to inspire curiosity. He sat his five years in Parliament in the middle of the second Opposition bench above the gangway, with his knees between the shoulders of Mr. Gladstone, the obese head of his historical umbrella in the nape of the neck of the Marquis of Hartington, and an expression of unctuous satisfaction invariably upon his face.

One of the fiascos of the election was the appearance of a Mr. Malgarini as an independent candidate at Chester. His meetings were regarded more as jokes than otherwise by the Press and the general public at Chester, but the working classes, perhaps indignant that there was no extra flow of beer in consequence, took the matter more seriously. A meeting in his support was announced to take place at the theatre in the City-road. The moment the doors were opened the place was crowded. When the curtain drew up and disclosed Mr. Malgarini, a gentleman of thirty-two or thirty-three years of age in evening dress, white kid gloves and silk hat, a volley of rotten eggs and oranges was directed at him. He waved his hat and stick in a vain endeavour to obtain a hearing; but an egg striking him violently on the cheek-bone, he was obliged to beat a retreat; the gas was turned down and the reception was over. The meeting, however, did not disperse, the crowd being in a highly excited state, and in order to appease them, Mr. Philbrick, barrister, addressed them, and said no doubt Mr. Malgarini had been brought down by some one in order if possible to split the Irish vote. Mr. Philbrick was cheered and carried to the Liberal committee room in Foregate-street, from the window of which he and several other Liberals spoke, endeavouring to divert the attention of the crowd from Mr. Malgarini. The latter was staying at the Queen's Hotel opposite

and in endeavouring to reach his lodgings he was bonneted and knocked down and severely ill-treated by the mob. It was with difficulty he was rescued, when it was said that he left the town immediately. The crowd then proceeded up Foregate-street cheering the Liberal candidates, and while passing the Conservative Central Head-quarters, a Liberal was struck on the head with a stick, and the result was that a free fight immediately ensued. The crowd then went to Mr. Malgarini's head-quarters, bundled out the clerks in charge, scattered the contents of the rooms, and tearing down a banner from the window, marched in triumph through the streets amidst great cheering. The Conservative Association issued a large placard stating that they were in no way responsible for Mr. Malgarini's candidature, and that they knew nothing about him. In Ireland there were of course many rows, especially at Portdown, consequent upon the return of the Liberal candidates. At Bath also there was rioting, and at Barrow-in-Furness and elsewhere. In Monmouth, on the evening of the polling day for that borough, a bullet was fired over the house of one of the leading Liberal magistrates for that district. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, speaking at a meeting in Borris, county Carlow, said that a most diabolical attempt, which was unequalled in the annals of Nihilism or Communism, had been made to blow up the platform on which he stood. It could scarcely be believed that under the platform were found several parcels of dynamite, which had been deposited there beyond all doubt for the purpose of destroying those who were to assemble to advocate their rights as Irishmen. These parcels had been removed and buried within a few hundred yards of the place where the platform stood. The Lord Mayor's statement excited cries of indignation. Michael Doyle, a labourer, afterwards deposed before Mr. R. Conolly, J.P., that on the 3rd inst. he assisted in the erection of a platform on the green, that at half-past eleven at night he heard a

fearful explosion, and that it was reported to him that the entire wooden structure which was intended for the next day's meeting had been blown away. John Gady added that a considerable portion of the earth had been torn up as if blasted. George Webster stated that he went to the meeting the next day, and that when within about 200 yards of the platform which had been re-erected, he saw four lads with packets like cartridges in their hands. He asked them what the packets were, and one of them said dynamite. They handed them to Webster, and he discovered that the packets were marked British Dynamite Company (Limited).

One of the most remarkable speeches delivered during the contest was that of Major-General Fielden at Blackpool on the occasion of his coming forward as candidate for North Lancashire. "I love Blackpool," said he, "I lived here during the whole years of my boyhood as a schoolboy. I come here every year of my life. I hope before long to take a house here, and bring up my children among you. Yes! I do, I do. Now mind, I don't say this by way of flattering you. I don't indeed. I could not go to Parliament under any such circumstances. No, I could not. If you don't think I am worthy of going to Parliament, I would not go. I don't want to go. If you think I have any qualifications which are likely to fit me to be a Member of Parliament, then send me. If not, don't; no, don't; I say no, don't; send—send Mr. Storey. I am not ambitious to go to Parliament unless you think I shall be useful to you and the country. Gentlemen, it has never—I say it has never been my ambition. I wish to do what is my duty. I am nobody myself, but my friends say I must go. I have been advised to come; I mean I have been advised to come forward by men whose opinion I value. I met a particular friend of mine in Preston the other day, and said to him, Now look here, says I, do you think a change of government will do? I said distinctly, Do you think that a change in Parliament

would benefit the country? He said, No I don't. He said emphatically I don't—I don't believe it would; and so I said, Neither do I, and I don't. I have been advised to come forward by men whom I love, and I am here before you to-night. If you think, after hearing what I shall have to say, I shall be of any use to you, send me, and if you don't—don't send me. I have been a soldier all my life. Honestly and truly, there is perhaps no position that I could desire greater than that which would be my position if you send me as the member for North Lancashire—that is, if you think I am worthy of it—not without. As a lad, as a boy, I was in Blackpool. My father used to come here. If I live a little longer I shall have property here. I don't say this as an inducement for you to vote for me, but I hope you will. I have been a soldier all my life. Honestly I have come before you to-night. I am here in the position of a man who is doing simply what he considers his duty under the present circumstances of England. Colonel Stanley has been with me at Kirkham. Mr. Cocher, and gentlemen, he would have come here to-night, only he couldn't. I mean he would have been with me to-night in this room if he could have done so. He would have done so under any circumstances, but his public duties, as regards Secretary at War, he had to attend to, so he could not come. I am very sorry that he is not here to-night to see this glorious room. I have never in my lifetime—I would not have conceived that I should have been in such a position as I find myself to-night upon this platform. Truly and honestly I would not have thought it. I don't wish for too much enthusiasm. (A voice: Let th' sit down, tha's said enough.) I'll sit down if you think I've said enough. (Go on, Major.) In cases of election, it is said you must go a little to extremes. They say in the case of love or war anything is allowable. I don't say that. But there are circumstances under which you may be carried for a little moment into

enthusiasm, and this I conceive to be one of those cases. I can only say, as a candidate for North Lancashire, I had not the slightest, the faintest, the remotest idea of receiving such a splendid reception as has been presented to-night in this town. I love Blackpool, and I am coming to live with you. As circumstances are pressing, I come before you late in the day. I cannot suppose that anything that I can say will be much to my advantage. (Pause of half a minute, and cries of go on.) I am going on as fast as I can. I say again, that I don't think anything that I can say will be much to my advantage as regards my being a member for North Lancashire. I will say that I am in favour of the present Government, and their past actions. I say this most distinctly, most solemnly, that the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government has been that which has and will conduce to the benefit and glory of England. Let me tell you again, I don't wish to carry you away with any sort of enthusiasm. I say this as a simple—as a man who has been brought up in a barrack square. As a matter of fact, I assure you honestly I am a soldier in the army, and a major-general. I have no occupation. I have nothing to do. I have, by the chance of circumstances, become the possessor of property in this county. I am a rich man, as people say. I am a major-general in the Queen's army. I think the best thing I can do, after the requisition which has been presented me by men I respect, as above the ordinary capacity, to accept their advice, and propose myself as a second candidate for the northern division of the County of Lancashire. I am Major-General Fielden, of Wilton Park, Blackburn, Lancaster. I am nobody, absolutely nobody if you take me as I value myself. I do not say it but in humble humility. I take myself simply at the value of those three gentlemen who asked me to come forward as the second member for North Lancashire. They are men of property in the county, men of substantial—well, of considerable, and more than ordinary

capacity. And, therefore, I think I am right, and I propose myself as your member to back up the throne—to back up the throne and help the religion of the country. I do not talk in an enthusiastic manner. I am simply a common soldier, simply a man who has property by the grace of God, who claimed my father—who was a far better man than either of us. If I could do anything for Blackburn, for Lancashire, for England, I shall be thankful to do it. Gentlemen have asked me to come forward to this position. One is a gentleman of vast and much landed property. The gentleman who has most influenced me is a man I love from the bottom of my heart. Yes, that's it. A landed proprietor who honours and respects me by force of circumstances, and capacity, and excellent position. Another man who was, and still is, the greatest possible help to the country in most important duties, and he considered I ought to do this duty, and therefore I did it, and the last thing I wanted to be was to be a Member of Parliament. I am a simple man. All I can say, if you return me to Parliament, if you think I am worth anything at all, I will support the cause of England, of religion, and of Queen Victoria. You know this—as circumstances now are, things are very uncertain. If the opposition party come into power, we do not know what will happen. I must say this change of Government is a great and grievous mistake. You remember the old trite, trite, trite, I may say trite, remark of—let me see—of Abraham Lincoln: 'Don't swap horses in crossing streams.' I tell you as an Englishman, gentleman, and soldier, if you change your Government you may do worse than you are doing at present. They have saved you expenses; they have done all they could for the sake of the country. It is the only country in the world, Mr. Cocher (the chairman). We have colonies in every direction. There is no doubt about it, Lord Beaconsfield's Government has done everything which is heroic. Our country has great ramifications in all places. I don't care whether it

is Lord Hartington or Gladstone, I tell you I admire such men, and I am a great advocate of the law of common sense. Such men as Lord Hartington or Lord Rosebery, I tell you they are all very clever men in the world, but they seem to be wanting in judgment. God gives us compensation. Sometimes simple men have a power of judgment in contradistinction to clever men. I say Mr. Gladstone is the most splendid man in England. I don't want to talk any nonsense, I only want you to judge for yourselves; I am not a clever man, but I say I am a man of ordinary judgment, and I do maintain that the arguments in favour of the Conservative cause are better than in favour of the Liberal cause. Ask yourselves. Judge for yourselves. I do not want to go to Parliament. At half-past four o'clock on Thursday afternoon last I had not the slightest conception of being asked to go for North Lancashire. I would rather not go. I love living in the country. I have a wife and children. I do not care for the excitements and amusements of the world and London. I was told it was advisable to go, and therefore if you send me I will go. I don't want you to take me. But I will go if you will send me, because I will be a better Member of Parliament than any other you could send; for this reason: I shall advocate the cause of law, honesty, and straightforward policy, and of the religion of the country. Let me remind you—let me point out to you, let me ask you to think of the position of the country in regard to the polling in Northampton. You know who was returned for Northampton—a man who publicly declares that he denies God. I tell you distinctly that I am a major-general in the army. If you deny the power of religion in your schools, if you admit such men as these to be Members of Parliament who are injuring the country. I wish you honestly and truly to consider the present important crisis in this country. I love the Church of England; I love the Church of England doctrines, and I dare to think

and abide by them. If there are any here who think that I am unwise in speaking so I am sorry for them. Consider the opposition we have had. We have had too much of that. I won't say anything more about politics at all, but I think the past policy of the Beaconsfield Administration is that which has conducted to the perfect establishment of peace in this country. I live in a manufacturing district, and I have taken great trouble. I am in a position of owning property as a landed proprietor, as a man who is interested in manufacture. All the gentlemen I have asked have told me this. You may not believe me, but I tell you that if the Beaconsfield Government goes it will not be for the advantage of the country. The Beaconsfield Government has saved the country from a vast lot of expenditure, which would have been expended had the Liberals been in power. What I want to drive into your minds is this: that the Conservative Government is better at this moment for the country than a Liberal one, and would be better for the future. I have friends of my own with regard to this point, and they have told me they do not think any change of Government will do. I think the Conservative Government has saved the nation vast sums of money, therefore a Conservative Government ought to be supported. I honestly say I am nobody. I don't want you to vote for me. I am independent of every one of you. I do not care, ladies and gentlemen, ten straws whether you send me to Parliament for the sake of the country or not. Honestly and truly, what I say is this about the difference between the Liberal party and the Tory party. There is no difference between the good Liberals and the good Tories. The Liberals have a rotten tail, and we have also; good Liberals and good Conservatives will work together. I say this as a gentleman and a soldier. I come now because I think it is my duty to help you in the present crisis of the history of England. I don't want to go into the House now. I honestly and

truly tell you; there is no nonsense about it. I won't speak more to you. I have said enough for you to judge of the principles of Lord Beaconsfield's Government and the principles of the man who comes before you. If you think I am wrong, don't send me to Parliament. If you think I am right, do. If you don't think proper to support me, don't do so." Surely never since Bentham penned his "Noodle's Oration," was there ever a sillier speech, yet the man who uttered it was returned to the Parliament of 1880.

It may be interesting to refer to the caucus which, if we are to believe Mr. Chamberlain, decided the fate of the kingdom. In a letter to the *Times*, that gentleman stated:—"A few days after the dissolution of Parliament it was said by a writer in the Press, that the electors would test the efficacy of the new Domestic Machinery, of which Birmingham is the capital. It may interest your readers to learn the result of the experiment. Popular representative organisations on the Birmingham model—sometimes called the caucus by those who really do not know what the caucus is, and have not taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the details of the Birmingham system—exist in 67 of the Parliamentary boroughs in which contests have just taken place. In 60 of these Liberal seats were gained or retained. In seven only the Liberals were defeated, but in three at least of these cases a petition will be presented against the return on the ground of bribery. This remarkable success is a proof that the new organisation has succeeded in uniting all sections of the party, and it is a conclusive answer to the fears which some timid Liberals entertained that the system would be manipulated in the interests of particular crotchets. It has, on the contrary, deepened and extended the interest felt in the crotchet; it has fastened a sense of personal responsibility on the electors, and it has secured the active support, for the most part voluntary and unpaid, of thousands and tens of thousands

of voters who have been willing to work hard for the candidates in whose selection they have, for the first time, had an influential voice. Among other results must be mentioned the fact that the gentlemen who have committed themselves to these popular and somewhat democratic committees, have been on the whole more decided in their Liberalism than was usually the case with the nominees of the small cliques of local politicians, whom the new organisation has superseded. A long purse has not been an all-sufficient passport, and the candidates who are so thundering, eminent for being never heard of, have been passed over and over again in favour of others, who have won their spurs in political conflict, and have given proof of steadfastness of their principles, and of ability in maintaining them. The restricted franchise in the counties, and the large area of these conditions, have hitherto prevented any considerable extension of the plan outside the boroughs. One of these difficulties will now shortly be removed; the other may be overcome, and I expect that at no distant date the electors will universally demand a preliminary voice in the election of candidates. Meanwhile, in ten county constituencies in which the caucus has, in spite of all obstacles, been already established, and where contests have taken place, the Liberals have won seats in all, and it may be affirmed that in most of these cases there would have been no contest but for the energy and determination of the new element imported into the councils of the party. Altogether, for good or evil, the organisation has now taken firm root in this country, and politicians will do well to give it in future a less prejudiced attention." This statement is not to be accepted, and will not be accepted in many quarters as conclusive. Public opinion, to be of any value, must be spontaneous. The party that wins the victory is the stronger party, and no American caucus or any other foreign introduction can turn weakness into strength, a minority into a majority, a defeat into a victory.

In the last Parliament the representation of Scotland was divided between forty-two Liberals and eighteen Conservatives. Of the former, twenty-four were borough members, sixteen county, with one University seat. Of the Conservatives, two were borough members, fifteen county, with one University seat. The representation now stands thus: Liberal members, fifty-two; Conservatives, eight; being a Liberal majority of forty-four, or a gain of ten seats. The Conservative gain was *nil*. The seats were distributed between twenty-six burghs, twenty-five counties, and one University seat on the Liberal side; and between seven burghs, six counties, and one University seat on the Conservative side. At the general election of 1874 there were twenty-three unopposed returns, viz., sixteen Liberal and seven Conservative. In 1880 there were twelve unopposed returns, all Liberals, and two cases in which the Liberal candidate was returned after a formal poll, the Conservative having retired subsequent to nomination. The two University seats were uncontested in 1874, and were contested on this occasion, but no change was made in the representation. In Dundee all the candidates were Liberals. When the venerable Duncan M'Laren retired from the representation of Edinburgh—in which representation he was replaced by his son, the Scotch Law Officer of the Government—he was presented by the Scotch members of the House of Commons with a testimonial, on his retirement from the representation of the Scotch capital. There was a large attendance, including Dr. Lyon Playfair, who presided, and who read the following letter from the Premier:—"10, Downing-street, Whitehall, Jan. 24th.—Dear Mr. M'Laren,—In conformity with a general rule, to which I am obliged pretty strictly to adhere, I have refrained from subscribing a document framed on behalf of the Scotch members, but I cannot refrain from writing a few lines to state with what sincere regret I subscribed, according to my official duty, another document, which opened the door

for your exit from the House of Commons at a time when all the qualities you possess have so wide a field for employment in that assembly. Your ability, your appreciation, your stout heart, your faculty of clear exposition, will be long and well remembered by your Parliamentary comrades, and your great courage in the discharge of an onerous duty, in the midst of advancing years, will, I trust, have many admirers and not a few imitators. With every good wish for your serene and prolonged old age, I am, dear Mr. M'Laren, very faithfully yours, W. E. GLADSTONE." Among the others present were Dr. Cameron, the Lord Advocate, Mr. Maxwell Heron, the Solicitor-General for Scotland, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Marjoribanks, Mr. Noel, Mr. J. Dick Peddie, the Right Hon. John Bright, Mr. McLagan, Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Webster, Dr. Farquharson, Colonel Alexander, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Armitsted, Mr. C. S. Parker, Mr. Cochrane Patrick, Mr. A. Grant, Mr. Charles Tennant, and Mr. Preston Bruce. Mr. M'Laren said he had tried to act not in a party but in a fair spirit, and that had acted on his mind during his whole Parliamentary career. At the same time he could not but recollect the kind way in which he had been received by Scotch Conservative members. The box containing the address, having on it a golden inscription and the arms of the late member in gold, had the following inscription: "Presented to Duncan M'Laren, Esq., late M.P. for Edinburgh, by the Scotch Members of the House of Commons, on his retirement from Parliament, January 20th, 1881."

In Ireland, as was to be expected, the excitement was greater in consequence of the election, and there the fight was fought out to the bitter end. Indeed, it may be said that the Prime Minister selected the Irish Question as the special issue on which he wished to meet the Opposition in an appeal to the country. To this manifesto the Irish Home Rulers replied in a manifesto addressed to the

presidents, officers, and members of the associations of the Irish Home Rule Confederation, and the Irish people in Great Britain:—"Fellow Countrymen, — The Prime Minister of England has issued, in the guise of a letter to the Irish Viceroy, a declaration of war upon you, your country, and your friends. At a loss for a cry with which to go to the electors, after six years of feebleness and cruelty abroad and sham legislation at home, a Ministry of misfortune are seeking to obtain a renewal of office by sowing dissension and hatred between Englishmen and Irishmen, and the vicious manifesto of Lord Beaconsfield directly appeals to the worst prejudices and passions in order to stir up the English people against Irish nationality. To what avail have the Home Rule League and Confederation urged upon Irishmen to pursue the attainment of our national ends by constitutional agitation, if a despotic and rancorous Minister is now to be encouraged to drive Irish discontent astride the pale of the law, in order then to drown disaffection in the blood of the people? Lord Beaconsfield will neither grant to Ireland the right to manage her own affairs, nor grant to Irishmen the common rights and privileges of British citizens. Every effort that has been made in the Parliament that is now expiring to place the Irish people on a footing of equality with England and Scotland, has been crushed by the brute strength of an unscrupulous and insolent Tory majority. Fellow countrymen, even though no upright and manly Englishman has ever spoken words of kindness and sympathy to the Irish people, it would be our duty to oppose the Minister whose policy towards our country is summed up in coercion codes, and who would jest at the starvation of the Western tenantry amidst the toasts and feasting of the London Guildhall. In presence of the atrocious and criminal manoeuvre which has now been attempted, the duty is doubly imperative. Vote against Benjamin Disraeli as you should vote against the mortal enemy of your country and your race. Vote against the unscrupulous

pulous intriguer whose character was so exactly described by the great O'Connell when he detected and denounced the faithless adventurer who at first crept into public life by begging the favour of the Liberator. Let no supporter nor nominee of his be aided by any vote of yours to swell the strength of his evil power. Every Irishman who loves Ireland—every Irishman who seeks and appreciates the friendship of honest Englishmen and Scotchmen—will oppose to the utmost of his ability the common enemy of the peace and concord of Ireland and Great Britain." This address was signed by John Barry, Vice-President; P. J. Foley, Hon. President; F. R. O'Donnell, M.P., President; Justin McCarthy, M.P., Hon. President; J. Lysaght Finigan, M.P., Hon. President, A. M. Sullivan, M.P., J. O'Connor Power, M.P., and Messrs. James Kelly, T. F. Rouse, E. Mooney, A. O'Connor, Treasurer, and W. J. Oliver, Acting Secretary. The Executive of the Home Rule Confederation sat daily. Mr. John Barry, one of the Vice-Presidents, and member designate for Wexford County, proceeded through most of the English cities and towns to organise the Irish vote, and Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P., by special request of the Executive, remained in London up to the issue of the writs, in order to advise and co-operate with them. By the 29th April, the organisation was able to report that in thirty-seven out of forty-three constituencies in which the Irish electors possessed serious influence, the Irish vote would be cast solid for the Liberal candidates. Of these places, York City, for obvious reasons, attracted special attention, Mr. James Lowther, the Irish Chief Secretary, being one of the outgoing members and a candidate for re-election. He had been returned, in 1874, by about 500 votes below his Liberal opponent (Mr. Leeman) and 500 votes ahead of a Conservative colleague; and it was stated 400 Irishmen out of 800 Irishmen at the register had on that occasion voted for him owing to his supposed advocacy as a Conservative of denominational education.

Mr. A. M. Sullivan's appearance on the scene resulted in the Irish to a man pledging themselves to vote against the "incendiary manifesto;" and the pledge was so well kept that Mr. Lowther lost his seat.

All the while, in Ireland, the Home Rulers were acting vigorously and victoriously. It is true they have much embarrassed the Liberal Government, but it is equally true that they materially helped to oust the Tories, who, at one time, had angled, and not altogether in vain, for their aid. In the expiring Parliament the Irish representation consisted of thirty-four Conservatives, fourteen Liberals, and fifty-five Home Rulers. Mr. Parnell had declared his intention of attacking the seats of lukewarm or inactive or inefficient Home Rulers, and it was anticipated that Liberals or Conservatives would proportionately gain. However, nothing of the kind took place. The Home Rule gains were:—Waterford County, 1; Wicklow County, 1; Tipperary County, 2; Carlow County, 2; Sligo County, 1; New Ross, 1; Cork City, 2; Roscommon County, 1; Tralee, 1; Kerry County, 1; Kildare County, 1; King's County, 1; in all fourteen seats, of which eight were won from the Conservatives, the remainder from the Liberals. The Home Rule losses were Dundalk, Mallow, Athlone, and Leitrim.

The net results were as follow:—

Conservative net loss	...	...	9
Liberal net loss	...	...	1
Home Rulers' net gain	...	...	10

In the Old Parliament the members were classified as follow:—

Conservatives	...	...	...	37
Liberals	...	...	...	11
Home Rulers	...	...	...	55

In the New Parliament the returns were:—

Conservatives	...	...	...	25
Liberals	...	...	...	13
Home Rulers	...	...	...	65

Although Mr. Parnell came late upon the scene—he arrived from America on the 28th of March—he was returned for three constituencies, after severe contests in

each—Meath, Cork City, and Mayo. Besides, he started ten nominees, of whom eight secured seats. A clean sweep was made of the M.P.'s who were supposed to be not sufficiently thorough, and not a little pain was felt in independent circles when such Liberals as the O'Connor Don and Mr. Dease, and such Conservatives as Colonel King Harman, Lord Robert Montagu, and Sir George Bowyer were left out in the cold. The defeat of Colonel Harman King was especially mortifying, and rather painfully suggestive. The Colonel was confessed on all sides to be one of the best and most popular of country gentlemen in the whole kingdom—generous, honest, sympathetic, brave as a lion, and kindly to all around him, moreover, an out-and-out Home Ruler. But he was a follower of Lord Beaconsfield, and he had to share in the misfortunes of his chief. Popular as he was, the owner of estates yielding a rental of £40,000 a-year in Sligo and the adjacent counties, he was swept away and hurled to the bottom of the poll by a Dublin journalist, utterly landless, but with an Irishman's power of oratory—a power nowhere so mischievous and so misleading as in the Sister Isle. The fate of such a man as Colonel King Harman is perhaps to be regretted. A Parliament of landless journalists and orators is not of itself a blessing. Whether Mr. Gladstone gained much by the Irish election has yet to be proved. All that we can certainly say is, that Lord Beaconsfield's defeat in Ireland was exceptionally crushing and severe.

The death of Lord Beaconsfield leaves Mr. Gladstone the one living Englishman who has held the great office of Prime Minister of England. Since 1702 only eight statesmen have occupied this position for a longer period than Mr. Gladstone, who has already held it six years and two months. Lord Godolphin held it for nine years (1702-11), Sir Robert Walpole for twenty-one years (1721-42), Lord North twelve years (1770-82), William Pitt twenty years (1783-1801, 1804-6), Lord Liverpool twelve years (1812-24), Lord Melbourne

six years and five months (1835-41), Lord Palmerston six years and four months (1859-65), and Lord Beaconsfield seven years.

Of no statesman of the century, except Lord Liverpool, can it be said, as it can now be said of Mr. Gladstone, that he alone among the living has reached the goal of the statesman's ambition; and of none of his predecessors in this or any other century can it be said, as it can be said of him, that after forty-nine years of active membership he is still the Leader of the House of Commons.

The House of Commons contains four members of the age of 80 and upwards, two aged 79, six aged 78, one aged 77, two aged 76, two aged 75, two aged 74, two aged 73, four aged 72, two aged 71, and three aged 70. Fortunately, the great majority of these veterans are able to take better care of themselves than the Premier.

Name and Constituency.	Age.	Ftcs.
Hughes, W. B., Carnarvon Boroughs	84	L
Bass, M. T., Derby	82	L
Carden, Sir R. W., Barnstaple	80	C
Verney, Major Sir H., Buckingham	80	L
Villiers, C. P., Wolverhampton	79	L
Wilson, Sir M., Yorkshire, W.R., N.	79	L
Bentinck, G. W. P., Norfolk, W.	78	C
Holland, S., Merionethshire	78	L
Mahon, Colonel J. P. G., Clare	78	L
Price, Sir R. G., Radnorshire	78	L
Seely, Charles, Lincoln (City)	78	L
Talbot, Capt. C.R.M., Glamorganshire	78	L
North, Colonel, J. P., Oxfordshire	77	C
Hubbard, J. G., London (City)	76	C
Matheson, Alexander, Ross and Cromarty	76	L
M'Clure, Sir J., Londonderry (County)	75	L
Walpole, S. H., Cambridge University	75	C
Lacon, Sir E. H. K., Norfolk, N.	74	C
Paget, T. T., Leicester, S.	74	L
Acland, Sir T. D., Devon, N.	73	L
Palmer, J. H., Lincoln (City)	73	L
Balfour, Sir George, Kincardineshire	72	L
Gladstone, W. E., Midlothian	72	L
Massey, W. N., Tiverton	72	L
Morley, Samuel, Bristol	72	L
Webster, John, Aberdeen	71	L
Wilmot, Sir J. E., Warwick, S.	71	C
Bright, John, Birmingham	70	L
Muntz, P. H., Birmingham	70	L
Foley, S. W., Dorset	70	C
Sir Philip Egerton (C) died April 5, aged 75.		

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MR. GLADSTONE AND BISHOP WILBERFORCE.



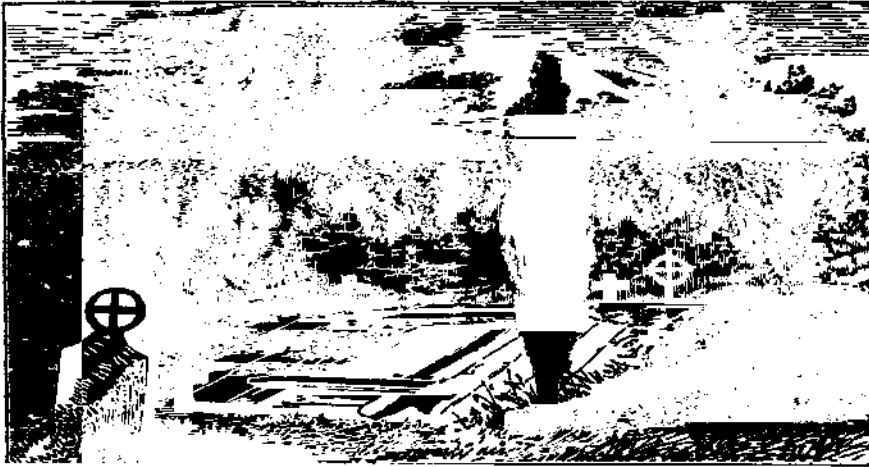
HE appearance in the spring of 1881 of the second volume of "The Life of Bishop Wilberforce," called attention anew to Mr. Gladstone's ecclesiastical position, and his lifelong friendship with the Bishop of Oxford. That Bishop Wilberforce's son had an extremely difficult task to perform in continuing the late Canon Ashwell's life of his father cannot be questioned; but he has performed it with both grace and ability. Probably, if the Canon had had the opportunity of completing his work, we should have seen in this, as was seen in the first volume of his biography, more of the human element in the Bishop's life than is to be found in the second volume. It was the exhibition and illustration of this element which constituted the great charm of Canon Ashwell's volume. This feature is not absent in the son's life; but it is not conspicuous. The Bishop is here presented more as an ecclesiastic. He is mainly an Established Church bishop and an Episcopal politician. The man, who was greater than either the bishop or the politician, is certainly often revealed to us with all his strong affections and his large human sympathies; but the history of his life for the twelve years that are covered in the volume is mainly that of a great High Church ecclesiastic. Considered as that, and even that alone—which cannot, in justice to his memory, be done—it confirms, and more than confirms, the singular revelations of Canon Ashwell's volume. Again, we have presented to us the marvellous energy, activity, and power of administration which were so admirably

illustrated by Canon Ashwell. The present author is probably reticent in this respect, where one who was not so nearly related to the Bishop need not have been reticent. But we gather enough from these pages to know that of all the great workers of modern times Bishop Wilberforce was one of the greatest. His energy was inexhaustible, his activity was ceaseless. One writer, who is quoted here, suggests that the Bishop could never have slept, and the suggestion is not altogether so exaggerative as it might seem to be. He performed all his episcopal functions with the rarest conscientiousness; he seemed to be devoted to them night and day, yet he was speaking, preaching, dining, travelling as though he had no episcopal functions to perform. He did everything as though he had nothing else to do, and, probably, as no bishop, either before or since his time, has ever done it.

No doubt much of Bishop Wilberforce's great success, both in his episcopal sphere and in society, was due to a remarkable physical and mental organisation. He was eminent in strength, and he was equally eminent in versatility. And, notwithstanding some popular prejudice against him in his lifetime, expressed in more than one epithet, it is clear, as we read his letters and diaries, that he was a man of well-defined and inflexible principle. For that popular prejudice, however, he himself was answerable. He says, over and over again, that he craves human sympathy, and that craving probably degenerated into a craving of the praise which ordinarily expresses sympathy. He liked to stand well with men; but we find nothing which indicates that, in order to seek this, if he

ever directly sought it, he consciously swerved from his own convictions, or gave the least colourable suspicion that he was untrue to his Protestant Churchmanship. In fact, reading, as we do in his biography, all his innermost thoughts and all his frankest expressions, it seems strange how such suspicion as did unquestionably attach to him, could ever have been originated. Those of his own generation, however, did not altogether understand him. He was a great, but often a somewhat suspected and an eminently reviled Churchman in his lifetime, all who read his biography will have a higher estimation than ever of his

Ritualism is the most singular feature in this biography—one which must be read by all modern Ritualists with gnashing teeth, for never did a bishop condemn their practice, when they were only just in infant growth, with such stern emphasis as did Bishop Wilberforce. Ritualism in the diocese of Oxford, had it been exhibited in his time as it is now, would, it is certain, have been suppressed with the strongest hand. His first engagement in this matter was with the Rev. T. W. Allies, whose tendencies he at once saw. Mr Allies was taken in hand, compelled to submit, and then joined the Church of Rome—a re-



THE GRAVE OF BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

greatness, and as for suspicion and reviling these belonged to the people of his own Church.

The second volume takes us through some of the remarkable public, and some of the most painful private, events in the Bishop's life—the controversy on Confession, with

private prohibition of Dr Pusey for his
revival of Convo
Arch.

markable illustration of the Bishop's instinct with regard to that gentleman, who however, is now altogether forgotten. Contrary to many ecclesiastics of his time, he did not think much of the influence of the Gorham decision, although it ostensibly led to the secession of his brother, and the present Cardinal Manning, to Rome. A correspondence took place in 1850 between Mr Gladstone and the Bishop on this matter, in which we are informed that Mr Gladstone contributed the attitude of the refusal of

the bishops to propagate a declaration that the Gorham judgment was neither the law nor the tail of the Church of England." The Bishop's correspondence on all subjects with Mr. Gladstone fills, indeed, a large

volume, for, on ecclesiastical Gladstone always the

confession is, it many, the

the great The correspondence with the Pusey, and Mr. Keble is of his letters to Dr. Pusey thus clearly defines his position as regards Confession—

"The Church of England allows it in cases of spiritual distress where the sick conscience cannot find peace through the ordinary ministrations of the Word and Sacraments, as a special remedy for a special disorder, and as a means of restoring the soul to a state in which such remedies will be no longer needed. The Church of Rome regards Confession to a priest, and consequent Absolution, and still further, Priestly Direction, as the only safe habitual state. Hence in practice: The Roman Communion, 1, enforces Confession; 2, enforces its repetition; 3, uses all means to make it minute and detailed, and so runs the fearful risks (1) of polluting the soul of the questioner by the prurient imagination of the questioner; (2) of fixing in words passing temptations which are best averted by flight; (3) of violating family relations; (4) and what I rank even above all these, of destroying in time all true responsibility by passing over to the priest the charge which God has committed to the conscience of each and every soul."

Ultimately, on the strength partly of Dr. Pusey's private assurances of his earnestness against Roman doctrine removed his

indication when the acquaintance between the divine and the statesman commenced. In 1858, Wilberforce notes in his diary: he took the opportunity of hearing a debate in the House of Commons, on the new poor law, and had "much talk with Smith, Gladstone, and Acland in the House." In the Spring we find Wilberforce sending a copy of his life of his father to Gladstone with a letter to which reference has already been made, and intimating to the statesman the writer's conviction that he would live to be a power in the land. At the time Mr. Gladstone was writing his "Church and State," and the following is his somewhat gloomy reply—

"I fear entering on the subject to which you have given the chief part of your letter because I know how large it is, and how oppressive, how all but intolerably oppressive are the considerations with which it is connected. I have not charged myself inwardly with having been used to look forward along the avenues of life rarely or neglectfully; but rather with that weakness of faith, and that shrinking of the flesh of which, at every moment, I am mournfully conscious, but most so when I attempt to estimate or conjecture our probable public destinies during the term to which our natural lives may extend—a prospect which I confess fills me with despondency and alarm. Not that these feelings are unmixed; they are tempered even at the period of which I speak with the confident anticipations of new religious power, which seems to be providentially reserved for the time of our need, for the swelling of the Jordan; and of course there lies beyond that period, for those who are appointed to it, a haven of perfect rest; but still the coming years bear to my view an aspect of gloom for the country—not for the Church, she is the land of Goshen. Looking back, ever, to the former, to the State, and to those

I am

... and enters into closer relation the characters, and, therefore, the destinies of men, there is, I fear, a falling away in the intellectual stature of the generation of men whose office it is to exercise that art for good. While public men are called by the exigencies of their position to do more and more, there seems to be in the accumulation of business, the bewildering multiplication of details, an indication of their probable capacity to do less and less. The principles of civil government have decayed amongst us a much, I suspect, as those which are ecclesiastical, and one does not see an equally ready or sure provision for their revival. We see, in actual existence, the apparatus by which our institutions are to be threatened, and the very groundwork of the national character to be broken up; but upon the other hand, if we look around for masses of principle blinded with courage and devotion, which are the human means of resistance, these I feel have yet to be organised, almost to be created." Thus early were the Bishop and the Statesman on confidential terms.

In 1861, the correspondence between the divine and the statesman seems to have been an important one. There were parliamentary movements in Oxford on the occasion of the election of a new professor of poetry, Isaac Williams being put forward by the High Church party, and Mr. Garbett by the Low. Mr. Wilberforce made up his mind to vote for the latter, as he saw that the Tractarians were doing a double mischief—Romanising the best of one side, and driving into utter Low Church the best men of the other. Mr. Gladstone's aim was that, in the interests of peace and order, both men should be withdrawn. Mr. Gladstone, keenly feeling Wilberforce's refusal to sign his address, wrote—"I need hardly express to you that I am sorely disappointed by your declining to sign. The fact that the day has come when you are conscientiously restrained from lending a hand to a plan of pacifica-

among a hundred symptoms of the times that make the heart heavy. At the same time, I cannot fail to perceive that nothing can be more single and upright than your motives; nothing more kind than your manner of expressing them. But I hope that those who are impeding what I should once have presumed to anticipate they would have been the first to undertake, or, if not, then to encourage, have well considered the issue to which they may intend that matters should be driven. Amidst the stunning events of the day, I can hardly discern anything except the duty to seek solid peace, and to repress the bitterness of spirit which is so apt to break forth from within. One lesson, at least, I have learned from it—to relinquish that somewhat boastful form in which I have often allowed myself to conceive of our history, our condition, and our prospects; yet, not endeavouring to substitute a less buoyant mood, to bate any jot of heart or hope. I do not know, with respect to the immediate matter in hand, that I am less sanguine than when last I wrote. By to-morrow's post I hope our circular will be out, and I have had the opportunity of learning that the course taken is acceptable to persons of the highest authority. Believe me, always most sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE." The Archdeacon thanked Mr. Gladstone for the friendly tone of his letter, who, in reply, stated that the address thrives beyond his expectation, adding:—"Since I last wrote to you, the matter has taken a turn, in some degree new, which induces me to suppose that with your feelings you may be disposed to reconsider your decision, and even your bishop his inhibition. We did not at the outset think it fair to ask bishops to subject themselves to the chance of a refusal. But a letter which I sent, by way of information only, to the Bishop of Salisbury, led to his signing the address, which the Bishop of Ripon has likewise done. The Bishop of Oxford, likewise, without knowing these of his brethren had signed, has expressed a strong and warm concurrence, so that I rather expect he will sign. The Bishop of

Exeter also concurs, we shall have four of the only six English bishops who are members of convocation. The quality of our names is good, and they are sufficiently diversified. Of eleven persons, I think, who refuse on account of injustice, six think it unjust to Garbett, and five to Williams. The total of refusals, I think, is fifteen." The Bishop, however, was still firm, and Mr. Garbett won by a large majority.

In 1843, Oxford was again stirred to its depths by Dr. Pusey's famous sermon on the Holy Eucharist, preached before the University of Oxford. The sermon was condemned by a board of six doctors, of whom at least four, if not five, were energetic anti-Tractarians. Dr. Pusey demanded vainly to be heard in his own defence, and the sermon was condemned, and the preacher was suspended from preaching in the university pulpit for two years. This high-handed proceeding roused a perfect whirlwind of opposition within and without the university. No fewer than 230 non-resident members, including Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Hook, together with a large majority of students, sought to address the Vice-Chancellor on the question, but in vain, for Dr. Wenter was immovable, and the sentence was carried out.

When Archdeacon Wilberforce sent Mr. Gladstone a copy of his "History of the American Church," Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, stated that he had read it with pleasure, adding:—"The picture is, indeed, a very striking one, and most painful in particular as showing the exhausting power upon the inner life of quasi establishment, such as that which prevailed in Virginia, and its evils are not neutralised by the

to me, but, chiefly on account of time, I did not ask it. So far as I can judge, you did your duty faithfully by him, and kindly by me. I do not mean that I was a convinced assentient to all the changes that were made, but we all felt the absolute necessity of retrenchment, and though I should have let the pruning-knife fall on the argument respecting conscience, I think it was reasonable and right that Lockhart's opinion should be the rule, and *a fortiori* so when it was backed by those of his counsellors, and I would on no account have had my own way about it. I had intended to tell you that when I quoted a passage from your book on the American Church, as implying that persons of Romish opinion ought to leave the Church of England, no doubt had crossed my mind as to the correctness of my construction of the passage, or I should, of course, have referred to you about it." Mr. Gladstone refers in particular to a passage treating of the Papal Supremacy, as approximating to an actual deposition of the Redeemer from the headship of the Church, as a position which seems to him is only applicable in any degree to the most Ultramontane theory respecting it, and then proceeds to speak of the hebdomadal movement in Oxford condemnatory of Mr. Ward's bulky volume, "The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered."

"I confess," he writes, "that I have travelled but very little way indeed with the heads—perhaps no further than this, that Ward's propositions are each and all of them deserving of censure. But then arises a serious question. If Ward is to be censured for what he has said of the Reformation, what is to be done with regard to his more prominent views?"

and submitted to the University of Oxford prior to its publication. Mr. Gladstone's remarks:—"I knew nothing of your criticisms on the article except from Lockhart's general account; he offered to send them



BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

be, according to the law of the Church of England, heretical. I do not go to any other instance, because one is enough, and though the point is at first sight a small one, yet it may be enough for my purpose, which is to show the difficulty I feel with regard to voting censure upon matters short of heretical, while heretical matter is spared. Nor do I think the common answer, 'one fault does not excuse,' is relevant in such a case. The question is concerning the theological character of the university. Laxity of discipline though deplorable, is intelligible, and is distinguishable from a state of indifference; but if the reins are to be drawn tight, what shall we say if the relative proportions of here and inferior error are to be averted? 'The university is bound to defend its law's' test, but yet more to defend the faith. I have a further difficulty in declaring Ward guilty of a breach of faith. I think his interpretation of the last clause of Article XIX. utterly untenable, but certainly not more so than Simeon and Scott's interpretation of articles—catechism and Prayer book alike—with respect to baptism. All seem to me alike false, but I am not prepared to say any of them amounted to breach of faith, and more especially do I hesitate to punish the one as breach of faith, while I know it is quite beyond my power to punish the numerous living followers and representatives of the other—quite out of my power, and also not within my will.

Mr. Gladstone, on many grounds besides illiberality, saw objections to a test. (1) The recurrence to the sense of first promulgation is no guarantee against Whiggism, because it is a part of Whiggism to believe that he is acting wholly within his theory of the promulgators. (2) the sense of first promulgation is a matter only to be known by much historical study, and so far as I can get at it, I am disposed to believe it was a sense very liberal towards the Church of Rome. This appears to me to stand upon the face of the articles much more than upon any other sense. But whether that

be so or not, I do not think you should call upon me to affirm virtually propositions of history, unless where they are known either by study or notoriety. And in this case few could have adequately studied, and I am not aware that in any sense (*quoad*) these points are notorious; (3) I find, however, much greater difficulty still in conjecturing what is meant by the present sense of the university. I think there is no university sense sufficiently definite to be made the subject of a test. But even if that position be waived, where is this definite sense to be found? And is it fixed, or does it vary from year to year? If it means the prevailing impression on the minds of the majority of Convocation, then it is obvious to remark:—(1) Twenty years ago this was the sense of Bishop Tomline; but now it is clearly some other sense than that; and probably twenty years hence again it will be a different one. I do not now speak of the sense with regard to matters of faith, though even on that, also, much might be said; but of the sense *quoad* protests against Rome, with regard to which I can hardly conceive it possible that there should not be a constant ebb and flow of the Church of England within certain limits; (2) if it is difficult to know either where this sense is to be found, or what it is, it seems to me not short of a gross absurdity to expect men to declare that it is the same as that of the first promulgation of the articles; (3) further, the case is indeed frightful, if, as I understand, it lies wholly in the breast of the Vice-Chancellor for the time being to bring the engine into play. For in that case, practically, the sense is his sense, and on conformity to this sense must depend practically the access to degrees, and in great measure to holy orders. I do not scruple to say that this project, if I understand it aright, wears in this light an aspect of audacious and abominable tyranny; (4) which brings us to a very serious matter. Assuming what has preceded were true, I do think that the proposition itself is a violent blow to the whole doctrine and practice of subscription, and that if it be

tenaciously adhered to it will break down subscription altogether—in my view, a very deplorable catastrophe.”

Mr. Gladstone then refers to Archdeacon Wilberforce's charge. After remarking that he would put in pleas for some men and things, which the Archdeacon would not allow, Mr. Gladstone observes :—“ You have enumerated in one very interesting part the modes of restoration which different parties suggest. Suppose, however, you were forced to say what was the most formidable barrier in the way of the religion of the Church among the people. I confess I have a strong impression, though founded on very narrow experience, that your greatest difficulty is this: the Church preaches one thing and practises another. In the pulpit she preaches on the assumption of the distinction between right and wrong—sanctity and sin—but in the administration of ordinances, where she acts, we find only the faintest vestiges of such a distinction. Clerical life and doctrine have risen with wonderful rapidity; the people improve, but in nothing like the same ratio. Upon the whole, the soil scarcely seems to act in a just proportion to the culture. I am afraid at least a secret of weakness lies in the fact that the system is a paper system and a mouth-system; it has lost its judicial force. Men are told how to do right, and how to obtain strength to do right, and if they do right it is all well for them; but those who do wrong are practically treated in a manner so nearly identical that the reality of the distinction is scarcely traced, and vice loses a great part of the ordained means of correction and faith of support. Methodism and dissent have a discipline, and from it I believe they draw nearly all that is respectable and spiritually solid in their strength. To me, therefore, it always appears that in the conditions necessary for the palpable manifestation of the church as the church, some are fulfilled and some forward in the way of fulfilment; one faith and liturgy the first; the lives and preaching of the clergy the second; but as to that the acting of the

Church lags far behind; nor has the time come, nor can it after many years of toil, when the mind of her members shall be instructed enough to let her act upon them. What proof of this are we witnessing, and what errors of premature enforcement? Still as a voluntary work, discipline, I trust grows, and will grow, and the materials will gradually accumulate for its more general restoration. . . . I rejoice to see that your views are, on the whole, hopeful. For my part, I heartily go along with it. The fabric consolidates itself more and more, even while the earthquake robs it, for with a thousand drawbacks and deductions, love grows larger, zeal warms truth firmer among us. It makes the mind sad to speculate upon the question how much better all might have been: but our returning should be turned into joy and thankfulness when we think, also, how much worse it was. It seems to be written for our learning and use, ‘He will be very gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry; when he shall hear it, he will answer it; and though the Lord give you the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner more; but their eyes shall see thy teachers, and their ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way: walk ye in it.’

The letters on the subject extended to January 16th. “For the sake of the university,” writes Mr. Gladstone, in a letter of that date, “I am glad to hear that the test is withdrawn. I feel more and more the difficulty of the delivery by Convocation of a sentence in the Court of Convocation upon Ward. At the same time I grant you that I should be very wrong to remind myself that I subscribed the Articles in a non-natural sense. On the other hand there are important phrases here and there of which I am very far from thinking that I know the meaning with certainty. For example, in Art. XIII. It was a very improper and bad thing to say that he subscribed a certain clause in a non-natural sense, but I doubt if it amounts to bad

faith; and yet more do I feel the false position in which the University and the Church will be placed if in their judicial proceedings it be found that men may tamper with the Articles in relation to the Holy Trinity and the offices of our Lord and retain their degrees, while a man who sins upon the particular points at issue between Rome and the Church of England is to be deprived of his at the instance of a board of which that very man is an active member. I do not know how to escape the conclusion that the body so acting places matters less than of faith in a category of higher allegation than matters of faith. The vehemence with which I have presumed to censure Ward leads me to feel a special duty of caution and rigid justice in these proceedings."

In 1845, there is a curious interchange of letters between Wilberforce (then Dean of Westminster) and Mr. Gladstone. It appears the latter had sent the former a list of questions touching the status of the Irish Church, bearing largely on the question whether the Anglican or the Roman Episcopate were the genuine representatives of the ancient Irish Church. The Dean replies "that the thing the Irish Church needs to do is to show that she is the Irish Church." Mr. Gladstone replies:—"Do not think that I intend to keep up the fire at this rate, but I wish, while I recollect it, to ask that when it suits you, you will kindly send back the essays which I sketched, as I omitted to keep a copy of them. I wish I could accept your comfort for the quivering of intellectual positions of which important convictions tested themselves in a process meriting disagreeable sensations. I agree, indeed, that the political question of the continuance of the present settlement of Church property in Ireland will not be decided by a reference to my queries. As you say 'title by descent will not uphold her, and efficiency would be her best argument. But to express my conviction that the Church is not in a large sense efficient, the working results of the last ten years have disappointed me. It

may be answered, Have faith in the ordinance of God; but then I must see the seal and the signature, and these how can I separate from ecclesiastical descent? The title, in short, is questioned, and vehemently, not only by the Radicalism of the day, but by the Roman bishops who claim to hold the succession of St. Patrick; and this claim has been alive all along from the Reformation, so that lapse of years does nothing against it. But I am far from wishing to put upon *you* the bolting of these questions to the bran, especially as I am much persuaded that one of our crying evils is to concentrate too many undertakings on single men, instead of a just distribution. The constitutional question of succession as the estate of religion is a great though a secondary one, and it is more or less affected by these queries."

When Newman published his book on the "Theory of Development," in answer to a letter from Wilberforce, then Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Gladstone writes, December 10th, 1845:—"In answer to your query, I have read Newman's book with the greatest attention I could bestow upon it, for I regarded his secession as an event unexampled; as an epoch in the history of the Church of England. The work makes upon me no impression, individually, adverse to her claims to my allegiance, but yet I think it is a book which for its own sake, and on account of the influence of its author, ought to be taken into consideration with a view to answer by one or more of our very best heads. The view which you have projected in terms so very distinct and clear, though without saying you are prepared to *stand* by it, is as fascinating from *primal* face completeness as the theory of development itself. But I am not able to convince myself that to draw out with logical accuracy what is actually in Scripture constitutes the whole expository gift of the Church. It is long since I read Vincentius, but I have always taken for granted that there is necessarily in the Church some power of development, and he gives certain limits of that power. I feel that

the Church of England has effectually confined this power from extravagating the terms of the sixth Article, that explanation and definition constitute its principal elements, and I have never felt that in matters *de fide* the Church had exercised anything more. Still, the very fact of founding the Romanism upon 'I and my Father are one' (which I suppose is the nearest Scriptural authority) involves a spiritual gift, and therefore requires more than logical accuracy. Then I grant it becomes extremely difficult to draw out with precision against Newman the limits of this power, but it would be a noble work, and I am sure Bishop Butler could do it were he now alive. In fragments many things that might be said have occurred to me; but one would like to see a constructive as well as destructive answer. In some points of view, it seems to me that this book establishes positions most important for us. It seems almost to give up the question as to the nearest claim to the possession of spiritual doctrine, and to reduce the whole claim of the Church of Rome from determinate to indeterminate, from Divine to Providential. I do not think the author of 'Unam Sanctam' would have thanked him for this kind of Popery. On the other hand, I am beyond measure grieved and shocked at the doctrine of the book concerning the Blessed Virgin. If you have not seen this, pray observe the running titles of pp. 403-5-7-9, and read pp. 405-7, and 444. I should delight to come to Cuddesdon as your guest.

In 1847, there was a great excitement in connection with the elevation of Dr. Hampden to the Bishopric. Mr. Gladstone wrote on the subject to the Bishop of Oxford as follows:—"Lord Campden showed me on Friday a note from Baddeley, in which it was stated that due measures were in progress for raising the question about Dr. Hampden at the confirmation. This I presume is enough for you, and indeed I do not know more myself. I have declined taking any active

part in lay proceedings against Dr. Hampden, first because I think the indispensable condition of their efficiency is that they should not originate with men who have been called in question as opposed in theological subjects; secondly, because I think that this subject will find its way into Parliament, and if I am a mover of out-of-door agitation, I shall cripple myself fatally there when I think I have a strong ground of complaint, on the part of the university. This subject and the Jews are not unconnected. I purposely avoid allowing myself to resolve until the time comes for a near and clear view, but my mind verges towards a vote, at whatever hazard, in their favour."

Well might Mr. Gladstone be glad to be the friend and ally of Wilberforce. One day, at Langton House, Mr. Cobden said to the person who was standing near him: "What think you of our host? I say, if he had not been a priest, he must have been a Prime Minister." The late Lord Chelmsford used to say: "It was lucky for some of us that he was a Bishop, for had he been one of us, he certainly must have been Lord Chancellor." One who knew the Bishop wrote, that he stated that he owed his faculty of speech mainly to the pains that his father had taken with him that he might acquire the habit of speaking. His father used to make himself well acquainted with a given subject, and then speak it without notes and trusting to the inspiration of the moment for suitable words." It is curious to note that Mr. Gladstone became for the first time Cabinet Minister all but simultaneously with the elevation of Samuel Wilberforce to the Episcopate. The Bishop and the Statesman seem often to have met on the platform as well as in private. At the great meeting of the friends of the Colonial Church at the Hanover Square Rooms, Lord Eldon in the chair, on the 30th of June, 1847, being the day following the consecration in Westminster Abbey of four Colonial Bishops—Gray of Capetown, Tyrrell of Newcastle, Short of Adelaide, and Perry of Melbourne—Mr. Gladstone and the Bishop were the prin-

episcopal speakers. It seems one of the earliest oratorical holds by the Bishop, out of his own diocese, was that of Pasque, in the diocese of Aberdeen, which had been built and endowed by Sir John Gladstone, the father of the Bishop's life-long friend, Mr Gladstone. And afterwards, when the Bishop went to Woolthorpe to consecrate a church near Belvoir, just built by the Duke of Rutland, the Bishop wrote to Miss Noel:—"I must do as you wish, and write a few lines to you from Belvoir Castle. A most pleasant task of time went with inclination. I got here yesterday about five. Alighting on the railway station are Mr. Gladstone and Mrs. Gladstone, Sidney Herbert and his very nice new wife, Lord Clive, &c. We had a pleasant evening last night."

This reference to Dr. Tyrrell and the Colonial Bishops, compels me to add that the bishops, all the world over were not a little interested in Mr. Gladstone. In the life of the Bishop of Newcastle, Australia, under the date of 1852, we read:—"Mr. Gladstone's Colonial Church Bill would not seem to affect our position. Bishop Broughton, the metropolitan of the district, deemed it necessary, however, to take a voyage to England with a view to consult on Church matters. His design, we are told, was to secure the removal of those restrictions by which the Colonial Church was inhibited from the exercise of those powers of self-guidance with which she was originally endowed, and that there might no longer exist any obstacle to the meeting of the bishops, clergy, and laity, to consult and make regulations for the better management of the affairs of the Church in his diocese. In the meantime, the attention of the British Parliament had been directed to the necessity for the introduction of such measures on behalf of a very considerable section of the Colonial Churches, by Mr. Gladstone, then M.P. for the University of Oxford. This concurrence of so many portions of the Church, in the same views, at the same instant, from east to west, from north to south, from the centre to the

utmost limit, and the adoption of these by the most distinguished statesmen, urged to it by no solicitation or impulse from the Australian dioceses, but by their own thoughtful conviction, was assuredly," writes the Bishop's biographer, "a token that this movement formed part of God's providential arrangement that, as the days of His Church are, so should her strength be. The Bishop was not aware what were the provisions of Mr. Gladstone's bill; but had he been in a position to recommend a course of proceeding, his advice would have been that previously to the initiation of any parliamentary action, her Majesty should be advised to issue a commission to inquire into and report upon the state of the entire Colonial Church; and that such report should be referred to sub-committees of churchmen in each colonial diocese before any further action should be taken upon it. The principles, according to Bishop Broughton, to be kept in mind, were three. That all approach to an *Erastian character* be scrupulously avoided—*i.e.*, that the State do not assume to itself the right to alter the existing laws of the Church, or to impose rules of government; unless the Church, both clergy and laity, shall have had a previous opportunity of examining into the proposed settlement, and judging whether it is fully agreeable to the mind of Christ. (2nd) That all the fundamental rules of the Church of England, whether as to doctrine or as to its rule of discipline, be duly maintained. (3rd) That one system uniform as to all vital and essential observances be established throughout all the Colonial Churches. Such was the scheme with which Bishop Broughton sailed away from Sydney to England in 1852, with a view to see Mr. Gladstone and other leaders in Church and State. It was ordained, however, that he should never return to the colony where he had laboured sixteen years. Early in 1853 he succumbed to an attack of bronchitis, and was buried in Canterbury; where, in the north aisle of the Cathedral a recumbent effigy of the first Bishop of Australia—subsequently

Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan—testifies to the unity of the Church of Australasia with that of St. Augustine and St. Anselm. A unity which has been increased and strengthened by Mr. Gladstone's great Act for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Ireland, and which shall become more complete when in the process of time and under the influence of the increasing Liberalism of the age a similar measure of justice shall be acceded to the Church of England; when the Church, freed from the entanglements of a worldly, that is, of a State alliance—strong in the strength of truth—shall, with fresh energy, resume her grand vocation—to give battle to the sin and scepticism of the age, and under the banner of the Cross, to triumph over all her foes, rich or poor, high or low at home or abroad. It was late, very late, in the day when England sent out Colonial bishops. Archbishop Laud wished to do so, but the England of that day reasonably objected to his theology and politics; when America separated from the old country, the opponents of Episcopacy were too strong. But at length—that is, in Mr. Gladstone's day—the Church of England was thoroughly aroused, especially in consequence of the action of the Bishop of London (Bloomfield), and one of his most earnest and most active supporters was Mr. Gladstone himself."

But to return to the letters and diaries of the Bishop, which become more interesting as time advances, and as he and Mr. Gladstone become increasingly powerful in Church and State.

It seems when there was danger of Archdeacon Manning's secession from the Church, Mr. Gladstone reminded the Bishop of a conversation which had taken place between them, in the course of which Mr. Gladstone had pointed out that, if the great majority of the bishops had, immediately after the promulgation of the Gorham Judgment, openly in combination declared that they would uphold the doctrine of the Church as regarded Baptism, even though such decla-

ration was not of the nature of a corporate action, such a step would have held secure to the Church not only Archdeacon Manning but many others who, like him, were longing for some alternative declaration. In reply the Bishop wrote (1850) —

My dear Gladstone,—My stay here has not been so much of Manning. Never has he been so open, so fully trusting with me. We have been together through all his difficulties. But, also, it has not on my mind the full conviction that he is lost to us. It is, as you say, the dread ground of historical inquiry where our paths part. He seems to have followed sincerely the course which the Roman Church has followed as a body. He has gone back into those early times when what afterwards became these corruptions were only the germ-buds of Catholic usages; he has fully accustomed his mind to them, unto a system which wants them seems to him incomplete and uncatholic, and one which has them is the wiser and purer and the more catholic for having them, and he can excuse in a great degree these practical corruptions and justify altogether the doctrinal rightness. All this has been set up and rendered practical in the face of our own troubles, but the result has been very hopeless of the issue. I do not all understand what is the matter with the present state of the Church. I believe you can. The broken sleep, the heavy waking before the sorrow has shaped itself with returning consciousness into a definite form, the vast and spreading dimensions of the fears for others it excites, the clouding over of all the future. It has quite pressed upon me and I owe, I believe, to it as much as any thing else, a sharp attack of fever, which has *quitted* me down a good deal. I am going, after my ordination, at my doctor's desire for a fortnight or three weeks tour and I think of going to Scotland. I know not if I should be near you, but I am sure Gladstone could have me if I were not. If were so, I should be very glad to see you. I thank you sincerely for letting me know about yourself. Such assurances are like

the voice of a true comrade in the stifling mist. May it please God to bless your travel. I am very sorry that you will be away this winter, but I trust that you as well as yours may return to us strengthened by your absence." In reply to this, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Bishop on Sept. 17th, from which letter it can be gathered that Mr. Gladstone thought, from his personal knowledge, that even before the Gorham Judgment the Archdeacon's mind had become so imbued with the Roman Catholic faith that he had ceased to struggle actively against these new convictions. The conversations which took place and the letters which passed between Mr. Gladstone and the Archdeacon created an impression on Mr. Gladstone's mind that, though the Archdeacon was convinced of the authority of the Church of England, and believed in her mission, yet he could not disguise from himself that there were things in the Romish Church which he preferred. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, attributed the decided attitude of the Archdeacon to the result of the refusal of the bishops to propagate a declaration that the Gorham Judgment was neither the faith nor the law of the Church of England. At any rate, so writes Bishop Wilberforce's biographer.

In 1851, the case of the Rev. Mr. Bennet much exercised the public mind, and touching it the Bishop of Oxford wrote to Mr. Gladstone in reply to one received from him, in which the Bishop asks: "What is to be done that practically can I do? If I know myself, there is no sacrifice I would not make for the Church's welfare. But what is to be done with so utterly divided an Episcopate, with such a Primate (Howley) in so many ways mischievously good; with such men as are many of my brethren; what is to be done but to try and administer the diocese committed to me justly, soberly, lovingly, and actively. Now, my dear Gladstone, I ask this of you as a friend, whose fidelity and sound judgment and observation I can trust, and believe me I will thank you for any plain-spokenness with which you can say what you think it

right to say." This, writes the Bishop's biographer, was followed by an important letter from Mr. Gladstone, who explained that it was not as ruling their dioceses that he found fault with the bishops generally, but as the body which represented the Church in Parliament. He also stated that although he was aware that there were some bishops who would stand firm to the Church's teaching, yet the great majority, including the Archbishop, seemed to be utterly indifferent to upholding any dogmatic teaching in the Church. Mr. Gladstone further strengthened his argument that earnest churchmen could place no confidence in the Episcopate as a body by alluding to the imputations made both in the House of Commons and in society on the subject of the bishops' incomes. Mr. Gladstone proposed to visit Cuddesdon and talk the questions which were under discussion fully over. In reply to a letter of the Bishop's, Mr. Gladstone wrote, in Jan., 1852:—"As to the Commission and the Bishops, I think of those of the Durham class a shade more leniently than you. I would not say that as mere public officers they are bound in honour not to profit by the surplus. As successors of the Apostles, it seems to me they might have done well to place them at the disposal of the Church in one way or another. But as to the York and Ely class, I am greatly more rigorous than you are. If I am rightly impressed by the terms of the Act—which I have not before me—these bishops distinctly and deliberately withhold the property of the Church, both capital and interest, and have never been called upon to pay the interest at all, and I am quite certain that no lay state officer could have ventured upon such a proceeding. But when I say it is often better in the House of Commons to make no apology than a half apology, I do not push that so far as to say that you as an individual Bishop ought not to be defended as is an individual in a case such as you describe, and I am sure that you would find no difficulty in finding persons ready by the score when

an occasion offered to make such a statement as that affecting yourself in your letter in reply to such an attack of which I was not previously aware." Since the above was written we have had clearer revelations as to bishops' incomes. How is it that the descendant of Bishop Tomline—Pitt's Bishop Tomline, for instance—has property which he now offers for sale for more than a million? Truly the bishops in the good old times must have feathered their nests well.

Mr. Gladstone paid Cuddesdon a visit, and the result of the conversation between him and the Bishop was as follows:—

"1. By the Gorham Judgment a foundation is laid for emptying of all their force, the articles of the Creed one by one, as public opinion by successive stages shall admit and encourage it.

"2. Also for habitual assumption by the State of the office of interpreting the Creed as well as the other documents of the Church.

"3. A minority of the bishops, including neither of the archbishops, have protested each for himself.

"4. A minority of the clergy, including perhaps a fourth of the whole number, have protested also, some of them in dioceses or archdeaconries.

"5. The Primate has instituted a priest rejected by his bishop for false doctrine, declaring that his office was ministerial, and contending so to use and discharge it.

"6. The Bishop has admitted among his clergy the priest so instituted.

"7. In 1850, after the judgment, a large portion of the bishops strove for a measure which would have given to the Episcopate the power of deciding any point of doctrine involved in an appeal; opposed, however, by many of their number and not supported by the primates.

"8. In the more favourable of the two Houses of Parliament this bill was rejected on a second reading by a majority.

"9. The session of 1851 passed away without the renewal of the bill, and with-

out any definite announcement that it would be reintroduced, or that any other measure of like tendency would be instituted for it at a specified time in the prospects, but which would be greatly damaged by this delay.

"10. There is not the smallest hope of the united action of the bishops in seeking hereafter to do any such thing, nor any great probability that a large majority of them can be got to do so.

"11. Every rational principle of calculation leads to the conclusion that the tone of the Episcopal Bench with respect to dogma or authoritative teaching will decline instead of rising in the course of any period of future years.

"12. The character of the English Episcopate and of the Church, so far as the latter is determined by the former, is to be read not in the isolated acts of a minority and in part only of the personal acts of the majority, but much more and mainly in the united acts of the whole body.

"13. Of these there have been two very solemn and considerable. One of them was the address on Papal aggression, with the prayer that temporal penalties might be enforced against the assumption of diocesan title and jurisdiction by prelates of the Roman Church.

"14. Another solemn and united act was the Rubrical Declaration of last spring. The world sees that the English Episcopate cannot unite to defend an endangered doctrine of the Church, a doctrine endangered by an instrument that cuts at the whole foundation of doctrine; but can unite to check certain revivals of ceremonial which are known to tend as a whole to bring our worship a step nearer to that of the Eastern as well as the Roman Church. The world will fairly infer that the Protestantism of the Church of England as represented by its living Episcopate has a rigid and an elastic side—rigid toward the ancient Church with which it is continuous and identical, elastic toward the system which destroys doctrine by degrading authoritative teaching and that both the

particular question of Baptism and the claims of the Church as against the civil power to decide or interpret all doctrine are in the view of the Episcopate as a body, open questions properly so called."

Deeply moved by Mr. Gladstone's view, Bishop Wilberforce set about the meeting of Convocation after it had been silenced one hundred and thirty-five years. In reply to a letter of the Bishop's on the subject, Mr. Gladstone wrote, in the autumn of 1852:—"Why should the reform of Convocation be considered by a commission rather than by the two Houses themselves, acting in concert by delegations, joint committees, or whatever be most in favour? I do not like the idea that the assembled clergy shall give their countenance to a form of proceeding which is at the very best but half constitutional, and which may become in circumstances not remote, extremely dangerous. It is true that the time may not have come, probably has not come, for granting either the one prayer or the other. Still, I assume your assent to the proposition that it is best to set out with the request which will be the likeliest to be granted when the time of ripeness comes. I cannot but feel, in passing, how much your ground would be strengthened on this matter by your being also engaged in a generous proposal with regard to church rates. The settlement of that question is, in my belief, an indispensable preliminary to real progress in regard to Church government. (To resume.) Again, your second prayer, (to address her Majesty praying that no alterations be made in the capitular bodies until the subject has been discussed and resolved on by Convocation), would bring you into direct collision with the apparent intention of Government. I do not approve of that intention. It is the natural and normal expedient of a weak administration, though no doubt meant well, unless it be that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners—a public body—have now become partners in the chapter—a kind of dodge which perhaps may have gone far enough to sustain the case. I cannot well distin-

guish between this and the University Commissioners. But Goulburn has agreed to some, and Herbert may, and I conclude Government have not moved without sanction from other bishops besides Lambeth; if so, you would have them to encounter. And besides, I should be very sorry that when laying the ground for asking what the world and the State would call a boon, you should combine with it a protest savouring, or at any rate sure to be thought savouring, of jealousy. Would it be possible to frame a motion in this sense:—(a) In very general terms to pray the Crown to take the counsel of its bishops and clergy in regard to further cathedral legislation; (b) to pray that whatever was done, and whatever revenues might be left to the cathedrals, they might be applied strictly to the pursuit of positive spiritual and ecclesiastical duties in connection with those establishments." Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Gladstone shows himself to be a true son of the Church.

Other matters to which we must now direct our attention happened in that year. The Chancellorship of the University of Oxford became vacant in September by the death of the Duke of Wellington, and who was to fill the vacant chair was a matter of serious consultation. A hope had been entertained that the Duke of Newcastle would be selected, but when it had been resolved to put forward Earl Derby, the Bishop of Oxford wrote to the Duke, that if he were proposed "the mass of the country clergy would look at it simply as an attack on the Conservative Government, and vote against us; Lord Derby would be brought in as the Low Church candidate; the whole effect of Gladstone's contest and success would have been lost; the University would be said to have corrected its judgment, and we should have damaged a great cause here—secured another contest for Gladstone and injured you." Mr. Gladstone agreed with the Bishop, that the Duke would have been the better candidate, though he was satisfied with the choice of Lord Derby,

the only fear being that Lord Derby might fall into the hands of an obstruction party.

Again, on the formation of the Gladstone Ministry, when Mr. Gladstone, who had been made Chancellor of the Exchequer, appealed to his constituents for re-election, we find the Bishop hard at work; Mr. Dudley Percival at the last moment was brought forward, and the opposition was based upon Mr. Gladstone's recent votes on ecclesiastical questions. In his diary the Bishop writes:—"Gladstone's majority increased. Marvellous to say, Bennett, after all Gladstone's self-devotion, came up from Frome to vote against him. Such is man!" Again the Bishop wrote to the Prince:—"I feel deeply the degradation of my University in this disgraceful contest. But your Royal Highness will allow me to say, that in the minds of the vast majority of the resident members there is not a shadow of hesitation as to supporting Mr. Gladstone on the highest grounds. That the opposition from the country is to be traced, I verily believe, to one strong feeling which the Carlton Club has worked on with considerable skill. Mr. Gladstone's old supporters would have borne from him anything except a union with Lord John Russell, who has unfortunately concentrated in himself a most unusual amount of distrust and indignation by his conduct, or supposed conduct, in administering the patronage of the Crown." How strongly the Bishop felt in this matter is to be gathered from the following letter addressed to Dr. Farley, asking for his vote on the ground "that his serving, and the serving of his friends in this Government, is from the purest and highest motive of serving the Sovereign and the Church, and that the interests of our Church are as deeply involved in maintaining him in power as they can be in any such human event." Mr. Gladstone, in his turn, was equally ready to bear testimony to the Bishop's character. In April, 1853, on a discussion on the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill, he returned in reply to Sir John Pakington:—"The right honourable gentleman has been

pleased to advert to the speech of a right rev. prelate in another place, a speech of plausible fallacies in support of the Ecclesiastical Bill. He was astonished that a right hon. gentleman should have thought himself warranted with so much coolness to set down as plausible fallacies what the hearers of that right reverend prelate had described as not among the least brilliant orations ever delivered by one who was certainly among the first of our public speakers. But he did not wish to dwell upon the merits of his public speaking, but upon the merits of his speech. He was glad that a bishop of the Church of England was able from the strength of his mind, his keen sense of justice, and the courage with which he defended what he believed to be right, to come forward and declare himself a supporter of a bill like this, notwithstanding the obloquy which, especially among his profession, might attach itself to such support. He believed the right rev. prelate judged well and wisely in the support he gave the bill."

"I must thank you," wrote the Bishop to Mr. Gladstone, "in one line for your defence of me against Sir John Pakington. It was worth while to be often attacked, to be so defended by you."

But to return to the correspondence on Church topics. Mr. Gladstone writes in July, 1853:—"My dear Bishop of Oxford,—That which I had feared is coming upon the Colonial Church Bill. Our Solicitor-General is greatly moved by it, and it is difficult to say whether more by horror or alarm. His opinion, I should think, will carry his Attorney. It will be natural that they should be consulted, indeed, almost necessary. Now, what I am afraid of is, that they will say they would have approved of a purely permissive bill like mine of last year, but will insist that this is not such and will in that way throw it over for another session. Bethell (the Solicitor-General) is ready to pin himself to the last point of my bill—nay, he would even do without the constructive clauses, and would like it all the better, but he cannot bear

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF W E GLADSTONE

the idea of giving a *quasi* legal sanction and authority to the sequel. His opinions, in fact, suited me very closely; but what I am afraid of is that we shall play at battledore and shuttlecock with the bill, and allow

to go over the bill, and show in what way he thinks it can be made enduring." A few days after Mr Gladstone writes — "You will have seen in the newspapers before this reaches you the fate of the Colonial



VIEW OF THE CONSERVATORY AT SEAFIELD, S.A.

the subject to be tossed backwards and forwards by objections from opposite quarters while the substantial question will remain suspended in mid-air all the time. I have begged the Solicitor-General Church Bill. I think the course of the debate was mainly due to the want of a sponsor for the bill. This is the more to be regretted because to-day Walpole tells Herbert he was ready to move the second



THE LATE SIR CHARLES REED, M.P.
CHAIRMAN OF THE SCHOOL BOARD.

reading of the bill. But there were other auxiliary events—the very vehement intervention of Kinnaird and his friends, and what is more important, the combined declarations of Inglis and Henley about the bill, which afforded another example of the difficulty of choosing, under the circumstances of the day, between one political party and another, *as such*, in regard to the interests of the Church. I must say that Lord John did and said all a man could, but Henley's declaration put the matter beyond all doubt, and nothing remained but to leave the question upon a footing as creditable and as hopeful for the future as possible, which I endeavoured to do. One other question remains—What should be done? It occurs to me that the Colonial bishops now in England might meet and present a petition expressing their regret that circumstances have prevented legislation during the present year, and praying that Parliament will at the earliest practicable period next year proceed to make provision by removal of disability in such mode as they shall think fit for what they know to be really a crying practical want.

Again we find Mr. Gladstone taking a deep interest in the settlement of the Maurice affair. The Rev. Mr. Maurice was one of the Professors of Divinity at King's College, London, then a young institution, presided over by Dr. Jelf, and governed by a council. Maurice published a volume of essays on theological subjects, one of which, respecting the eternity of hell torments, was deemed objectionable, and the result was that Bishop Blomfield wrote to Dr. Jelf that as long as Professor Maurice held his chair, he should decline to receive the College Certificate as a qualification. Once already Professor Maurice's views had been questioned on the subject of Christian Socialism and now it was felt in clerical circles that it was high time to put an end to such pestiferous teaching. Mr. Gladstone sided with the Bishop of Oxford in saving Maurice from censure, but in vain. He writes, in October, 1853—"My

dear Bishop of Oxford,—I stayed for the King's College Council, but without effect. They have done the deed—*i.e.*, declared Maurice's statements to be of dangerous tendency, and resolved that his connection with the theology of the college ought not to continue. I moved that the Bishop of London be requested to appoint theologians to examine, but in vain. Sir J. Patteson, Sir B. Brodie, and Mr. Green were with me. I imagine there will be a small uproar about the business. I hope you did not disapprove my suggestion.' When Maurice died it was found that he had a larger following than his enemies suspected.

In November of this year we find the following entry in the Bishop's diary:—"Long talk with Arthur Gordon. Lord Aberdeen was growing a look upon Gladstone as his successor, and so told Gladstone the other day. Cabinet shaky."

Incidentally we get a glimpse of Gladstone in the season of 1854. Mr. Gordon, it seems, just after getting into Parliament, had been attacked in the *Daily News*. He adds, describing the attack, in a letter to the Bishop of Oxford:—"As I sit on the bench immediately behind Gladstone, his weary sigh teaches me that it is not a life of pleasure I have to expect from the House of Commons." In the same Archdeacon Willeson, brother to the late Lord of his brother, a Roman Catholic, took pains to dissuade the Archbishop from taking such a step as Mr. Gladstone, who went to Lavington for that purpose. Writing to his brother, the Archdeacon said:—"I am much encouraged to remain quiet by Gladstone's influence and arguments, in addition to yours and Keble's, but I must endeavour to find some principle on which to justify such acquiescence before I can feel that I stand on anything of a permanent basis. You say truly, that if I only employ myself as to give over to the wind of my principles, I should be safe, and I fully believe it; but this is a mode of proceeding in which a person might manage to remain

a Methodist, a Mahomedan, or a Mormon." When the first plunge was about to be taken, and his brother was lost to the Protestant Church, the Bishop wrote to Mr. Gladstone:—"I cannot but earnestly desire that you would write to him as fully as time and as strongly as affection will allow. I say the last, because I am confident that the disease has reached that point at which none but powerful stimulants can affect the receptive powers." A little political gossip is recorded by the Bishop of Oxford in 1855, when Lord Aberdeen's Government was beaten on a motion by Mr. Roebuck. The Bishop writes:—"Public events cast a gloom over us. Gladstone now and then absent. H. Drummond saying that Lord John must come in. That Sir Robert Peel had pressed him in 1849 not to oppose Lord John if he wished to have the Queen on the throne, meaning that his fractiousness would lead him any lengths. Gladstone made light of the danger. Peel was possessed, he said, with a notion of the dangers which would attend a Protectionist Government, expecting public outbreaks, &c." Feb. 1st.—"At Gladstone's; his tone is noble. As to Church rates, we agreed entirely in view. The Government plan was to be for providing for the maintenance of the fabric and public worship in parishes where a Church rate was refused, and to be based on Butler's plan. As to public events, he thought it best that Lord Derby should come in and they give him an independent support. But would not that end, as before, in irritation and further separation? No, things are in a very different state. Lord Derby is no longer hampered by his Anti-Free-Trade professions. Graham would take quite a different view from what he did before. Then there is no chance of their reviving their old financial measures, and it was Disraeli's wretched plan of finance which compelled me to oppose him. Why, his scheme about the income-tax would have convulsed the country. I could have opposed my own father if he had proposed such a measure. We agreed

in lamenting Lord Aberdeen's loss for Church purposes—the best Minister possible for the Church; and yet it was for joining that Minister, Oxford gave me the trouble of a contest. He told me of the falsehoods universal as to the so much better state of the French, Canrobert saying:—"If only my men were in such good tents as yours, instead of having only these miserable tents, and being down in the mud. I sent for tents like yours, and they sent me six hundred and forgot all the poles. Then as to horses' nose-bags wearing out, and our horses dying from eating dirt with their corn; far more of the French had died from the same cause." Could we properly have revealed all this, how different had been the feeling of the country." Feb. 4th, the Bishop writes:—"Chapel Royal in the afternoon, and walked back with Gladstone. Lord John has utterly failed in forming a ministry. Thank God for that. Lord Palmerston was sent for. He was invited by Lord Derby to join with Gladstone and Sidney Herbert. At first he was unwilling, and at night declined. Gladstone and Sidney Herbert ready to serve; Gladstone, though feeling acutely the evil of Shaftesbury's suggested bishops, would not feel clear on that ground of refusing; not a fair constitutional ground."

The Bishop thus speculates on the political situation in a letter to Mr. Arthur Gordon:—"Palmerston has talent, and at this moment popularity, but he has no real strength. He has no following; he has not the country gentlemen like Derby; the Whigs like any scion of the Bedfords; the independent Liberals like your father's government. To what, then, can his ministry appeal? Not to the country party; not to the Whigs' tradition; not like your father, to the honesty of the nation. It will very soon be fiercely assailed. Will it stand? I think not; and will not its fall, if they have been its stay, ruin for a season the real hope of the country—the young political blood of Gladstone, Herbert, and Co.? For a grand speedy break-up would be a real boon to them. . . . But again,

are he (Lord Aberdeen) and Gladstone and Herbert bound by any party tie or patriotic necessity to join the Government? Not by the second, if they think as I do—that his Government cannot stand. Not by the first; for when Lord Derby offered a junction with him, Gladstone and Sidney

rules of party obligation the same liberty now" In his diary the Bishop notes Stockmar agreed with him that Palmerston was a great take in, and that he would have much preferred seeing Gladstone and Herbert join with Lord Derby. When a little while after Gladstone resigned office,



MARSHAL MACMAHON.

Herbert by name (meaning, of course, not them as individuals, but that they should speak for their party and when Gladstone and Herbert would at least have seen if they could agree on terms of union), Palmerston broke it off *on his own account*. They have, therefore by all the honourable

Mr. Keble wrote to the Bishop—"I can not tell you how grieved I am at the injustice which seems to me in progress towards the only trustworthy statesman of the time." To Mr. Gladstone the Bishop wrote:—"As you are no longer a Cabinet Minister, I may venture to say to you, what

I cannot help expressing, how entirely I agree with you in the course you have seen right to follow in these last difficulties, and how much I rejoice (deeply lamenting the probable effects of your absence from Lord Palmerston's Cabinet) that you have not continued in it on the condition of agreeing to the committee. I think your speech perfectly unanswerable as it was unanswered. It is refreshing to see sometimes amongst our governors real loftiness of aim and purity of motive, combined with great gifts of intellect. May God bless and keep you ever more."

Again we quote from the Bishop's diary, March 7th:—"A great deal of talk with Gladstone about his seat. He is disposed to relinquish it, and on noble grounds—that the University would get a better representative if they had a free choice. Gladstone had distinctly asked Palmerston, before he joined, whether he would oppose Roebuck's Committee, and joined in the distinct answer that he would. Gladstone thinks that the thing which must floor them is the ordinary business of the session. Already he understands there are discomforts from incompetency for business; he expects they will make a very short session and dissolve, in order to escape questions of legislation." March 17th.—"Lord Overstone's high opinion of Gladstone! He has some faults, and he is too apt to meddle, and his bonds, &c., were a mistake; but he has put the finance of this country on a firm footing by his income and succession tax. But he could have done it; I am not sure that Pitt could have done it, but no one else could. He is a man for whom I could feel an enthusiasm. I could love under him, and really warm in defending him. A great mistake to think that by any legislation you can leave on posterity a portion of your present capital. The money *must* be raised from the present capital of the country. The question is, on what classes of the country you will throw the burden—on the landed capital is in land, or on the poor, or on the labour and industry and work, where it

is longer being paid. It seems to me that no one but Gladstone clearly sees this truth. I hope he will not throw himself away by acting under Lord Derby." April 8th, Easter Sunday.—"Chapel Royal. I preached with earnest. Gladstone amongst others, to whom went afterwards and had a talk. He for a temporary absence from everyday House of Commons work to let parties reform. Noble as ever. His sympathies with Conservatives, his opinions with Liberals. No good to the Church to come from Parliament; it must be developed from within. He would not go on in politics to the end on any consideration. Never could regret having formed part of Lord Aberdeen's administration. No other man *could* and *would* have done so much for the Church. Lord Derby less hostile to the Church than Pitt."

On August 7th the diary is as follows:—"Walked over the hill with Lord Aberdeen. A great deal of talk with him. His wonderful forgiveness of Lord John. Fully feeling all his misconduct, but seeing good things in him. My euthanasia would have been to have made a good peace, and been turned out for it, but not by Roebuck or rather Lord John. We ought not to have resisted Roebuck's motion, we ought to have consented and moved that the inquiry should be by the whole House. Lord John was all for war in cases or nothing but his office, and sees they could make no peace which would not turn them out of office. Gladstone intends to be Prime Minister; he has great qualifications, but some serious defects. The chief, that when he has convinced himself, perhaps by abstract reasoning, of some view, he thinks everyone else ought to see it as he does, and can make no allowance for difference of opinion. Gladstone must thoroughly recover his popularity. That unpopularity is merely temporary. He is supreme in the Commons. The Queen had quite got over her feeling against him, and liked him much. Just now we are all in disfavour at court."

The diary goes on:—"Cobden strong in

his pro-Russian conviction. Lord Aberdeen said three-fourths of Gladstone's speech on the last debate quite admirable. Sir James Graham had told him that he thought nothing finer had ever been delivered in our best days. Great cordiality now between Sir James Graham and Gladstone—not quite between the latter and the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen went on to say—"I have told Gladstone that when he is Prime Minister I will have a seat in the Cabinet if he desires it, without office." Oct. 6th.—"Walked with the Bishop of London. The Divorce and Marriage Question—for which Gladstone strongly disposed to a concordat securing the Church's law for the Church, and allowing the Dissenters to take their line." Oct. 23rd, at Hawarden.—"Walked with Gladstone and R. Phillimore. Much talk with Gladstone as to the Supreme Court of Appeal. His weighty objections to my plan. As to the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, would *in limine* complain of the treatment of having bills involving these great constitutional principles of the Church brought in, unsettling all things with no reasonable hope of carrying them. Would have the bishops say, Show us your measure, and before we enter upon it, inform us what relation it bears to your other sessional measures. Is it, with the exception of the war, &c., to be *the* measure which you mean to press forward with the whole force of your government? If not, we must protest against this way of dealing with such subjects. He and Phillimore very strong against the seven chancellors. First, an entire alteration for insufficient purpose of all our proceedings. Secondly, an entire variation from the whole Canon Law of Western Christendom of all time. Thirdly, because it is an attempt to throw the English and Irish Establishments into a sort of hotchpot; with the view, no doubt, of strengthening, but with the high probability by storing up an opposition of weakening, the Irish branch, and certainly injuring the English. Further, as to the Supreme Court, he would place, 1st, the old bill of the Bishop of

London with Lord Derby's suggested amendments, *i.e.*, a reference which would not be binding to the Bishop of the Province who should be bound to hear theological arguments thereon, and return their opinion; 2ndly, a repeal of the Act of William IV., so as simply to return to the old law; 3rdly, standing still; 4thly, the letting the lay court as a lay court decide the individual, and trying to guard the precedent. Gladstone looks forward to clerical chancellors when the clergy are educated for it hereafter."

On December 30, 1855, Gladstone wrote to the Bishop of Oxford as follows:—"I was much concerned to find that your letter, laden with matters of such deep public concern, had also to convey to me your domestic anxieties on a point so tender, but I trust the uncertainty which was before you may mercifully have been turned or may yet turn to cheerful anticipation. My first impression with respect to Convocation is, that having three full days of business before you, it will be well not to run any risks by pushing beyond the limits if you can avoid it. I feel how heavy is the responsibility of misusing any of the Church of England's slender chances, and I write with dread. I can write nothing but what is desultory, on the 12th, however, I hope to be at Hagley, and on or about the 19th in London, and my time is at your disposal if I can be of any use. I feel much pressed as to the important matter of the services between difficulties arising from opposite quarters. To digest the whole subject and present a plan having a fair promise of finality seems to me to require time; on the other hand, it would be a strong objection to the proposed change in the Act of Uniformity that it was deemed obviously incomplete, and to be followed by other changes. I do not like the idea that Convocation should ask for a commission, but if you could rely on the appointment of prudent men, I should not be sorry to see the Archbishops move the Government to appoint a commission to consider a plan to be laid before Con-

vocation. This I presume would be conformable to the precedents both of the Restoration and the Revolution. A moderate representation of the laity in such a commission might have its advantages. In the copies of my address to the Crown, I should not forget praying for a Tribunal of Appeal becomingly constituted and representing in solemn words on behalf of the Church that she is greatly straitened in the recovery and care of souls by the present state of the law as to her services." Evidently Mr Gladstone's churchmanship is of a very genuine character: equally genuine is his friendship, as appears from the following letter to the Bishop of Oxford on the death of his son Herbert, dated March 26, 1856.—"My dear Bishop of Oxford,—We learned the sad news through your letter to Mrs. Herbert, and I cannot avoid writing a line to assure you that we are sharers in your grief. You are called to great powers and great duties, but also to great trials and sorrows. I remember perceiving from a sermon you preached at the consecration of a church near Belvoir, how deep was the old wound in your heart: none there knew how often and in many ways it would be reopened. But an office such as that you bear, and in the times in which you bear it, may well require to raise any man to the height of its work, and its power an undoubted discipline. It is difficult to express anything of sympathy and to refer to the fountain of help without seeming to teach; therefore, let my words be few, and as through the grace of God your strength has been equal to your day, so may it yet be, and ever more abundantly. We shall perhaps hear of you when we come to town, no long repose I know can be permitted you. Do not think of answering this, which I have written on my wife's part and my own. Ever affectionately yours, W. E. GLADSTONE."

As Mr. Gladstone intimated, the Bishop was soon at work again. In the diary, April 13th, we find him writing:—"A good deal of talk with Lord Aberdeen. Sidney Herbert's remark as to Lord

John Russell's resolutions; Lord John drops his resolutions as if they were his colleagues', Lord Aberdeen expecting soon to see Gladstone at the head." A little further on, however, we find the Bishop writing:—"Gladstone's ground this season thought impracticable."

In August, 1856, there was an active correspondence between the Bishop and Mr. Gladstone respecting the case which made much noise at the time in Church circles of Ditcher & Denison. Gladstone writes to the Bishop of Oxford:—"There is little more to say about poor Denison's affair till we see Lushington's judgment as authentically reported. But whatever comes of it, two things are pretty plain: the first, that not only with executive authorities but in the sacred halls of justice, there are now two measures, and not one in use—the straiter one for those disposed to err in believing overmuch, and the other for those who believe too little; the second, that this is another blow to the dogmatic principle in the Established Church—the principle on which as a Church it rests, and on which as an Establishment it seems less and less permitted to rest. No hasty judgment is pardonable in these matters; but for the last ten or twelve years undoubtedly the skies have been darkening for a storm with constantly diminishing hopes of its being avoided. . . . If the newspapers report Lushington aright, he has given Denison an immense advantage by condemning everything."

The Bishop having written a letter to Mr. Gladstone, in which he says, "Of course our paramount duty is the maintenance of the dogmatic truth of the Real Presence, the doctrine for which Mr. Denison was dragged into a court of law," Mr. Gladstone replies:—"I return the letters, and having had the great advantage of free communication with Phillimore, I will state summarily the queries I have formed in connection with the Denison case for the exigencies of the present moment. I admit that form, notwithstanding its dicta-

torial aspect, which you will not misapprehend on account of its practical convenience. 1. It is clear to me the time for a declaration has not arrived, or at least that if there is one it ought not to recognise or take notice of the declaration at Bath. For even if it were a sentence, it is not final; but it is no sentence, and only the announcement of an opinion which may or may not become a sentence. 2. Deprecating in the strongest terms anything which should recognise this announcement as a judicial fact, yet from the anticipation that it will disturb many minds, and indeed from hearing that it does, I do not see why we should look to what is *primâ facie* the natural remedy in this provisional state of things, namely, that the stewards of doctrine should, on the general ground of controversy and disturbance, deliver from their pulpits, or as they think fit, to the people the true and substantive doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. This freely done, and without any notice of the Archbishop or Dr. Lushington, I should think far better for the time than any declaration. 3. It appears to me that the Archdeacon has had put into his hands, by the folly of his judges, such arms as he could not have hoped for, and that he may, on 21st October, make to them an answer, showing that what they have asked him to do is impossible, absurd, and heretical; and this without ambiguities of any kind. 4. The thing which seems to me most material and most difficult is this:—It is high time that there should be a careful argument upon the justice and morality of late ecclesiastical proceedings; that the Archbishop should be awakened out of his fool's paradise, and made to understand that, though reverence for his office has up to this time, in a wonderful manner, kept people silent about his proceedings, yet the time has come when a beginning must be made towards describing them without circumlocution in their true colours; and it must likewise be shown how judicial proceedings are governed by extra-judicial considerations, and a system is growing

up under which ecclesiastical judges are becoming the virtual legislators of the Church, while its legislature is silent. I should greatly fear the enunciation as an abstract proposition of Mr. Gresley's opinion, that no decree whatever, given by way of construction upon its formularies, can affect the position of those who believe in them. This seems to me undeniable, but the license assumed by courts between strict interpretation against Denison and Liddell, and loose interpretation for Bishops Hampden and Graham (irrespective of the merits of either set of decisions taken separately), amounts to the assumption of an arbitrary power and a denial of justice to those who are thought to be on the unpopular side. I think Phillimore and I are much of the same mind, and I find from him that the Bishop of Exeter dissuades any recognition of the Bath declaration at present.

Again, in reply to the Bishop, Mr. Gladstone writes:—"By common, if I used the phrase, I did not mean *combined* address by the clergy. Any act done in obedience to exhortation from a centre would be open, I should think, to the objections which apply to a declaration. I expressed what I rather feel I should endeavour to do myself were I a clergyman, and what I should be glad to hear A, B, C. and so forth, acting individually, had done. This has reference to the question, how in times of anxiety to calm disturbed minds? but I agree that nothing could be more mischievous as to do what would encourage the supposition that Lushington's Declaration, as he calls it, is at present anything more in law than it is in logic or justice. Men of Mr. Parry's class ought to be reassured when they are made aware of this. Archdeacon Denison has come to Harwarden to see Phillimore. He seems to know the advantages that Lushington has given him, and he means to use them prudently. I think you may safely discourage the notion that he would at this time take any step which would additionally offend men like the Bishop of St. David's.

I imagine that it is in his power even alone, but especially if simultaneously any other bishops not suspected of the least sympathy with Denison did the same, to do the Archbishop much good by private warning, combined address, &c., generally combined to him would not do well when it is considered that he is acting judicially, though he does not seem to be in the least aware of it. No one could quite tell from the newspaper reports what a hash Lushington has made of it; he has literally and directly called on Denison to revoke his declaration against transubstantiation. I conclude that if Bishop Thirlwall (whose letters are worthy of his great acumen and real and genuine liberality) does anything, he will do it subject to the supposition that Denison will, when the proper time comes, make the proper explanation. I hope he may but it is clear from Lushington's strange production that the time is not yet come."

Again, the Bishop records in his diary conversations with Sir James Graham, Lord Aberdeen, and Mr. Gladstone. At Netherby he writes:—"Sir James Graham very high estimate of Gladstone. In the highest sense of the word Liberal—of the greatest power—very much the first man in the House of Commons; detested by the aristocracy for his succession duty. The most truly Conservative measure passed in my recollection. Just reading De Tocqueville and when I read his statement that unequal taxation was the most effective of all the causes of the Revolution, I thought at once of Gladstone and the succession duty. He must rise to the lead in such a Government as ours in spite of all that harred to him. Lord Melbourne said to the Queen: 'Madam, you will not like Peel, but you will like Aberdeen; he is a gentleman.' He has great tenderness for the sex. A most entirely good man. Very affectionate and true. Yielded doubtfully to Gladstone as to the competitive admission to offices. The present mixed mode of nomination and competition most mischievous—debauching from its wide extension

of apparent patronage. . . . I think we did wrong in not resigning at the breaking out of the war. Aberdeen was all for resigning. Gladstone was disposed to join him; the rest all against it, especially the Duke of Newcastle. He was led away by the idea that he was going to be a great War Minister. . . . Gladstone must rise; he is young. He is by far the ablest man in the House of Commons, and in it, in the long run, the ablest man must lead. . . . They (Austria) look forward on this point to be able to hamper Gladstone. Either he must support them, after his pamphlet about Naples, or he must oppose them, and then they can attack him for change of view, and damage his character; or he must approve in general, and disapprove of details. He is a wonderful man." The Bishop then went to Haddo. "After breakfast at nine, letters; then a walk with Lord Aberdeen. Sir James Graham an affectionate man. He is doubted because he is so demonstrative. Always provokes some one when he speaks. Gladstone never does; he has more complete command of himself than Graham. . . . This dreadful business at Naples, how will it end?—and Gladstone's letter has so committed him When Sir R. Peel stated in the Cabinet his Corn Law resolutions, only three agreed—Aberdeen, Graham, and S. Herbert. Gladstone had then left the Cabinet, or of course he would have agreed also." At Hawarden the Bishop writes:—"Much talk with Gladstone. He is very strong against Palmerston and on the mischief of the present Peelite position. It would be a great gain if I and Sidney Herbert and Graham could be taken out of the House and let them shake up the bag and make new combinations. If Lord Derby and Lord Aberdeen understood one another all would be easy. Palmerston has never been a successful Minister. Great lack of power, and even stranger, a principle of false shame; cares not how much dirt he eats, but it must be gilded. Palmerston is strong in the House of Commons, but he does not understand

GLADSTONE AND WILBERFORCE

the House of Commons." The Bishop adds:—"Manifestly, Gladstone leans to a Conservative alliance. The Conservative the best chance for the Church." Again

should form into bands, and act together till conscience forbids."

In 1857, the Bishop is again at Hawarden, writing as follows:—"Long talk with



H.R. MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN CHURCH.

the Bishop writes:—"Much talk with Gladstone about Scotch clergy disabilities. About parties he evidently inclines to the Conservative. Church politics. 'Men

Gladstone after breakfast. . . . Then a walk with Gladstone and much talk. He's noble. 'I greatly felt being turned out of office. I saw great things to do. I longed

"I am losing the best years of my natural service, yet I feel inclined to rejoice that I am not at Palmerston, when I have to witness the shuffling he would resort to as to his business. I do not sit on the Treasury Bench any more. His future wears dark. Much to be said on the question, &c."

The following letter of Mr. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford has the date of November, 1857:—"I sit down to answer you rather, although hurriedly, before sending on the paper to Lord Brougham. You know, I see, to a purely lay tribunal, and I am in preferring a court so constituted to the present one. But that is all I do not think you could rely on the forbearance of such a court in relating doctrinal questions. Deal with them and decide with them, it *must*. The scandal of its doing so, even when no such case is on the carpet, is enormous. The sentences could take effect on the Church, and bishops and clergy generally could concur in giving them effect. It seems to me vain in logic and even demoralising in practice to contend that such sentences may so pass and take effect, and yet not in any real sense commit the Church.

It is neither Disestablishment, nor even loss of dogmatic truth, which I look upon as the greatest danger before us, but it is the loss of these elementary principles of action and energy on which Christianity itself is built. The present position of the Church of England is gradually approaching to the Eustasian theory that the business of an Establishment is to teach all sort of doctrines and to provide Christian ordinances by way of comfort for all sorts of people, to be used at their own option. It must become, if uncorrected, in lapse of time a thoroughly immoral position. Her case seems as if it were like that of Cranmer—to be disgraced first and then burned. Now what I feel is, that the constitution of the Church provides the means of bringing controversy to issue, not means that can be brought at all times,

but means that are to be effectually, though less determinately, available for preventing the general devastation of doctrine either by a positive heresy, or by that thesis I have named above, worse than any heresy. Considering that the condition of the Church with respect to doctrine is gradually growing into an offence to the moral sense of mankind, and that the question is, shall we get if we can the means of giving expression to her mind, I confess that I cannot be repelled by fears connected with the state of the Episcopal body from saying yes. Let me have it if I can. For, regarding the Church as a privileged and endowed body, no less than as one with spiritual prerogatives, I feel these two things. If the mind of those who rule and of those who compose the Church is deliberately anti-Catholic, I have no right to seek a hiding-place within the pale of her possessions by keeping her in a condition of voicelessness in which all are entitled to be there, because none are. That is, viewing her with respect to the enjoyment of her temporal advantages: spiritually how can her life be saved by stopping her from the exercise of functions essential to her condition? It may be said, she is sick, wait till she is well. My answer is, she is getting more and more sick in regard to her own function of authoritatively declaring the truth: let us see whether her being called upon so to declare it may not be the remedy, or a remedy at least. I feel certain that the want of combined and responsible ecclesiastical action is one of the main evils, and that the regular duty of such action will tend to check the spirit of individualism, and to restore that belief in a Church which we have almost lost. The bishops will act much better from acting in the way proposed, and the very law which commits it to them so to act will in itself not only do much for the ecclesiastical principles of our constitution, but still more I believe for the healthiness of our moral tone. I can bear the reproaches of those who say, 'You believe so-and-so, you have no business to believe that here; go

elsewhere and believe it if you can.' I know that it would be much more just to retort to them, 'But if I felt that I am myself trying to gag the Church of England, or to keep in her mouth the gag that is now there, I should not feel so sure that honesty was not compromised in my own measure by me.' It is, in a word, the desire that honesty should be maintained at all costs which governs me in the main, and would govern me even if I saw less than I seem to do of conservative and restorative action in the measure itself."

In 1858, there was a difficulty about Cuddesdon College, and Mr. Gladstone was appealed to, and writes—"I have to-day seen the editor of the *Quarterly Review* on the subject of Cuddesdon College, and have made the best suggestion I could under the circumstances. I told him I had no authority from you, and could not undertake to represent you in the matter. I lose no time, however, in writing to you. An answer from you might or might not reach me before the *Review* is struck off. Of course I could not ask him to wait without making you a party—he is a man on whose fairness in a matter of honour and character I should greatly rely; in other matters I think, from the kindness and delicacy of feeling he has always shown me when a contributor, that he would lean to the feelings of his writer who, as I gather in this case, is (not known to me) rather a hard and stubborn one. He showed me two forms of note, each of which contained a sort of *résumé* of particulars from the report of your archdeacons (who, I must say, seem to me to have put their thoughts in a clumsy dress). The impression thus made is, I think, controversial; and it is like, in vulgar phrase, establishing the raw, although the editor was determined, in any case, to insert a warm acknowledgment of your episcopal character. It occurred to me that as there could be no dispute about matters of fact, it would be best to avoid all resumption of a detail which is in order and in which the more exact settlement of the account would

not counterbalance the evil of reviving sore subjects. As I understand, the *Quarterly Review* is ready to do three things—1. To accept the report of the archdeacons as a true account of the facts without boasting of the strength of it. 2. To disclaim entirely the unjust action of Roman tendencies. and, 3. to treat matters of detail as matters which ought with certain limits to be open for friendly discussion, and for differences of opinion without reproach. Thus if well done, I look upon as the main point, one as touching all the points. Lastly I do not doubt that you will be spoken of in just and proper terms. On the whole I trust, therefore, there will be a healing character about which I fear would disappear if the details were revived. The acquittal from Romish tendencies will, I expect, be fully extended to the college authorities, and the dispute reduced to one form—that of Protestantism."

In the diary, on June 17, 1858, we find the Bishop writing:—"Gladstone getting more averse to Disraeli." Another entry in August states that the Bishop consulted with Gladstone on the 14th, and on the 5th had much talk with Gladstone. A little while after the Bishop is at Haddo with Lord Aberdeen when he records the following conversation:—"Will Gladstone ever rise to the first place? Yes I have no doubt he will. But gradually after a interval. He must turn the hatred of many into affection first, and he will turn it if he has the opportunity given him. Gladstone has some faults to overcome. If a man could be too honest I should say he is too honest. He does not think enough of what other men think. Does not enough, as his brother says, look out of the window. 'Whom is he to head?' Oh! it is impossible to say! Time must show, and new combinations. I told Lord John Russell that what I wished to see was him in the House of Lords at the head of the Government, and Gladstone leading the Commons. Lord J. Russell received it in silence, but he did not seem to me to reject it. He could trust Gladstone in such a

post, which he hardly could any other man."

In January, 1859, Lord Aberdeen says:—"Gladstone, I fear, has injured himself. These seventeen resolutions (which Gladstone, as Lord Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, submitted to the Ionian Parliament) are fanciful. He will come back and battle it out, and speak as well as ever; but the effect will not be the same. It will be something like Brougham, who speaks as well as possible, but no one listens. I am very uneasy about it. Things look more like war every day."

A new witness to Gladstone's power appears in the person of the Earl of Carlisle who visited the Bishop of Oxford in August. "We talked of parliamentary speeches. The Bishop quite agrees with me in putting Gladstone first in the present House of Commons, and Bright second. Gladstone far above Peel."

In 1860 in reply to the Bishop, Mr. Gladstone, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, writes:—"My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I was not aware of the proceeding in convocation until I received your letter. I spoke to Lord Palmerston, and found too he knew nothing. But I begged to be heard upon it. At the same time I do not yet know what to say. For I have not been able to follow the proceedings, and am not aware of the intention. Any suggestions from you on a subject of this kind will always have my ready attention, nor do I forget my duties to my constituents. But it is not the fear of the future contest, or the hope of avoiding one, that sways me. Without having to complain, I am entirely weary and sick of the terms upon which I hold my seat, and upon which evidently alone it is possible for me to hold it, and I shall be glad when the day comes which may enable me to relieve my friends in the university from all the trouble I cause them."

One more letter remains to be inserted. It is on the subject of schools, and bears the date of August, 1860:—"My dear Bishop of Oxford,—There are two points

to be kept distinct in the matter before us. First, the question whether anything is to be done *now*; secondly, the question whether anything ought to be done at all. What I understand to be the view of the Government, is that for the present we should act upon the present system. I infer that no change would take place without full opportunity of being heard. As far, however, as the further question is concerned, there appears to me to be an important distinction between the two points raised. For conscience clauses there is much to be said. Nor do I see that they are incompatible with the due freedom of managers and unity of the system. On the other hand, I think that the demand for the permission of religious varieties in the governing body is practically destructive, both of the rights which promoters may fairly claim on the ground of their voluntary efforts, and of the denominational character of the school altogether. This I have strongly represented to Granville, and have urged upon him that this concession, which I think ought not to be made, assuredly will be steadily and persistently refused. The only plea for it would be that dissentients ought to have protectors in the governing body; but there is no force in this plea, for the Committee of Council is their natural and efficient protection, and has the power of the purse to make that protection effectual. But as I have said, even with respect to the general question of conscience clauses, my understanding is that it stands over. I understand, however, that Llanelly school is a peculiar case—peculiar even in Wales, which is all peculiar—that the school has practically failed, and that it is difficult to renew a grant of public money without taking some provisions against renewed failure. In this there seems to be renewed force. I do not know what may be done, but were I in Granville's place, I should waive the points about the governing body, and should say (assuming the facts), If you want your grant now, you may fairly be required to trust to the conscience clauses. Gran-

ville tells me that in Wales the committee has in prior cases made efforts in this sense, and he expresses strongly his anxiety to maintain the *status quo*—Yours affectionately, W. E. GLADSTONE”

One more reference to Mr. Gladstone occurs, that is, in 1865, when the Earl of Aberdeen died. The Bishop writes—“Off at 8.15 in order to attend Lord Aberdeen’s

Bishop and Mr. Gladstone in a very favourable light. In the volume not yet published we have every reason to believe that there will be quite as much of Mr. Gladstone, who became, as the Bishop always predicted he would, England’s Premier. The friendship between the great statesman and the great prelate was honourable to each. They were both eminent men in their way,



THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

funeral. Very cold. A wonderfully striking sight. England’s Premier—vanity of vanities! Graham’s tall, kindly figure and bald head in the falling sun. Dear Arthur,—Gladstone with his face speaking Newcastle, the light within the vault, a most impressive sight, engraven in my memory forever.”

Here we reluctantly terminate these interesting extracts, which place both the

and there are many who maintain, and that with some show of reason, that if Bishop Wilberforce had not been in holy orders he would have taken no mean rank among the statesmen of his day, and yet, incredible as it may seem, the review of the Bishop of Oxford’s life in the *Athenaeum* intimated that the Bishop was but a very ordinary man!

In all this lengthened correspondence it is singular to note the Bishop's perfect confidence in the ability and integrity of Mr. Gladstone, and in his readiness to do what was right with regard to the Church, of which he was such an intrepid, and, at the risk in many quarters of some unpopularity to himself, champion. In a letter to the Hon. R. Cavendish, from Cuddesdon Palace, December 25th, 1851, the Bishop writes:—"Many thanks for your letter and for your allowing me to see Gladstone's. I think there is a great deal of saddest truth in what Gladstone says, and I have written him thereon. At the same time, with the deepest sense of our undeservings, I do think that Gladstone, in spite of his calm and powerful understanding and honest and true heart shows signs of the natural effect of such continual defamation of the bishops as the *Morning Chronicle* habitually indulges itself and its readers with. I mean this: first he puts aside the miserable episcopal appointments of Lord John, and the effect of Sir B. Hall's, &c., attacks in the Commons; the silence of those who might be expected to answer them; the continual vituperation of the Low Church and Dissenting papers; the more mischievous depreciation of the *Morning Chronicle's* incessant sneers, insinuations, and attacks, and the cold, faint, contemptuous praises of the *Guardian*. All this he, as it were, puts aside, and seems to say there is not one bishop who acts towards his clergy with the ordinary fairness which a principal in his office extends to his assistants. Now this is untrue. You know that I have to my knowledge never failed a single clergyman under me, but have taken on myself the charges against many, and borne many through the disastrous troubles of the last twelve months. But what I really want Gladstone to do is, to suggest how, under the miserable Manning of our Bench, any individual bishop can mend matters." The Bishop then suggests that Mr. Gladstone should write a letter to the Bishop of

London respecting Bennett's case. "But," he adds, "I should prefer that Gladstone write him a letter stating fully all the evils he depicts in his letter to you, but more fully allowing the various causes which have brought them about."

In some cases the judgment of Mr. Gladstone appears to have differed from that of the Bishop. For instance, the decision in the Gorham case was but the first of a series of attempts to de-Catholicise the Church of England, as the Ritualists have been charged with the deliberate design of de-Protestantising her. The authors of the attempt quite forgot that the denial of what is thought to be an essential doctrine may as absolutely deprive one party of a *modus vivendi* as the enforcement of that doctrine may another. Wilberforce and others laboured hard to show that the Church was not committed by the decision of a court which had no authority to decide, and in this position the High Church party has taken refuge ever since. Mr. Gladstone figures largely in all the discussions and correspondence of this period, and to all outward appearance is still the Gladstone of 1838—the Gladstone of Church and State. Wilberforce had come to think it might be best to have no bishops in the Court of Appeal at all, and "to force the Privy Council to examine divines whenever they want guidance, and decide purely as lawyers on the bearing of the letter of our existing formularies. . . . Let the Privy Council advise the Queen about us as it would about a Wesleyan or a Roman trust deed." Gladstone saw at once that this would never do.

"I do not think," he writes, "you could rely on the forbearance of such a court in treating doctrinal questions. Deal with them and decide them it must. The scandal of its doing so, even when no such case is on the carpet, is enormous. The sentences would take effect on the Church, and bishops and clergy generally would concur in giving them effect. It seems to me vain in logic, and even demo-

ralising in practice, to contend that such sentences may so pass and take effect, and yet not in any real sense commit the Church. . . . Considering that the condition of the Church with respect to doctrine is gradually growing into an offence to the moral sense of mankind, and that the question is, Shall we get, if we can, the means of giving expression to her mind? I confess I cannot be repelled by fears connected with the state of the Epi-copal body from saying yes. Let me have it if I can. For, regarding the Church as a privileged and endowed body no less than as one with spiritual prerogatives, I feel these two things: If the mind of those who rule and of those who compose the Church is deliberately anti-Catholic, I have no right to seek a hiding-place within the pale of her possessions by keeping her in a condition of voicelessness, in which all are entitled to be there because none are. That is, viewing her with respect to the enjoyment of her temporal advantages: spiritually, how can her life be saved by stopping her from the exercise of functions essential to her condition?"

The above is oddly expressed, but what Mr. Gladstone seems to mean is this: If the Church of England is really un-Catholic, I, as a Catholic, have no right to avail myself of her inability to say so in order to remain within her pale. Wilberforce said he was afraid of having bishops in the court for fear they should give some heretical decision "which might absolutely shipwreck us." The answer is, if our only security for the Catholicity of the Church lies in depriving the bishops of the power to repudiate it, we are fighting for a fiction, and seeking a security for something which, on our own showing, has no existence. Mr. Gladstone, we think, has the best of the argument.

As to the Bishop himself, we see him, what the general opinion of society had represented him, as being a man of immense power, of great versatility, and a High Churchman of the school of Andrews, Hooker, and Beveridge, as he claims to

be in a letter addressed to Lord Ashley, the present Earl of Shaftesbury:—"I have," he adds, "as I believe, dropped in one truth of my evangelical education, but I hold these truths in a firmer and more consistent grasp." Whatever may have been Wilberforce's errors, no one has ever questioned his versatility and power of adapting himself to all societies and circumstances. We have interesting sketches in the second volume of his life of rides in the suburbs with Carlyle, of gallops over the windy downs about Lavington and Grafham, with an occasional peep, perhaps, at the hounds, of rambles in Sherwood Forest and the Welsh hills, of conversations with the Emperor and Empress of the French, with Baron Stockmar, and Prince Albert; of high debates in the House of Lords, when the Bishop was pitted against such men as the late Lord Derby and Lord Lyndhurst, and was adjudged to have fully held his own; of dexterous addresses to hostile and excited mobs, and of elegant literary breakfasts with Macaulay and Milman. But wherever he was, the Bishop was equal to the situation; and were it not that the circle in which he habitually lived formed rather too much of a mutual admiration society, we should pronounce the Bishop's pictures of it to be as charming as anything we are acquainted with in this particular kind of literature. Bishop Wilberforce's lay friends belonged mostly to the Peelite section of politicians, and they exchange flatteries like snuff-boxes.

Nor, upon the whole, does the perusal of the life tend to alter the popular estimate of Wilberforce's character. He is fond of telling his correspondents that he does not accuse them of dishonesty or insincerity—that is the last thing in the world he should attribute to them—but that, nevertheless, what they do and say and write has the contrary effect on other people of what they profess to mean. Now something of this kind may be observed in the Bishop himself. In his letters on Absolution and Baptismal Regeneration, and in his controversy with Dr. Pusey, there is a per-

petual game at ves and no going on "between the lines" which is not agreeable to the reader. His letter to a young lady on what absolution *means* if it does not mean the

The priest cannot forgive sins. He can only tell the penitent that they are forgiven. But this knowledge must either be something confined to the priest himself, to



ERECTED ON THE 101 WHITE BISHOP WILFRED
BUT WITH THE AC IDENT.

forgiveness of sin by the appointed person is an excellent specimen of this propensity. Is there any efficacy in priestly absolution? There is and there is not, says the Bishop

which nobody else has access to it must be something which all possess who are acquainted with the terms on which forgiveness is granted. If we take the former

view, the supernatural power which we ascribe to the priesthood is quite as great as anything ascribed by Rome; and any further controversy seems little more than a dispute about words. If we take the latter, it is a mere quibble to maintain the "efficacy" of priestly absolution. The penitent may still like to hear of his pardon from a clergyman better than from anybody else; but it can make no real difference. We might multiply instances; but we have said enough, perhaps, on these abstruse topics. We will merely add while on this part of the subject that the Bishop does not seem to us to have treated Dr. Pusey very fairly by inhibiting him from preaching in his diocese without either giving him the chance of a personal explanation, or putting him on his trial, as Dr. Pusey begged him to do, in the Ecclesiastical Courts. He acquitted him of all Romish inclinations, practices, or opinions; but he accused him of tones, and tendencies, and implications, which resulted in many of his disciples drifting into Romanism, though at the eleventh hour he strained every nerve to save them. This was a kind of charge which, as Dr. Pusey said, it was very difficult to meet. To be made responsible for tones and tendencies without any more substantial indictment was rather hard. And it was in vain that both Pusey himself and the late Sir John Coleridge pointed out to the Bishop that if more of Dr. Pusey's followers had gone to Rome than of any other clergyman's belonging to the same school it was only because he had more; and that it was equally true that he had prevented many more from going to Rome than any other clergyman in the Church. We may state here that the books of devotion adapted by Dr. Pusey from Romish originals were withdrawn at the request of Bishop Wilberforce. We should be the last to deny that he took, upon the whole, what is the most sensible, practical, and historically correct view of the character of the English Church. That he meant to be perfectly straightforward we have no doubt, yet the impression left behind is

rather that of the man who wishes if possible to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, to enjoy the popularity of rebuking the Tractarians, and with it the respect and confidence of men of intellect and rank who more or less shared their views. He himself says in this volume that if he had chosen to place himself at the head of the Evangelical party they might ere then have carried him in triumph to Lambeth, But the Bishop, as may be readily allowed, was too much of a man and too fundamentally honest to care for such success as that. But that he did desire more than was good for him—that all men should speak well of him—is an opinion which, however erroneous, will not be disturbed by the second instalment of his biography.

Let us add here that the Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, son of the distinguished William Wilberforce, was born in 1805, and was as much distinguished as his father for his eloquence as a preacher and public speaker. He graduated at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1826, was appointed Rector of Brightstone in 1830, and was afterwards Archbishop of Surrey, Canon of Winchester, and Dean of Westminster. In 1845 he was consecrated Bishop of Oxford, and ultimately became Bishop of Winchester, and it was in this capacity that his career was suddenly brought to a close by a fall from his horse, when riding one fine morning over the Surrey hills. He was the author of several theological works, and was one of the editors of his father's life: a most interesting contribution to the religious and political and philanthropical history of the time. He was also a poet of no mean order. As an illustration, let us give the following:—

Not all at once, not in Thy wrath, O Lord,
Break Thou these stubborn hearts of ours we
prayer;
Not all at once, for we are weak, and they
Draw trembling back from that Thy fiery sword.
But as a tender mother, day by day,
Weans the weak babe she loves lest it should
pine,
So wean us, Lord, so make us wholly Thine,

Lost in our feebleness we start away
From Thy loved chastening; for we could not
bear

The sudden vision of ourselves and Thee,
Or learn at once how vain our bright hopes
Then be our earthly weakness, Lord, Thy care
And even in wounding heal, in breaking spare

As the founder of Cuddesdon College, and as the friend and correspondent of Mr. Gladstone, the fame and memory of the Bishop will long remain. The Bishop was much misunderstood in his day; he was accused of Ritualism, but he was no Ritualist. In one of his letters the Bishop writes:—"You are quite right in saying that I abhor Romish doctrine, but you are mistaken in thinking that I like Romish rites and ceremonies; everything Romish stinks in my nostrils. I cannot hide the truth about Cuddesdon College. Men have come there with strong Roman leanings, and have left it cured." An instance of the power the Bishop exercised over those who came under his immediate influence, even in the early years of his episcopate—a power largely felt and recognised afterwards—is shown by this anecdote (writes his biographer) of one who was among the first admitted by him to Holy Orders: "I hardly knew the Bishop, but he ordained me, and I stayed at Cuddesdon at the time with the other candidates. I remember most distinctly the impression he made upon me, and how one evening, as we were talking together after one of his addresses, one said, 'Well, all I know is, that if the Bishop were to say, "I am going to the Cannibal Islands to-morrow, who will go with me?" I would go directly,' and each one of us said, 'So would I.' This strong personal influence which we all felt was quite independent of similarity in theological opinions." Equally distinguished was the Bishop for his ready tact. Of this the following anecdote—which we take from the second volume of the life of Bishop Wilberforce—may be taken as a fair specimen:—

"A new church was about to be opened by the Bishop, and a number of neighbour-

ing clergy were invited to be present at the ceremony. Arrangements had been made for the clergy to walk into the church in procession in surplices, the Bishop last. The procession was formed, all was ready, when the Rector came to the Bishop, saying, 'All will be spoilt, two clergy are come in black gowns; they declare they will wear them in the procession. They are come for the purpose of openly showing their evangelical principles.' The Bishop replied, 'All will be well; they will go in surplices.' The Rector assured the Bishop that this was impossible, and that any remonstrance he might make would only cause a disturbance. The Bishop, after again reassuring the Rector, said to the clergy, who were formed two and two, 'Gentlemen, are you ready?' and receiving a reply in the affirmative, he stepped along the rank, and accosted the first black-gowned clergyman with, 'Good morning, Mr. —, will you have the kindness to read the First Lesson for us this morning?' Then, passing to the second, with the request that he would read the Second Lesson; the two fled to find surplices, and the procession went into church with the two clergy clad as the others."

Thus wisely and characteristically did the Bishop deal with men who wished to become notorious for conscience' sake. Assuredly, the premature death of such a man was a great loss to the Established Church, and sorely must Mr. Gladstone in his many troubles, especially as regards ecclesiastical questions, have missed the advice and co-operation of his friend and ally.

His biographer, the late Canon Ashwell, writes of the Bishop:—"Of a temperament peculiarly mobile and sympathetic, his nature answered to every touch from without as the æolian answers to each breath of air. Each character with which he came in contact drew forth its own response, so that there were almost as many estimates formed of him as there were persons with whom he had to do. Intensely affectionate, and with a passionate yearning for the sympathy which he gave

so readily, he was capable also of the sternest severity, and of a tenacity of purpose which no desire for the approbation of even his dearest friends could divert for a moment. Singularly honest in his own purposes, he was not unfrequently mistaken in placing confidence in others, although usually a keen judge of character; and he was capable of the most vehement indignation when face to face with meanness or duplicity. Similar traits marked his intellectual character. Great power of concentration was combined with an incessant readiness to turn aside—to fasten upon any new object which came before him. He took an interest in everything. His observation was sleepless, and made him an excellent naturalist. If you were driving with him across a country that was new to him, the conversation would be again and again interrupted by some remark upon its geology or vegetation. His inquisitiveness of mind was intense, and habit had developed the natural faculty of extracting from every one whom he met whatever special information could be derived from him. In his earlier days he may have been somewhat over-bold in action, but from the first he was cautious in counsel, and his balance of judgment would have made him an admirable casuist. Though by no means what would be called a student, he was a keen and varied reader, extremely rapid and retentive, and the present writer well remembers how, while waiting for him in his library at Cuddesdon, now nearly twenty years ago, he found a pile of the newest sceptical books and reviews upon his table, with each salient passage in their arguments underlined and commented on in the margin. And thus he was always ready. If unexpectedly called upon to preach, though as a rule he wrote his sermon, a few minutes of extreme concentration sufficed for the arrangement of his thoughts and the preparation of his matter; the words seemed to follow as a matter of course. If he arrived late at a public meeting, a short account from a friend of what had already been said, by previous speakers,

was enough to supply him with the points of departure for his most effective addresses. On one occasion at Cuddesdon, when the clergyman who had undertaken to conduct a Retreat, was suddenly prevented from attending, the Bishop at the last moment volunteered to supply his place, and no one would have detected that he had not had ample time for preparation. It was thus that intellectually, as well as in the region of the feelings and affections, Bishop Wilberforce literally turned every way, and found some point of contact with almost every one; so that the very richness of his mind and character led him in some cases to a suspicion of unreality. The majority of men fail to realise whatever lies beyond their own horizon of character and experience, and lacking the Divine gift of sympathetic imagination, they have no other standard by which to estimate their fellows, than their own knowledge of themselves. Thus all men of wide nature encounter inevitable misconception, and the writer has often been amused with looks of unwelcome surprise on the faces of men with whom the Bishop had been in close conversation on matters within their own range, and how when they saw him instantly absorbed with equal completeness in discussing infinitely wider topics with the next person to whom he spoke.

Turning next to his active and public life, its full narration is encumbered by a like multifariousness of character and detail. As everything interested Bishop Wilberforce, so he could not help bearing a hand in whatever interested him, and the circumstances in which he was placed brought him into contact with public business and public movements of every kind. He was not only a Bishop with deepest sense of the responsibilities of his calling, but he had all the instincts and the powers of a statesman, and his position in the House of Lords called those powers and instincts into action. The atmosphere of public business was congenial to him, and the instant that he passed into it, his nature

responded to it. No sooner did he take his seat in the House than there is an eager tone in his letters which tells of powers anticipating their full exercise. "You know how all such real business interests me," is an expression which occurs in an account of one of his earliest debates which he attended after he became a Peer of Parliament. Thus his public life falls at once into their discussions, the parliamentary and the ecclesiastical. But even on the ecclesiastical side, there is a difficulty about giving any one view of what he was and did, which calls to mind the complaint of the man who could not see the wood for the trees. Bishop Wilberforce was indeed the most energetic of diocesan bishops, and had his ecclesiastical career been limited to his diocesan administration, the real greatness and largeness of mind and character which it called forth would have demanded a biographer's full powers for its due exhibition; but this was far from being so. His lot was cast in a period of intense activity and expansion in the Church's work both at home and in the colonies, and it was not in his nature to escape being drawn to take an active part in almost every movement of his time. His life was not merely connected with, but it actually involves the history of the English and in great measure of the Colonial Church during his Episcopate. His Colonial Church correspondence was enormous, and to mention only two examples, it may be stated that the letters he received on the subject of the troubles in the Church of South Africa and in Honolulu can only be counted by hundreds. Almost everywhere his co-operation was desired, and he was ready to aid and work for all. And as if this was not enough to absorb his restless energies, Bishop Wilberforce was also the most genial of companions, and of social powers almost if not altogether unrivalled. Few have ever surpassed him in keen sense of humour, in readiness of repartee, or in all that makes what the French call a *rencontre*, but for which no adequate

word can be found in English. Add to which that the sparkling wit and marvellous abundance of humorous narrative, which distinguished him were aided by a voice of wonderful richness and flexibility, and an unrivalled power of manner, so that it too often happens that the fairest examples of these traits are too delicate to bear transplanting into the chilling air of a printed page. Here, however, as in so many ways, unfriendly criticism waited on his footsteps; but in more than one instance his diaries show how closely he watched himself, and how deliberately he accepted his position as a social favourite as a means of winning influence for good over those whom otherwise he might never meet, and with whom he might never otherwise come to close quarters in personal intercourse. Bishop Wilberforce was one of the few men who could pass easily and naturally from the lightest topics to the gravest and most earnest conversation; and he continually turned the former to account in paving the way for the latter. The number of letters addressed to him by persons who by this means had come to know him and to trust him, and who consulted him freely in consequence, which were found among his papers after his death, prove that in a very large number of cases the Bishop's view was justified by the event. Could anything like a collection of such letters have been made, there can be no doubt that Bishop Wilberforce would be known as the writer of Spiritual Letters in addition to having been called the "Bishop of Society." The Bishop was an ardent lover of natural history, and it may be as well to state that his first and last contributions to the *Quarterly Review* were reviews of his friend Mr. King's "Ornithological Rambles in Sussex," and of his "Autumn on the Spey." The article on Darwin's "Origin of Species" in the *Quarterly Review* of 1860 was also his. The biographer also notes the Bishop's power of work. Sir Arthur Helps has somewhere said that genius itself may be said to consist in an infinite capacity of taking trouble, or words

to that effect. Allowing for the touch of paradox, which must affect all such sayings, there is this kernel of truth in the remark of which Bishop Wilberforce afforded a striking example. His devotional character was such (continues his biographer) as to surprise even his intimate friends by its depth and fervour. Apropos of his practice of writing letters in railway carriages, it may be told that having dated a letter so written: Rail. near Reading, the receiver, ignorant alike of his identity and of his habit, directed the reply as follows:—

S. Oxon, Esq.,

Rail.

Near Reading.

Nevertheless the letter was delivered within a post or two at the Bishop's London address in Eaton-place. The envelope was preserved for many years as an example of the perception of the officials of the Post-office.

The Bishop's life, remarks Canon Ashwell, was really a drama in three acts; they were, first, the period ending with the Hampden Controversy of the close of 1847 and the opening of 1848; next, the period from thence to the year 1860; lastly, the period from 1860 to the time of the accident which closed his life in July, 1873. The earlier years, save only 1841, when occurred the great sorrow of his life, his wife's death, were years of sunshine and of brightness, of cheerful, happy work, which failure had not tarnished nor opposition embittered. They were years of growing powers, of ripening character, of striking popularity, and of rapid advancement. With the third year of his episcopate all was changed; and the change affected his whole subsequent career. "He had been," writes the Canon, "exactly two years a bishop when, in the storm which arose about the matter of Dr. Hampden, it seemed as if all the winds of hostility and misunderstanding, which had been held back from touching him in his previous career, were now let loose to burst upon him with accumulated force. From the epoch of that unhappy controversy, Bishop

Wilberforce entered on a career of struggle. His Court favour was gone; gradually, too, opposition gathered around him as one who favoured the unpopular school of the Oxford theology, and the very energy with which he discharged his diocesan duties called forth a resistance alike from those who disliked his activity, and from those who disapproved his opinions, which it took him years to meet and overcome. It is now more than half a generation since the diocese of Oxford began to be pointed to as an example of a diocese in which peace and harmony were to be found, not as the concomitants of sloth and indifference, but in combination with vigorous spiritual life and activity. It was not thirty years ago when large and influential sections of the diocese banded themselves together to resist Bishop Wilberforce's measures and Bishop Wilberforce's influence. Not long after the year 1848 the tempest of hostility, which had raged against the comparatively small section of the Tractarian School, began to change into an opposition to all who held with what maybe termed High Church views in general. . . . In short, the whole period, from 1848 to 1860, was one during which his energies and his skill were largely taxed to overcome a diocesan opposition of a most stubborn and tenacious character; such, it should be added, as in the very first days of his episcopate could hardly have been anticipated. But the very opposition which he encountered, and the vigour with which he breasted the obloquy which fell upon him through his advocacy of a revived convocation, when taken together with the vigorous diocesan work which he carried out, had at least this result, that they taught Churchmen where to look for a leader whose grip of first principles was firm, and who not only had the courage of his convictions, but the capacity to give them effect. By the end of 1860 Bishop Wilberforce was undisputed master of his diocese. Of his chief opponents some had been conciliated, others removed by time or circumstance, while others withdrew from further strife."

CHAPTER XXXVII.



THE NEW GLADSTONE MINISTRY—DIFFICULTIES OF SELECTION—CHANGES, ETC.

WINDSOR CASTLE, Devonshire House, Carlton House-terrace, and Harley-street were the centres of public interest during April, 1880. The Earl of Beaconsfield's Cabinet met for the last time on the 21st of April, and the same afternoon the noble Earl (accompanied by Mr. Montagu Corry—now Lord Rowton) proceeded to Windsor to place the resignations of himself and colleagues before her Majesty. In view of Mr. Gladstone's formal retirement from the leadership of the Liberal party six years ago, her Majesty deemed it right to apply in the first instance to the Marquis of Hartington, upon whom the direction of the Opposition had fallen in the House of Commons. His Lordship lost no time in obeying her Majesty's commands; but it is plain that during his audience with the Queen on Thursday, April 22nd, the noble Lord, with characteristic straightforwardness, informed her Majesty that the country looked to Mr. Gladstone as the inevitable successor of Lord Beaconsfield. The same opinion was, no doubt, tendered to the Queen on the morrow by Earl Granville at the interview which the noble Earl and the Marquis of Hartington jointly held with her Majesty. Late in the afternoon of the following Friday Mr. Gladstone accordingly went to Windsor, in obedience to her Majesty's summons. The right hon. gentleman was warmly cheered, both in going and returning; and the public learnt in the morning from the "ordinary channels of information" that Mr. Gladstone had consented to form a Liberal Administration, and had himself accepted the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It was soon announced that Mr. Gladstone had secured the co-operation of Earl Granville as Foreign Secretary, of the Marquis of Hartington as Secretary for India, of Lord Selborne as Lord Chancellor, and of other of his colleagues in the Liberal Ministry of 1868-73. But the claims of the most prominent members of the Radical Wing had to be considered; and the conciliation of leaders, who not unnaturally objected to be left out in the cold when their action contributed in no small degree to the Liberal successes at the General Election, was the cause of some little delay. Hence it was not till Tuesday that Lord Beaconsfield delivered up the seals of office to her Majesty; and it was not until Wednesday that his late colleagues followed suit, and the new Ministers, with Mr. Gladstone at their head, were formally invested by the Queen with the insignia of office. The following were the earliest appointments announced to an impatient and inquiring public:—

First Lord of the Treasury and	Right Hon. W.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	E. Gladstone.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Selborne.
Lord President of the Council	Earl Spencer.
Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll.
Secretary of State for Foreign	Earl Granville.
Affairs	
Secretary of State for India	Marquis of
	Hartington.
Secretary of State for the Home	Sir W. Har-
Department	court.
Secretary of State for the	Earl of Kim-
Colonies	berley.
Secretary of State for War	Right Hon. H.
	C. E. Childers.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl of North-
	brook.
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Right Hon. W.
	E. Forster.
Chancellor of the Duchy of	Right Hon.
Lancaster	John Bright.
(The above form the Cabinet.)	

Lord Chamberlain ..	Earl of Kenmare.
Lord High Steward ..	Earl Sydney.
Master of the Horse ..	Duke of Westminster.
Secretary to the Admiralty ..	Mr. G. Shaw-Lefevre.
Chief Commissioner of Works	Right Hon. W. P. Adam.

The Marquis of Ripon succeeded Lord Lytton as Governor-General of India.

The stepping of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Ministry into the shoes of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration, so to speak, was performed with habitual ease. But the absence of the new Cabinet Ministers from the House of Commons on the first days of the session, held forth promise of nothing save stereotyped formality for the occupation of budding legislators whose souls were in arms and eager for the fray. The programme laid down by Constitutional usage ordained that the new members should be called to the House of Lords to hear her Majesty's Commission read; that the Speaker should then be elected; and writs issued for new elections to the seats rendered vacant by their holders' acceptance of office. There necessarily followed an adjournment till these fresh elections should be decided. As a matter of etiquette, Mr. Gladstone met with no opposition in Midlothian; and opposition would be utterly hopeless in such a stronghold of Liberalism as Birmingham; but the new Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, had to fight his battle o'er again in Oxford against Mr. Hall, and this time suffered a mortifying defeat, a defeat with which bribery, it was subsequently proved, had much to do. Sir W. Harcourt ultimately found his way back into the House of Commons by means of Derby. Mr. Plimsoll had the magnanimity to resign in his favour.

The one difficulty in the formation of the Ministry was how to settle Radical claims. A correspondent, as quoted by Mr. Saunders, thus describes the situation: "The formation of the new Cabinet is passing through a crisis. Sir Charles Dilke is the difficulty. There is a strong desire

felt among members who sit below the gangway, that the more advanced sections of the Liberal party should be represented by at least one or two seats in the Cabinet. Sir Charles Dilke, on being offered post of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, gave expression to this desire. He should be glad, he said, to serve under Lord Granville, but before giving his acquiescence, he should want the decision of the chiefs as to the general formation of the Cabinet. Sir Charles Dilke, on being asked more closely to explain his views, spoke with considerate frankness and fairness, pointing out that the Radical element in the House of Commons had, by the pressure of public opinion, become largely reinforced since the dissolution, and he mentioned the name of Mr. Chamberlain as one who might very fairly be admitted to the Cabinet as a representative of the two gentlemen sitting below the gangway. Mr. Gladstone, however, is averse to taking into his Cabinet men who have not held subordinate posts in the Administration, and who have, consequently, not received any kind of training fitting them to become heads of departments. Mr. Gladstone admits that an exception was made in favour of Mr. Bright, but he answers this admission by pointing out that Mr. Bright was an exceptional man. The claims of Sir Charles Dilke and the constitutional objections raised against their recognition by Mr. Gladstone, have, therefore, developed what I heard freely described at the Reform Club this afternoon as a *contretemps*. Sir Charles Dilke has been very firm in the position which he has taken up, and the complication from first to last has led to about a dozen conferences. This afternoon Mr. Chamberlain was taken to Lord Granville's by Sir Charles Dilke, but up to that time no office of any kind had been offered to the hon. gentleman. The reports circulated last night and repeated to-day that he had been offered and declined an Under-Secretaryship, may, therefore, be dismissed as unfounded. The decision on the whole situation, which this afternoon was under-

stood to have entered the stage of compromise, was awaited at the Reform Club with every manifestation of interest. In the Club were Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Peter Rylands, Mr. George Anderson, Mr. John Holmes, Sir Henry Havelock, Mr. A. E. Baxter, interested in the formation of the Cabinet and the fortunes of the Liberal party, but up to 6 o'clock nothing definite was known, and, as usual, the officials of the party were dumb." However, the difficulty was got over, and Mr. Chamberlain was admitted into the Cabinet, a great compliment to Birmingham in general and Mr. Chamberlain in particular.

The composition of the new Ministry led to much comment.

The *Times* wrote :—"The composition of a Ministry is a work of art and of mystery. It is necessary to know whom to reject and whom to choose, to neglect none while allowing super-eminence to none, to be firm without being arrogant, to balance opposing pretensions and opposing forces, to measure weight in council against dexterity in administration, and to remember that the composite body which is to be the end of so much care and forethought must satisfy the tests of Parliamentary action as well as of popular approval. Even when the men are selected, the task of settling them in their places is apt to provoke multitudinous bickerings and jealousies. Mr. Gladstone must expect his turn of criticism, and it is perhaps not lighter to him because he has experienced it before. His first care evidently has been to construct a Cabinet which shall be in some measure a balance to himself. This is a consideration that was not always remembered by those who insisted that he must be the head of the new Ministry. Its justice is, however, obvious. Had either Lord Granville or Lord Hartington been finally charged with the duty of forming a Government, it would have been his care to introduce into it a sufficient number of Liberals of a pronounced type to flavour what might otherwise be called its aristocratic character." A

Whig Prime Minister must necessarily choose some Radicals to associate with himself. Mr. Gladstone is free from this obligation. His duty has been just the counterpart of what would have been the duty of Lord Hartington. He is bound to reassure the Whigs. Hence it is that he has been drawn to call to his council men who will cause anxiety to none. If he is revolutionary himself, as is sometimes charged against him with more haste than accuracy, his chosen colleagues will restrain the ardour of his political temper. It is a practical question, to be tested by future experience, whether the moderating influences thus accumulated within the Cabinet may not prove too strong for Mr. Gladstone himself to overcome. In such a case, external powers may come to his aid, and it is indeed true that the discontent of advanced sections within Parliament, precluding dissensions among the constituencies, is a main force in keeping Liberal Governments along the line of advance. We are thus confronted with what is the standing problem of the Ministers of free States—to keep themselves as nearly as possible at the centre of the moving mass of the community. It is dangerous when a cry is heard from pioneers without that they did not work in order to place in power a Government that lags behind. It is equally dangerous when the counter-complaint is muttered that Liberal majorities were not constituted to put all things in confusion."

In remarking upon the members of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, the same paper, a day or two after, said :—"Out of the dozen or more members of whom Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet will be composed, the great majority will be Liberals, or Whigs of the old type. Lord Selborne, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Granville, Lord Hartington, and Lord Northbrook are no more likely to countenance extreme measures in domestic affairs than in foreign policy. Mr. Forster, Mr. Childers, and Sir William Harcourt are also guarantees for the sympathy of the Cabinet with old traditions and moderate



THE DUKE OF ARGYLL. K.T.

views. In the presence of such a company of moderate men, Mr. Bright may be expected to be as reasonable in urging the views characteristic of him as he was in the last Liberal Cabinet; and even the admission of a younger and more advanced Liberal to the circle need excite no anxiety. It has always been found the safest rule to disarm extreme sections of a party by admitting their representatives to the responsibilities of office. A man can both think and say many things as an independent member which after a very short experience of affairs he finds can neither be said nor seriously thought; and there is no effectual way of educating an aspiring and enthusiastic politician but that of submitting him to the trammels of actual business. A Radical on the one side, or an enthusiastic Tory on the other, is like a young horse, innocent of reins, traces, and collars; and as long as he is not in harness he can disport himself as he pleases. What he has to learn is that work can only be done in subordination to fixed conditions, and that whatever the destination he desires to attain, it can only be reached by the ordinary roads, of which many are often very heavy and out of order. It has often raised a laugh against agitators that they become quiet as soon as they are in office; but the increase in sobriety is no reproach to them. It is one thing to complain of the way in which some one else is driving the coach, and a very different thing to drive it yourself. In any case it is a matter for congratulation that, Mr. Bright in the Cabinet, the advanced section of the Liberals will be sure to have their views effectively represented, while at the same time they will be kept in due subordination to the experience and the traditions of the party. So far as the new Administration thus gives credentials in the balance of its composition for its general harmony with the previous policy of Liberal Administrations, it may be expected that the exaggerated hopes and fears aroused on the Continent by the result of the elections will subside. There have been many changes of Administration

in England during the last fifty years, but the main course of English policy has remained the same; and the Continent will soon learn to look on the changes of men in English Ministerial life with as much equanimity as that with which they are contemplated by the great majority of Englishmen themselves.

"The new Government therefore promises to be a moderate one, while it will allow due play to the younger forces of the party. Of the appointments outside the Cabinet, the most remarkable is that of the Marquis of Ripon to be Governor-General of India. His previous experience qualifies him in some measure for this great post. From 1863 to 1866 he was Secretary for War, and in February of the latter year he succeeded Lord Halifax as Secretary of State for India. In the present case it is inevitable that the post of Viceroy of India should change hands simultaneously with a change of Ministry at home; but the example is novel, and it is not to be desired that it should become a precedent." The appointment, in many quarters, gave great dissatisfaction. The Marquis was known to be a Roman Catholic. Converts and Protestants naturally felt a little anxious on the subject. By many it was considered that the appointment was a mistake.

In a little while it was announced that the Marquis of Lansdown, the representative of one of the old original Whig houses, had resigned on account of differences with Mr. Gladstone's Ministry with respect to Irish affairs, when in the middle of the first session Mr. Forster had introduced a measure respecting Irish tenants and landlords to which he could not give his assent. His lordship had been Indian Under-Secretary; and the measure which gave him so much offence was the Government Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill. Nevertheless, the Cabinet remained unbroken till the April of 1881, when it was suddenly announced that the Duke of Argyll had seceded from Ministers on account of his dislike to portions of Mr.

Gladstone's Land Bill. The blow was a heavy one, and created a great sensation at the time. The day after Mr. Gladstone had introduced his measure in the House of Lords, the Duke of Argyll (who occupied a seat near the table) said :—" I have a few words to address to the House in the nature of a personal and, I am sorry to say, very painful explanation. I have resigned the office which I have held in the Government of her Majesty, and that resignation has been accepted by the Queen. It is usual for a Minister under these circumstances to give some explanation in Parliament of the causes for the course which he has taken, but there are some difficulties, and indeed insuperable difficulties, in the way of my giving on the present occasion any explanation which may be really satisfactory to your lordships or to myself. My difficulties with my colleagues concern, and concern only, the measure which is now before the other House of Parliament, and quite obviously it would be improper for me now and in your lordships' House to enter upon a discussion of the measure. I can only therefore say in very general terms that whilst I approve and heartily support every measure which can reasonably be taken to increase the number of the owners of the land in Ireland, I am opposed to measures which tend to destroy ownership altogether—by depriving it of the conditions which are necessary to the exercise of its functions. It has been one of the great objects of the Liberal party for many years to get rid as much as possible of those restrictions which constitute what is called limited ownership in land. My opinion is, that the scheme of the Government will tend to paralyse the ownership of land in Ireland, by placing it for all times under new fetters and limitations under which it is not placed in any other civilised country in the world. Under this scheme neither the landlord nor the tenant will be owners. In Ireland the ownership of the land will be in commission or in abeyance. I regret this result as injurious to the agricultural industry of any country,

and especially injurious to a country in the condition of Ireland. I am not able to develop this opinion or to defend it now ; but I trust at least it will be recognised by your lordships as an opinion which represents an objection fundamental in its character and affecting more or less directly several leading proposals of the Government. Holding the opinions I have indicated of the Government scheme, I feel I cannot as an honest man be responsible for recommending the scheme as a whole to the adoption of Parliament. Under these circumstances, I have only further to say that I have taken this step with the deepest regret on account of the separation it makes between myself and my noble friends near me, and especially the separation it makes between myself and my right hon. friend at the head of the Government. I have had the honour of a close political connection with my right hon. friend for the long period of twenty-nine years, during which it has been a connection of ever increasing affection and respect. Nothing but an absolute sense of public duty in relation to a question of immense and far-reaching consequences could have compelled me to take the step which I now most reluctantly communicate to your lordships."

Questioned on the subject in the House of Commons on the same evening, Mr. Gladstone replied :—" With the deepest concern, alike personal and political, I have to say it is true that the Duke of Argyll has resigned office. It is also true that the cause of his resignation has reference to the Land Bill. I ought not to let it be implied that it is to the whole of the Land Bill. There are portions, and very important portions of the Land Bill, with regard to which the Duke of Argyll is quite at one with his colleagues, but there are other portions of it which he regards as vital in connection with his known opinions, and which he deems open to objection such as to require his resignation."

Commenting on the fact, the *Daily News* next observes :—" The Duke of Argyll made

a statement last night in the House of Lords of the motives which have led to his resignation. The substance of what he said makes it clear that he could not act otherwise than he has done. The manner of it will increase the regret with which his colleagues lose his advice and assistance, and the country sees itself deprived of his services. Different as the political and ecclesiastical training of Mr. Gladstone and the Duke of Argyll has been, the two men possess in common intellects richly cultivated by studies lying outside the ordinary range of politics and a high ethical standard of public action. The Duke of Argyll spoke last night of the ever-increasing affection and respect with which many years of political association have inspired him for the Prime Minister. While declining to enter into a discussion of the Irish Land Bill, he indicated the grounds of his dissent from its provisions. They appear to us to show a misapprehension of the problem to be solved, and of the historic conditions of Irish society, which cannot be left out of view in any attempt to solve it. The Duke of Argyll's mind seems to be overridden by a theory of landlord autocracy at variance even with the doctrine of English law, which does not allow of absolute ownership of the land, but only of tenancies of different sorts and interests variously defined. He seems to think that Mr. Gladstone's Bill creates a joint proprietorship between the Irish landlord and the Irish tenant. Mr. Gladstone demurs to the phrase and doctrine, in our opinion without sufficient reason. What his Bill does is to recognise an already existing joint ownership. It does not expropriate the landlord, but interposes to prevent the landlord from further expropriation of the tenant. It recognises that status, rather than contract, is the basis on which the land system of Ireland rests, and provides a tribunal for adjudicating on the various rights and interests springing out of the status of the occupant of the soil and that of the landlord. It proceeds on the basis of existing facts, instead of setting them aside in a

revolutionary and pseudo-economic manner, and preserves that historic and social continuity which the Duke of Argyll would rashly break."

The comments of the Press as to the resignation of the Duke and the appointment of his successor were mostly conceived in a similar strain.

The *Daily News* says:—"We have already expressed our deep regret that, on grounds of unquestionable validity, the Duke of Argyll should have been compelled to withdraw from the Cabinet. Satisfaction will, on the whole, be felt with Mr. Gladstone's choice of a successor. Lord Carlingford will not bring to the Cabinet the increase of popular influence which Mr. Fawcett or Sir Charles Dilke might have imparted. He will not carry quite the parliamentary weight of Lord Derby. But the new Privy Seal is an expert in the particular subject which will for the next few months occupy most of the time and attention of Parliament. He knows Ireland well, and has been Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. As Mr. Chichester Fortescue he gave greater assistance to Mr. Gladstone than any other of his colleagues in the framing and passing of the Land Act of 1870. He is understood to have had the principal share in framing the excellent Report on the Irish land laws which is signed by the minority of the Duke of Richmond's Commission. Such experience and such qualifications, aided by a conciliatory demeanour and considerable capacity for business, cannot but be invaluable in the conduct of a comprehensive and complicated measure through a hostile and prejudiced Assembly.

"The Right Hon. Chichester Samuel Parkinson-Fortescue, Lord Carlingford, who has accepted the office of Lord Privy Seal, in the place of his Grace the Duke of Argyll, is not new to official life, having held a seat in Mr. Gladstone's previous Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade. He is the younger son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Chichester Fortescue, by his marriage with Martha, daughter of the

late Mr. Samuel Meade Hobson, and brother of Lord Clermont. He was born in January, 1823, and was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained first-class honours in the classical schools in Michaelmas Term, 1844, and subsequently gained the Chancellor's prize for an English essay. In 1847 he entered Parliament in the Liberal interest, as one of the members for the county of Louth, and held that seat down to the general election of 1874, when he was defeated, and was forthwith raised to the Peerage. He was successively a Lord of the Treasury, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and President of the Board of Trade. His lordship is Lord Lieutenant of Essex, a deputy lieutenant for the county of Louth, and a magistrate for Somerset. In 1863 he assumed the name of Parkinson, and in the same year married Frances Elizabeth Anne, daughter of the late Mr. John Braham, and widow of George Edward, seventh Earl Waldegrave, but was left a widower in 1879.

The *Freeman's Journal* declared that the resignation of a Whig Minister on account of the Bill is a distinct testimony in its favour to the Irish people. The Duke of Argyll's character is not one of to-day or yesterday. He is well known in the magazines as a doctrinaire. He is well known in his own country as a depopulator. He and his like may be made cats-paws by the combined landlords to mutilate the Bill. Let them beware. They did that once too often in 1870. Let them be not Bourbons. Let them learn something. They have a great, a splendid opportunity. In other countries there would be a revolution. Thanks to the unapproached personal influence and ascendancy of intellect of Mr. Gladstone, there is law. We will not indulge in eulogium upon the statesman. Our part is rather that of critic. But we cannot, it is not in educated human nature to forbear a tribute to the great old man who, by sheer breadth of view, liberality of sentiment, superiority of knowledge, and

power of expression, is enabled to lead captive national and class prejudice, and not only induce the English aristocrat to do justice to the Mayo cottier, but inspire the gentleman with a heartfelt sympathy in the plight of the peasant."

We have already referred to the fact that there was early a change in the personnel of the new Government. In December, Mr. Leonard St. Courtney, M.P., was appointed to be Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the Home Office, in the room of Mr. Arthur W. Peel, resigned on account of ill health. In 1881 there was again a little alteration in the constitution of the Administration. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was appointed First Commissioner of Public Works, and the Secretaryship of the Admiralty, thus vacated, was accepted by Mr. Trevelyan. "Both these appointments," says the *Times*, "will give general satisfaction, and one of them will be regarded as not a little significant at the present moment. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre has made himself the special champion of what are called the Bright clauses of the Act of 1870. His promotion to Commissioner of Works gives him a place of greater prominence in the Government, and enables him to devote a larger share of attention to matters not immediately belonging to his own department. The return of Mr. Trevelyan to official life, and to the department of State in which he formerly served, will also be cordially welcomed; nor will the satisfaction be slight, that a brilliant success in literature has not extinguished the political ambition of the nephew and biographer of Macaulay." The *Daily News* remarked "that the appointment of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was probably made in view of the coming Irish legislation. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre will consequently be in a position to give the Government valuable help in legislation on the Irish Land question. In the light of Mr. Lefevre's published views on the question of the Irish Land, his appointment is of excellent augury for the completion of the pending Land Bill. In the discussion of the

subject he will be able to speak with the authority which complete knowledge of the whole question gives. His successor in the Secretaryship to the Admiralty, Mr. Trevelyan combines literature with

"Gladstone & Co., on succeeding to the business carried on during the last six years by Beaconsfield & Co. (Unlimited), in Downing-street, the Guildhall (City Branch), Constantinople, Afghanistan, the



VISCOUNT SANDOZ, M.P.

politics, and his selection will be regarded with general satisfaction."

Punch issued the business prospectus of the New Firm as follows, in the shape of a card:—

Cape, Egypt, and the Metropolitan Music-halls, have the pleasure of announcing to their numerous friends and supporters, in all parts of the country, that the stock for home consumption, which under their pre-

decessors was allowed to fall too low, will shortly be replenished with a choice and varied assortment of articles suited to the growing wants of the times. Several novelties are in active preparation, and will be offered to public notice at the proper season.

"In the Foreign Department Gladstone & Co. have been fortunate enough to secure the co-operation of a Manager of great tact, ability, and experience, whose instructions to the Representatives of the House in every quarter of the world are confidently expected to produce prosperous results, and favourably to affect the future Dividends of the Firm.

"A lot of Berlin-work still on hand. Must be cleared off within a very short period, without further notice.

"A new Agent has been appointed at Constantinople. All orders received by him will secure immediate attention, and will be executed with vigour and promptitude.

"Colonial Produce of a superior quality.

"The Indian Department will be under fresh and improved management. The Cashier's Branch will be remodelled.

"Gladstone & Co. have the gratification of announcing that the Senior Partner has consented to undertake the Book-keeping Department. His vast knowledge and long experience may be accepted as a sufficient guarantee that all liabilities will be met as they become due; the Deficits will not be mistaken for Surpluses; and that in making-up Balance Sheets, items of some millions in amount will not be omitted from the Accounts.

"As Large Land Agents, Gladstone & Co. hope to give satisfaction to their various supporters and clients.

"Although extensive law-stationers, Gladstone & Co.'s law will be anything but stationary.

"Farmers and Agriculturists may rely on their commissions receiving early and careful attention.

"Shipping Orders executed with skill and dispatch.

"Schools dealt with on liberal terms."

"The Undertaking Department will be at once rendered complete in all its branches. (Communications to be addressed to 'O. M.' on the Premises.)"

"Gladstone & Co. feel that it is almost superfluous to mention their large stock of Scotch fabrics, all warranted to wear well, not to shrink, to resist any amount of pressure, and to keep their colours. They can also point with unqualified satisfaction to a most useful and important consignment of Welsh manufacture. Some samples of 'Irish' can also be strongly recommended.

"Gladstone & Co. solicit a renewed trial of their Ballot Apparatus.

"Gladstone & Co. cannot refrain from drawing attention to their Birmingham and Sheffield goods, and also to an unusually fine example of Chelsea ware.

"For further particulars, see Bills, which will shortly be issued.

"10 to 12, Downing-street, S. W.,

"May, 1880."

In the middle of May a-meeting of the prominent members of the Conservative party was held to consider the position of affairs in the political world. It was called by the Earl of Beaconsfield, and met at Bridgewater House, and was attended by at least 450 members of the two Houses. One or two unreliable reports of the meeting appeared in the newspapers, but the fact was, it was strictly private. It transpired, however, that speeches were made by the Earl of Beaconsfield, who advocated the organisation of the working classes in a Conservative spirit—whatever that might mean. Such choice spirits as the Duke of Buccleugh and Sir Robert Peel also addressed the company, as did also Earl Carnarvon—a man of a very different class indeed; one who may claim to be like Lord Beaconsfield—a statesman. Practically, we may take it the meeting had little effect. At that time the only course open for the Conservatives was to wait the course of events, to trust in Providence, and keep their powder dry.



THE RIGHT HON. H. B. W. BRAND.

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1897

The new Parliament was opened on April 29, 1880, and in their eagerness to be present most of the Members put in an appearance long before the appointed hour. The first ex-Minister to arrive was Mr. Gibson; and presently Sir William Dyke was discovered standing at the bar surveying the crowded House in a familiar attitude. Avoiding the crush, ex-Ministers came in quietly from behind the Speaker's chair, and were apparently in the highest possible spirits. Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Sandon settling themselves in their new places, laughed like schoolboys whose task is done, and who see the next class called up for examination. In addition to Sir Charles Dilke, Lord Frederick Cavendish, Mr. Grant Duff, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, and Mr. John McLaren sat on the Treasury Bench. At the end, near the gangway, sat Mr. Alderman Cotton, Mr. R. N. Fowler, and Mr. Alderman Lawrence, three of the Members for the City. This seat is claimed of right on certain occasions in honourable recollection of the time when the City of London gave shelter to the five Members whom Charles I. would have arrested. Mr. Goschen, long a habitat of one or other of the front benches, took up a position on the third bench behind. Of other ex-Ministers, such as Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Hibbert, it must be reported that they took positions below the gangway. Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, shortly to be made a Peer, finding no seat below available, took refuge in the gallery. There was not a large muster of Irish Members, and, as far as the arrangements of the House made it possible, they took diametrically opposite courses. Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Finigan, ignoring so trifling a circumstance as a change in the position of English parties, returned to their old seats below the gangway, on the left of the Speaker. Major Nolan, Mr. Mitchell Henry, and half-a-dozen others, crossed over with the Liberal party. Amongst new Members recognised were Mr. Slag, who, in succeeding to Sir Thomas Bazley's constituency, has also claimed the reversion of his seat; Mr.

Woodhall, who at the late election at Stoke occupied the position held by Dr. Kenealy in 1875; Mr. Broadhurst, whom the *Daily News* described as an honourable addition to the number of working-men's representatives; Mr. Firth, the would-be reformer of the corporation, who won a seat at Chelsea; and Mr. Bradlaugh, who, if a stranger in the House, was but too well known in connection with the Hall of Science and other head-quarters of shallow materialism and advanced democracy, undoubtedly to look at physically and intellectually an able man, and a man very dear to his admirers.

"At ten minutes to two," writes the *Daily News* reporter, "Mr. Brand slowly made his way through the throng that now completely covered the floor. The right hon. gentleman was instantly recognised in his disguise of morning dress, with a spotted blue-and-white neckerchief, and many hands were held out to welcome him. Mr. Brand, in accordance with immemorial custom, seated himself at the corner bench below the gangway, availing himself of the rare opportunity of indicating political predilection by choosing the Ministerial side. When re-elected in 1874, Mr. Brand sat on the corresponding seat on the opposite side of the House. A few minutes after two a messenger informed the Sergeant-at-Arms of the approach of Black Rod. Captain Gosset did all that was possible to clear the passage, but succeeded only in making a narrow lane in the crowd, into which Black Rod presently walked. He did not attempt to approach the table, where, indeed, he had no errand, there being neither mace in view nor Speaker in the chair. Mindful of the fact that the House of Commons was not yet duly constituted, Black Rod, while courteously bowing right and left, colloquially addressed hon. members as 'Gentlemen,' and invited them to proceed to the House of Lords to hear the Royal Commission read. Speedily giving up the half-essay'd effort to retire backward, Black Rod made the best of his way out of the House. At this stage in the non-existence of a Speaker,

Sir Erskine May presided, though without the privilege of opening his mouth. He now rose, and, taking a wand in his hand, left the House, followed by a somewhat tumultuous procession.

"The scene in the House of Lords seemed all the duller by contrast with the excitement that filled the other House. Not more than a score of peers were present, and scarcely as many ladies, relatives of peers, had availed themselves of the privilege of being seated within the House. The front Ministerial bench was absolutely empty, though it was presently discovered that among the five cloaked

res on the bench before the woollen were Lord Granville, Lord Selborne, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Sydney. The commission appointing these peers to act in her Majesty's name having been read, Lord Selborne observed that the Lords Commissioners 'had it in hand to let you know that as soon as the Members of both Houses have been sworn, the cause of her Majesty's calling this Parliament will be declared.' In the meantime the Lord Chancellor, in her Majesty's name, bade the gentlemen of the House of Commons repair to their own House, and there elect some proper person to be their Speaker, returning on the morrow to present such person for her Majesty's approval.

"The first part of this instruction was promptly obeyed. On returning to the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Acland having caught Sir Erskine May's finger—in the ceremonial of yesterday the clerk at the table mutely indicates with outstretched finger the member who is to speak—proceeded to propose the re-election of Mr. Brand. This was seconded from the other side of the House, and was approved amid general cheering, though it may be noted that the question was not formally put from the table. Rising from the corner seat below the gangway, the Speaker, in an address admirably conceived and delivered with great dignity, expressed his sense of the honour for the third time done

him by the House of Commons. Mr. O'Donnell having announced his full approval of the proceedings, the mover and seconder of the resolution approached the Speaker and led him to the chair. Before seating himself the Speaker repeated in a single sentence the expression of his appreciation of the honour done him; which, said he, amid renewed cheering, resumed the position he has so long held to the advantage of the House of Commons. Lord Frederick Cavendish, as representing the Government, added to the compliments already uttered, and they were further supplemented by Sir Stafford Northcote, whose personal popularity was testified to when, on rising, he was greeted with cheers not less loud from the Liberal benches than from those on which his political friends sit." The House straightway adjourned till next day, when the Speaker presented himself for the anticipated approval of her Majesty, and the swearing in of members commenced.

Out of doors there was little to note besides the assemblage of a pretty large crowd. The character of that crowd can be best indicated from the fact that the man whom it most delighted to honour was Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, as he drove up in a handsome cab. There were a few hostile sounds, but these were drowned in the plaudits to which Mr. Gladstone bowed his acknowledgment. Opposite the entrance to the House of Lords the scene was less exciting. The first important arrival was that of Lord Selborne. He was followed soon after by Lord Sydney and Lord Hatherley. The recognition by the group of spectators of the Duke of Argyll, was indicated by salutations which the Lord Privy Seal acknowledged by raising his hat. By the time the House of Commons had adjourned the people in waiting had been reduced in numbers to the size of a large group, who took up a position opposite the carriage-drive. These took pleasure in recognising public men or members with whom they personally happened to be acquainted, as these

members passed out, but no noteworthy incident occurred to mark the close of the first day's sitting of the New Parliament.

The following was the Queen's speech :—

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of meeting you after the recent General Election, and the arrangements required upon a change of Administration.

"The cordial relations which I hold with all the other Powers of Europe will, I trust, enable me to promote, in concert with them, the early and complete fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin with respect to effectual reforms and equal laws in Turkey, as well as to such territorial questions as have not yet been settled in conformity with the provisions of that Treaty. I regard such a fulfilment as essential for the avoidance of further complications in the East. In accordance with this view, I have deemed it expedient to dispatch an Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of the Sultan.

"On the last occasion of my addressing you, I expressed my hope that the measures adopted in Afghanistan would lead to a speedy settlement of that country. Since that period the gallantry of my troops has continued to be conspicuous, and the labours of my Government in India have been unremitting. But I have to lament that the end in view has not yet been attained. My efforts will, however, be unceasingly directed towards the pacification of Afghanistan, and towards the establishment of such institutions as may be found best fitted to secure the independence of its people, and to restore their friendly relations with my Indian Empire.

"The condition of Indian Finance, as it has recently been made known to me, has required my special attention. I have directed that you shall be supplied with the fullest information upon this weighty subject.

"I invite your careful notice to the important questions of policy connected with the future of South Africa. I have continued to commend to the favourable con-

sideration of the authorities, and of the people in the various settlements, the project of Confederation. In maintaining my supremacy over the Transvaal, with its diversified population, I desire both to make provision for the security of the indigenous races, and to extend to the European settlers institutions based on large and liberal principles of self-government.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I notice with satisfaction that the imports and exports of the country, as well as other signs, indicate some revival in trade. But the depression, which has lately been perceived in the revenue, continues without abatement. The estimates of income which were laid before the last Parliament were framed with moderation, but the time which has since elapsed exhibits no promise that they will be exceeded.

"The annual estimates of charge, so far as they have not been already voted, will be promptly laid before you.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The late season of the year at which you commence your labours will, I fear, seriously abridge the time available for useful legislation, but I make no doubt that you will studiously turn it to the best account.

"The Peace Preservation Act for Ireland expires on the 1st June. You will not be asked to renew it. My desire to avoid the evils of exceptional legislation in abridgment of liberty would not induce me to forego in any degree the performance of the first duty of every Government in providing for the security of life and property. But, while determined to fulfil this sacred obligation, I am persuaded that the loyalty and good sense of my Irish subjects will justify me in relying on the provisions of the ordinary law, firmly administered, for the maintenance of peace and order.

"The provisions enacted before the dissolution of the late Parliament, for the mitigation of distress in Ireland, have been serviceable for that important end. The question of the sufficiency of the advances already authorised by Parliament is under my consideration.

"A measure will at an early day be submitted to you for putting an end to the controversies which have arisen with respect to burials in churchyards and cemeteries.

"It will be necessary to ask you to renew the Act for secret voting.

"Among the chief subjects which will be brought under your notice, as time may permit, will be Bills for giving more effectual protection to the occupiers of land against injury from ground game, for determining on a just principle the liabilities of employers for accidents sustained by workmen, and for the extension of the borough franchise in Ireland.

"These and all your labours I heartily commend to the blessing of God."

It is interesting to note how, in this new Government, Mr. Gladstone, in spite of advancing years, of accumulated labours, of occasional impediments arising from illness and other matters, remained actually as well as virtually the head. Mr. Disraeli having passed into the Upper House, there to give his auditors a specimen of the style of Milton, Mr. Gladstone in the New Parliament may be said to have reigned with undisputed power, and to have been more than ever, by his genius and labour, supreme. Even in the Session of 1881, when advancing years and labours did somewhat tell on the Prime Minister, he did an amount of work, and absorbed an amount of public attention, which might seem almost incredible did we not know the real facts of the case.

In the spring of 1881, one of the daily papers wrote of Mr. Gladstone as follows :— "A kindly restriction has been lately placed upon his hours of attendance in the House. He has been induced when debates run far into the morning to vacate his seat at a comparatively early hour, and leave the leadership of the House to Lord Hartington. Only, however, at a comparatively early hour could he be prevailed upon to quit each night the scene of his active work. Many men much younger than Mr. Gladstone would regard it as the extreme of hardship to be compelled, even for three

nights in the week, to sit up as late as the hour which was fixed as a wholesome period for his early retirement. Yet with all this work and fatigue the Prime Minister has not shown during this Session any diminution whatever in his capacity for intellectual labour and for Parliamentary debate. One only sign is given that years and the stress of work have somewhat told upon him. A man must as his years go on show the touches of the hand of Time in one way or another, and Mr. Gladstone's voice has undoubtedly for the last year or two, and perhaps especially for the last Session, given signs of fatigue. It showed these signs all the more because it was long so marvellous an organ. The more full and delicate the voice of a great singer, the sooner it shows an evidence of decay. Certain delicate shades of tone and feeling, which are absent altogether even from an ordinarily fine voice, make the special charm of such a singer, and these first succumb to the influence of years. Thus in many a case the greater singer signals the setting in of decay more readily than his inferior would do. It has been something like this with Mr. Gladstone. During the last Session or two his voice is no longer so clear, so subtle, and so penetrating, so easily heard in the remotest gallery or nook of the House of Commons as it long used to be. It was only, indeed, during the last year or two when this change came to be noticed, and the wonder is that a voice subjected to so much constant strain and labour should have held out so long without any diminution even in the fineness of its fine qualities. But except for this slight evidence of physical falling away, Mr. Gladstone as a debater is the same now that he was ten or twenty years ago. He rises with the same readiness to his task whatever it be. He shows the same marvellous power of comprehending a whole subject within the exact proportions of time and of eloquence which he can fairly give to it in any debate. He is as skilled as ever to seize on the smallest details in the argument of his

adversary which opens an opportunity for his reply and his retort. He is still like one of the knights in the old days, so easy of fere and quick of eye that in the fiercest interchange of thrusts he could spy out some small opening, some juncture, some weak spot in the armour of his adversary, and direct the sword-point there.

"In some of the debates of this Session Mr. Gladstone has displayed an impassioned rhetorical power not inferior to that of his best days. When replying, for example, to the ubiquitous Mr. Parnell, he rose to a height of stirring eloquence such as not even he, perhaps, had exceeded before. In the debate on one of the clauses of the Protection Bill, which referred to the privileges of members of Parliament, he spoke with consummate grace and easy force and precision of argument. He has kept his supremacy over the House with as much ease and certainty as though he were still in the very prime of life. We hear of promised orators now and then, as we hear of new tenors who are to take the long-vacant place of Mario; but the orators come and pass away as the promised tenor does, and we find Mr. Gladstone still occupying his unrivalled position on the political stage. There are other men even still in Parliament who can make great speeches. There is one man who has perhaps on certain occasions made even greater speeches than Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Bright has at some striking periods of his career risen probably to a height of eloquence beyond even that which Mr. Gladstone has touched. But Mr. Bright as a Parliamentary debater not alone does not compare with Mr. Gladstone, but has never even attempted to do the same kind of work. A critic has laid down that no speaker who always speaks well can be an orator of the highest kind, because oratory depends so much on the mood, the inspiration of the subject, the inspiration supplied by the audience. But it must be said of Mr. Gladstone that he is a great orator who, if he is not always equal, is always able to compel the admiration of those who

listen to him. Even a day or two's absence of Mr. Gladstone from his place in Parliament must strike the House of Commons with a sense of chill and of dimness."

The Lords Commissioners who read the Royal Speech were the Lord Chancellor, Earl Sydney, the Earl of Cork, Earl Spencer, and the Earl of Kenmare. In the House of Peers the address to the Crown was moved by the Earl of Elgin, seconded by Lord Sandhurst, and after a debate in which the Duke of Marlborough, Earl Spencer, Lord Beaconsfield, and Lord Granville took part, it was carried without opposition. In the House of Commons the address was moved by Mr. Albert Gray and seconded by Mr. Hugh Mason. An amendment was proposed by Mr. O'Connor Power, and seconded by Mr. Richard Power, declaring that the important and pressing question of the position of occupiers and cultivators of the land in Ireland deserves the most serious and immediate attention of her Majesty's Government with a view to the introduction of such legislation as will secure to those classes the legitimate fruits of their industry. This was rejected, however, by 300 to 47, and the address was agreed to.

Mr. Gladstone's speech in the course of the debate was long and exhaustive with respect to the amendment. He said:—"The charge of the hon. member for Mayo was that the programme was meagre, and that the legislation for Ireland was of a hand-to-mouth character." Mr. Gladstone continued:—"I doubt the precise accuracy of that description. In the 'meagre programme' such as it is, there is announced a measure for the extension of the electoral franchise in the cities and towns of Ireland which was from year to year earnestly pressed upon the late Parliament by those with whom the hon. gentleman most sympathises. It received the universal support of the Liberal party, then in a minority; but, unfortunately, from year to year it was rejected by the determined opposition of those who then constituted the majority. The hon. gentleman does less than justice

to a still earlier Parliament if he describes the Irish Land Act as hand-to-mouth legislation. It seems to me impossible, whether that Act be described by friends or foes, to give to it such a character as that which the honourable member assigns. It is quite evident that the Irish Land Act, whether a wise measure or not, whether a safe measure or not, whether a sufficient measure or not—and upon none of those questions do I think this an appropriate occasion for me to deliver a definitive opinion—was a measure involving the adoption of principles of legislation to which in many respects we were unaccustomed—principles of legislation which unquestionably we should have hesitated to introduce into England or Scotland, and which nothing but the very strong necessity of the case warranted us in advising Parliament to accept, or warranted Parliament in accepting. However that may be, the hon. member now calls upon us to declare in the words of the amendment that the further amendment of the Irish Land Act demands our serious and immediate consideration. He calls upon the Government as well as the House to be parties to that declaration. Is that, I ask him, under the circumstances reasonable? Only twenty days have elapsed since I had the honour of receiving from her Majesty a commission to form a Government. Does the hon. member really believe—is his estimate of the character of the land question in Ireland such as to lead him to think that it would have been just or wise on the part of an Administration which has not existed as an Administration for more than ten days, and which he knows very well has been called upon during those ten days to address itself to a series of the most urgent and difficult problems connected with our relations beyond sea—does he think it would have been possible for us so to acquaint ourselves with the whole of the difficult subject on which he now calls for a declaration as to be in a position to give the pledge implied in the amend-

ment? He appears to think it was our duty to adopt this course because he assigns to the question of land tenure in Ireland an importance apparently not only overshadowing but almost absorbing that of every other question. Is that a rational view under the circumstances? Is it not our duty before we give any pledge as to further legislation generally affecting the tenure of land in Ireland to ascertain what is the nature of the case which should call for such legislation, and what is the nature of the provisions by which that legislation should be made? Is it not our duty to consider how far the recent distress and difficulty in Ireland has been the growth of temporary circumstances which a happier course of the seasons may perhaps in a great degree set aside, and how far it indicates any necessity of the character to which he has referred? He thinks apparently that it is the duty of the Government in this country to set forth in the Speech of the Sovereign a list of the most important questions awaiting the attention of Parliament. I speak with great respect when I venture to inform him that that is not a principle on which the Queen's Speech ought to be framed. It must necessarily be framed, if it is to follow the rules of prudence and of practice, not with a view to setting forth all the greatest questions which may demand the attention of Parliament, but with the view to settling forth those questions in regard to which there is reasonable expectation that attention in the actual session to which alone the Speech has reference may be called. That is the principle upon which we have gone. We have not sought to excite any sanguine expectations as to legislation during the present session. We are aware, unfortunately, of the fact, that instead of commencing in the first week of February we commence on the 20th of May, when a very small portion indeed of the ordinary and necessarily sessional business has been transacted, and when the time at our disposal is exceedingly limited. Under those circumstances the programme which

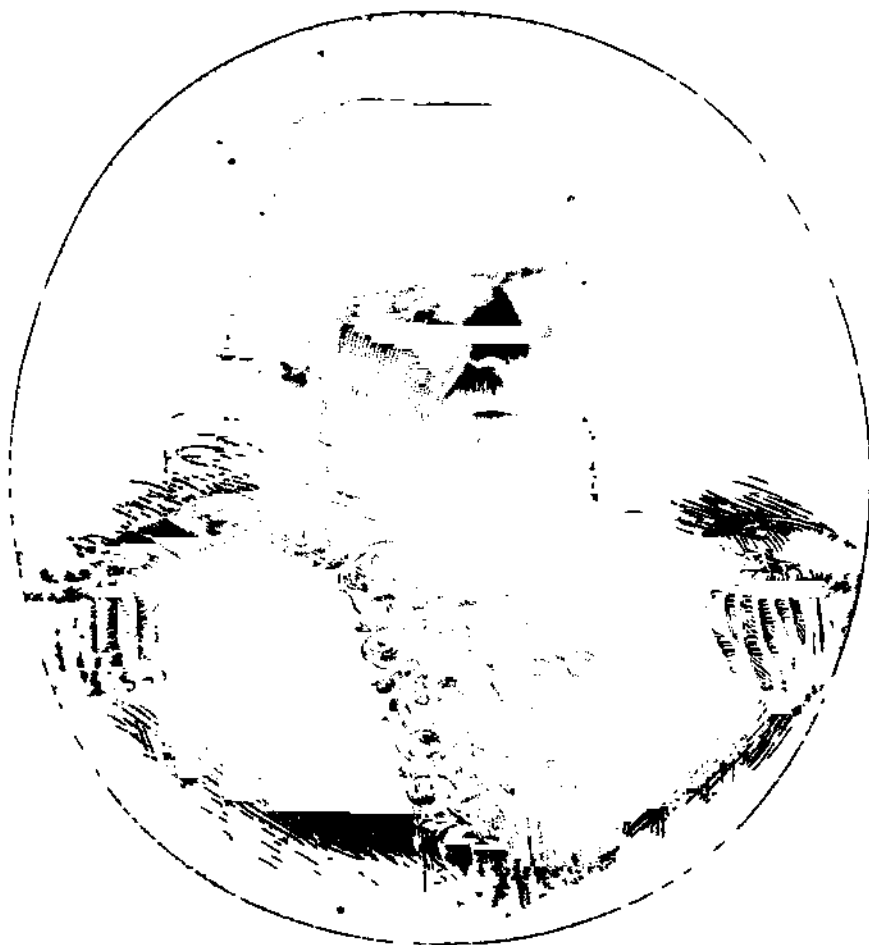


THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K. G.

the hon. member for Mayo calls a meagre programme, I entreat him in a more favourable mood to be satisfied to call a modest programme; and in case we should be able to obtain the judgment of Parliament on the measures enumerated in the Speech, together of course with other measures less salient in character, I for my part shall be very glad to think that so small a fraction of a session shall not have been passed without something being done. It may be convenient if I say, in answer to a remark made earlier in the evening, that no notice has been given in this House of the introduction of the Burials Bill, because being anxious to economise the time of Parliament, and as far as possible to keep both Houses simultaneously at work, we do not abandon that idea, which must be finally disposed of in a few days, that it may be more convenient, and that time will be economised in this, if we should be able to present the Burials Bill to the notice of the House of Lords."

Turning to the question of foreign politics Mr. Gladstone said, with regard to the remarks of Sir Stafford Northcote:—"He has accepted with readiness and with gladness the manner in which we have advised the Sovereign to lay stress upon the execution of the Treaty of Berlin. He is perfectly aware, first of all, that that treaty never was described in terms of general censure by my noble friend who is near me, by myself, or by others, in the last House of Parliament; but, whatever opinion we might have held as to some changes which were made in the Treaty of San Stefano, or as to the course which was taken by the representatives of Great Britain in the difficult discussions which preceded the discussion of the treaty, we never dissembled the fact, but, on the contrary, were glad to acknowledge and proclaim it, that great things for human happiness and for the relief of human misery received therein the sanction of united Europe. Even had it not been so we should have been bound to respect an instrument taking the place of international

law, but we had no difficulty in conforming, as my right hon. friend uses the expression to established facts; and it would have been our duty to conform to the Treaty of Berlin even had we been less sensible that many great and desirable changes had been secured under the very highest authority they could receive, namely, the united authority of the Great Powers of Europe. My right hon. friend finds no serious difficulty in his way until he comes to the words that, in accordance with the views expressed in the prior paragraphs, her Majesty has deemed it expedient to send an Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of the Sultan. In the announcement of that intention, my right hon. friend finds cause for some anxiety, and, at all events, for some curiosity. He supposes that it must indicate very grave intentions of a very novel character, and he at the same time described it, if I understood him rightly, as a very novel and unusual step. Now, the step of appointing an ambassador extraordinary, or a special ambassador—for I am not at all aware that there is any distinction between the two—is not quite so unusual as it appears to be supposed, for only two years have elapsed since that very same step was adopted by the late Government, and, I presume, on grounds by no means otherwise than analogous to the grounds on which we have now proceeded. Sir Henry Elliot was the Ambassador of England at Constantinople. In that capacity he had acted till Lord Salisbury sat in the Conference held in that city. Circumstances made the Government believe that after the Conference concluded it would be possible for them to carry on their important communications with Constantinople, at any rate for a time, through another channel. Sir Henry Elliot received leave of absence, and Sir H. Layard was sent to Constantinople as special ambassador. I am not aware whether there be any recognised distinction between that phrase and a phrase which has been employed in the other case, and, substantially, I believe the measure to be one of the same character.



HOBART PACHA.

At any rate, there is no difficulty whatever in responding to the questions which have been put by the leader of the Opposition. He asks with regard to the powers of the ambassador, whether the special ambassador carries with him any powers other than those which attach to an ordinary ambassador. He asks what is meant by putting pressure on the Porte, and there he makes her Majesty's Government responsible for an expression used by my right hon. friend the mover of the Address. I have no hesitation in accepting that expression, although I might not have to adopt every phrase used by one who has that difficult duty to discharge. I will take an explanation from the speech of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, for the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his description of the circumstances under which he advised our recognition of the Treaty of Berlin as the strong point of foreign policy. He said that the great Treaty of Berlin is an international instrument executed by the Powers of Europe, giving us the right of insisting upon its stipulations being carried out. That is what is meant by putting pressure upon the Porte, and really, in justice to my right hon. friend, the words 'put pressure' might be struck out, using the word 'insist.' I need not say, therefore, that there is nothing in the employment of phrases that warrants the indication of proceedings which are unusual; and, with respect to the use of force, to which reference was made in the speech of the leader of the Opposition, he may rest assured that her Majesty's Government are a great deal too conscious of the gravity of the results involved in such an idea to come to any conclusion of that kind, or to entertain any questions of that kind, except when they are in possession of all the circumstances which may move their conduct in a given case, and are able to appreciate them as they deserve. I remember that shortly after the conference at Constantinople, Lord Salisbury, in the House of Lords, I think before he became Foreign Minister, said, with great truth,

that while he did not set down as an impossibility the use of force in any given case, yet spoke of it as one of the gravest questions that could possibly arise for the consideration of statesmen, and evidently as a thing which nothing short of the grossest incapacity and a temper involved to the point of insanity could resort to without the strongest justification. If I am, what is the special purpose with which my right hon. friend Mr. Goschen has been selected to undertake this arduous mission? I will proceed briefly to reply. He is aware of the Circular Despatch by Lord Granville to the Powers of Europe upon the subject of what the Government think to be the necessity of urging the prompt fulfilment of the unfulfilled stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin. I may say that it would not be possible that that despatch should be laid upon the table until it had its natural fruit, which I expect to follow in a very brief period in the adoption by the several Powers of a view conformable to that which I expressed when the idea which we have broached has received the authority and the sanction and concurrence of the concerted European Powers. Then Parliament will be able to appreciate it, and of course papers will be laid on the table. But, sir, it does not itself explain, I fully admit, the mission of the Ambassador Extraordinary. But it does not, on the other hand, require that I should make any undue demand on hon. gentlemen when I ask them to consider what a great advantage it is that we should at this moment be represented at the Porte by a statesman with whom, for all the years of his life, we have been in intimate and confidential communication, and with whom on the whole of the facings of this great Eastern Question we are in the most complete concurrence. It is not possible to convey through Sir Henry Layard, though he is a most able man, and certainly anxious to do his duty in giving effect to the views of the Government, such an impression and such a complete and comprehensive knowledge of the views of the Government as, even without

specific instructions, would have been carried by Mr. Goschen. However, he will carry specific instructions, and we are convinced that his mission will greatly tend to the clearing away of that misapprehension between the Porte and the British Government from which, as we think, considerable inconvenience has arisen. There are two practical questions evidently requiring, critical as they now are, that they should be treated by some one who is not merely in an official sense, but in the strictest manner, the representative of the views of the Government—one relates to the frontier of Greece, which undoubtedly is an urgent question—and the other, which I regret to say, if not greater, is still more urgent, is the question relating to the southern frontier of Montenegro. That question is in a state so critical, that we are not absolutely secure even of the maintenance of peace. It is complicated by a variety of difficulties, and we feel the greatest anxiety with regard to it, and we have taken all the means in our power to promote its rapid solution on the basis of the European concert. But unquestionably in matters so delicate we shall feel that we have the greatest advantage in being represented by a gentleman who has gone from our side, and who, without any disparagement of our official representative, must be able to convey to the Porte the views on which we are prepared to act with far greater accuracy and completeness than could be done by any person in different circumstances."

As to Turkey, Mr. Gladstone continued:—"We have obtained rights of sole interference in Turkey, which rights, I have no doubt, her Majesty's late Government intended to apply simply for the benefit of the subjects of Turkey, and, therefore, for the benefit of the Government of Turkey—do not let it be supposed that I am charging any other intention—but I do not doubt at all that as a matter of fact the Government of Turkey have been led to attach to that convention more or less the idea and apprehension that it is intended

to establish a basis on which England may invade and impair their rights of sovereignty in Asia. Well, that misapprehension is one which I think it most desirable to remove. We do not desire to see foreign influences established in Turkey; we desire to see the obligations of Turkey carefully and faithfully fulfilled, and fulfilled under the high sanction of European authority; but separate foreign influences, the influence of this Power or of that Power, we regard as the sure and fertile source of jealousy, of disunion, ay, even of more acute mischief, possibly of disturbance and bloodshed. We, whatever our historical opinions may be, have no desire—I have never expressed a desire—to reduce the geographical limits within which the supremacy of the Sultan of Turkey remains. I may speak of myself, because I have been supposed to be a representative of extreme opinions; but I never proposed the abolition of the authority of the Sultan, either as Suzerain or as Sultan, in any part of his dominions. I proposed undoubtedly that Turkish administration should cease in certain provinces—and it has ceased there; but I believe, if we could solve the difficult problem of establishing a relation between the Sultan and his subjects conducive to and consistent with the full development of their prosperity, with the enjoyment of local liberties, and with the control of their strictly local affairs, then that supremacy of the Sultan may even come to play a useful part in the exclusion of other influences from abroad, from whatever quarter derived, which would lead to rivalry, jealousy, and possibly hostility. I hope that, in what I have said, I have shown sufficiently to the House that these are matters with regard to which we might very well desire that, both with a view to a more amicable and satisfactory conduct of our relations with, and to the better condition of the population of Turkey, and to the welfare of the Turkish Government itself, we might obviate all risk of a recurrence of the mischief which has followed from the prevalence of illusions.



THE RIGHT HON W L FORSTER M P



In that country, and might lay the foundations of our future intercourse in a perfectly clear apprehension of the views entertained on the one side and on the other. It was stated, I think, by the late Prime Minister, in the last speech he delivered in his place before the dissolution, that he viewed the state of Europe as critical. I should certainly not be justified in denying that; if I am to look at certain questions and to consider them locally, the state of those questions is eminently critical. Neither do I deny that the mismanagement of those local questions might give them a wider character, and might warrant such a description of the condition of Europe at large. But setting aside those contingencies, which I hope may be avoided, I trust we are not in a condition which calls for the employment of such an epithet. The reason why I think we may take a view by some shades more favourable is this: Undoubtedly we have very grave matters to deal with in Europe, matters graver still elsewhere, but we know that there is a great instrument placed in the hands of civilised mankind—namely, the consent of the Great Powers for beneficial purposes; and we are entitled to believe that that consent, that harmony at the present moment exists. So far as we know, there are no developed signs of difference of views. There have been signs which have led to the inference of jealousy, but those signs have not been confirmed by such experiences as we have had. On the contrary, the assurances which have reached us from every quarter are in their nature satisfactory assurances. It will be our most sacred duty and constant effort to maintain the state of harmonious feeling among the Powers by declining to give in to the slightest indication of separate aims or schemes on the part of any one."

Afghanistan was then touched on, Mr. Gladstone declaring that the Government were anxious to reduce the responsibilities which they had incurred by the march into that quarter, and it was the same with regard to the Transvaal.

In the early part of the session Mr. Gladstone made an extra Parliamentary speech, which deserves to be recorded, on the occasion of an address by the Liberals of Middlesex to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who had so nobly contested the county. The meeting was held in Her Majesty's Opera House, on June 2nd, under the Presidency of the Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., and amongst those present was the Prime Minister, who, coming in some time after the meeting had commenced, was very heartily cheered, and whose approach was indicated to the meeting by the loud cheers which were heard from the crowd in the street. Every part of the auditorium was crowded, and there were many ladies in the audience. In introducing the son, Mr. Forster thus spoke of the father:—"I see considerable reason why the people of England should be grateful to him, and I am glad he is not here for a few minutes; for I do not know that he would have liked me to have said here in his presence the few words I am about to say. His self-denial, his willingness to sacrifice himself for his country, could scarcely under any circumstances be shown more than by what he does as Prime Minister. I want to give you a reason which I do not think the public is aware of. You know how intensely Mr. Gladstone takes up any question in which he is interested. It is no weariness to him, so happily constituted is he, to spend his energies to carry out anything he has at heart, busy as he is at this moment. I have sometimes thought, such is his happy nature, that his relaxation from over-exhausting work on the one hand is to turn to over-exhausting work on the other. The Prime Minister has to look after everything that comes before Parliament; but there is no man, however all-grasping be his sympathies and his knowledge, that can feel interested upon all the subjects that come before the House of Commons; and yet the Prime Minister is obliged to attend to them, and to take a lead in the management of the House whenever they are

brought forward. Though he does not show any weariness or distaste to the work, I cannot but feel that at his age and after his services it is a wonderful performance."

The address having been read by Mr. Gurney Sheppard and presented by him to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, and acknowledged by him, Mr. Gladstone, who was received with loud and prolonged cheering, the whole of the vast assembly rising and waving hats and handkerchiefs, said:—"Mr. Forster, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Sir, these walls commonly resound to a vocal melody and harmony with which I fear we cannot vie; but I think that, so far as moral harmony is concerned, we may challenge even this building to match or to surpass the meeting that I have the honour to address. I shall not, sir, as I trust, break in any respect the concert which prevails, if I proceed to say that I came here, not for the purpose of receiving the kind congratulations that you have given me, but I came here for a different object, and for a purpose that it is now my first duty to fulfil. It was not to receive your acknowledgments, grateful as they are to me, for any former or present labours, but it was to render the acknowledgments which are so eminently due from me to you for your conduct to a member of my family. When I received, sir, the request to attend this meeting, I felt, that whatever might be the demands upon my time and strength, yet that request must be acceded to, and that demand at all events must be met. It was a duty which I could not prevail upon myself, had I attempted it, to forego to take some public opportunity of rendering from the bottom of my heart my warmest acknowledgments to you, sir, who sit in the chair, to the great and important meeting which I have the honour to address, and to the Liberal constituency of Middlesex at large. For I do not think that a more generous act was ever done by a body so great and so diversified than in the choice of one who at that time was perfectly untried to become the organ of their feelings and opinions, the champion

of their interests and their principles on the great and trying occasion of the election through which the country lately passed. It was, gentlemen, a bold and generous experiment, for which all who bear my name and belong to the circle of my family are bound to thank you in no formal way, but in the most hearty and most earnest sense. I rejoice to think that that experiment, bold as it was, has not been to you or to others wholly unsatisfactory in its results; that the confidence which you so generously bestowed proved itself in the issue to have been bestowed not upon an unworthy person. So far as you are concerned, I know you do not regret the effort that you made—that, on the contrary, you regard it as the natural and sufficient stimulus to further efforts upon your part to renew the struggle that you intended to renew, in which for a moment you were baffled, and which you hope to renew with larger means, with brighter hopes, and with confident expectation of success. For, ladies and gentlemen, we shall be much disappointed—I may say, on the part of my right hon. friend in the chair and myself, as well as I believe most of you—we shall be much disappointed if this Parliament, should it be permitted to attain anything like the natural average of Parliamentary life, if this Parliament should dissolve without having secured to you that extension of the county suffrage which, had it been granted before the late election in Middlesex, would on that occasion have achieved a very different result. Having then, sir, so far as words can attain the end, expressed to you briefly, but I hope gratefully, feelings which will forever remain engraven on our hearts, I proceed from thanking you to discharge a duty to you which I should not come here to undertake, but which now I cannot avoid. I proceed to thank you for the congratulations that you have been pleased to give me. You have been good enough to refer to circumstances attending the election in Midlothian. And it is, gentlemen, to me a most gratifying remembrance that on this occasion—this critical

and most important occasion—there was a secret but a powerful sympathy which appeared to govern these two metropolitan counties, which enabled them to exercise no small influence on the general result of the election. I do not speak of the speeches delivered in Midlothian by myself or any other person, but I speak of acts done, and the way they have been done, by the constituency itself. Let me tell you how that election was conducted. It was conducted mainly and almost entirely by the voluntary action of the electors themselves. It was not a troop of paid canvassers that went forth to prepare returns agreeable to their employers, and ready to satisfy those employers that they were worthy of their pay. It was by the independent exertion of the county, through the official representatives of the county, each in his own separate parish; and through every one of those official representatives making returns to me, I was able to form a basis on which I was enabled to accept their flattering proposal. These returns were not returns of promises they had obtained, for they had not gone to worry men into any declaration, but they were derived from the known principles of the electors of the parish, and showed the results which, founding our views on the opinions of these electors, we might anticipate. Gentlemen, I will venture to say this was a worthy and an honourable manner of conducting any election. Now let us look at the election and the results. Our opponents, with their army of paid canvassers, were perfectly persuaded, until a few hours before the election, that we were a defeated party; and whenever they took occasion, as to do them justice they often did, to support their opinions in the practical form of a wager, they bet odds against the individual who is now addressing you. For the paid canvassers had told them, and persuaded them, that they had 1,700 promises; and undoubtedly, had they been in the possession of those promises, we must have appeared on the declaration of the poll in a position we did not wish to occupy. But while these 1,700 promises were furnished to Lord

Dalkeith, our supporters—my supporters—made no such sanguine estimates. In the month of January, 1879, they announced to me that I could poll 1,568 votes; and I polled 1,579. On the other side, where paid canvassers had announced 1,700, they polled not 1,700, but 1,368. I only quote this as you have made it a subject of reference, and to show the world the manner in which, by an enlightened constituency, an election ought to be carried on. And, gentlemen, from Midlothian it was possible that you derived the first suggestion of the choice of my son to be your candidate. The sound which went forth from that county was echoed in this county, and from the two it reverberated throughout the land, and was felt, I believe, among the powerful operative causes which led to the great triumph of the Liberal party. Gentlemen, you go beyond this, and by the resolution you express your satisfaction that I am once more at the head of a Liberal Administration. I rejoice that that fact conveys to your mind sentiments of satisfaction, which, so far as I am able to discern from your demeanour, does not appear to be greatly alloyed with misgiving or mistrust. On my part, on the part, I may say, of my right hon. friend in the chair, and all our colleagues, it is a mixed feeling with which we have undertaken the burden and the duty, and with which we have come to the enjoyment of the honour and the privilege, all of which are alike involved in the assumption of the cares of office in this great country. It would be absurd, it would be no title to your confidence, it would be a title, on the contrary, rather to suspicion, if not to disapproval, if those who accept office for the administration of the affairs of this great Empire, and especially at a period so remarkable as that in which we now are, could address themselves to a task so exacting and so formidable without a grave sense of their own inadequacy to meet its call without a trust that their efforts would be judged with great indulgence, without a feeling that in much they must fall short, not only of the exi-

by the principles of the law and the constitution to the people of the country, they know how to assert that which they believe to be true, and to vindicate for themselves those self-governing powers which lie at the root of our institutions. And now only one word more. We have had a short experience of the present Parliament. The country has had too little time to judge of its temper, its composition, or its acts. I would not invite you to a premature conclusion, but I must say that in the first place, on account of the prevalence of Liberal opinions within its borders, and, in the second place, on account of all that we can see of its general temper, I rejoice in the election of that Parliament. There are, indeed, I regret to say, many—some of them are upon this platform—whom I could have wished to see included upon this roll, who I hope will ere long add themselves to that assembly; but already, gentlemen, we are able to say that much of high character, much of great ability, much of refinement, of knowledge, and last, not least, much of youthful promise, has been added to the benches of this

Parliament; and it is my belief, so far as experience permits a judgment to be formed, that when it has done its work it will stand in advantageous comparison with that which preceded it, and that those who record its career will be enabled to state that it was a wise and patriotic Parliament, devoted from first to last to the faithful conduct of the great affairs of a people constantly growing in power, in attainment, in knowledge, and in virtue.

"In conclusion, I beg to thank you with all my heart, ladies and gentlemen, for the honour which you have done to me personally, but in my last words I desire to fall back upon the tenor of my first words, and revert to that particular purpose with which I came among you—that of assuring you that neither I nor those who are most nearly connected with me, can ever, during what remains to us of life, forget the kindness, the generous kindness, the unbounded confidence which has been bestowed upon my son, and which has added a joy to our lives, than which nothing that has ever occurred in my public experience has been more lively or will be more permanent."



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PARLIAMENT AT WORK—THE OATHS BILL AND MR. BRADLAUGH—
THE BUDGET—THE BURIALS BILL AND
IRISH LEGISLATION.

HE new Parliament was opened by Commission on Tuesday, April 29th. The first business of the House was the election of a Speaker, to which office Mr. Brand was elected without opposition. The choice of the Commons, as a matter of course, received the formal approbation of the Crown. As usual, the House met for several days in succession, in accordance with custom, for the swearing in of new members, and the issue of new writs for the seats which had been vacated by ministers accepting office under the Crown, and by double returns. The business, generally purely a matter of form, received an extraordinary interest from the position taken up by Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the members for Northampton. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, the gentleman in question, had attained considerable notoriety out of doors as the head of a body of infidels, who met at a "Hall of Science," in London, for the purpose of extending and strengthening the infidelity which more or less is to be found amongst the workmen of our great cities. As a lecturer he was widely known. Also, he was the editor of a journal entirely devoted to his purposes. For a long time he had been ambitious of a seat in Parliament, and had made two or three efforts to get returned as M.P. for Northampton, to the horror of most of its respectable inhabitants. Hitherto the only result of his efforts had been to create a split in the Liberal party, and consequently to let in a Tory. At the general election it was felt that it was less desirable to keep Mr. Bradlaugh out than to let a Tory in; and accordingly Mr. Bradlaugh was successful,

and had the honour of adding M.P. to his name. The Conservatives were exceedingly scandalised, and it was much to be doubted whether Mr. Gladstone himself was excessively vain of his new ally.

On the Thursday of the swearing in Mr. Bradlaugh—a very great man in his own estimation and in that of his friends—presented himself with a written claim to be allowed to make a solemn affirmation or declaration of allegiance instead of taking the oath. Being permitted to state on what grounds he made this claim, he did so as follows:—"I have only to submit that the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, gives the right to every person to affirm, for the time being permitted by law to make that affirmation. I am such a person; and under the Evidence Further Amendment Act, 1869, and the Evidence Amendment Act, 1870, I have repeatedly for nine years past affirmed in the highest Court of Adjudication in this realm. I am ready to make the declaration or affirmation of allegiance." The novelty of the case took everybody by surprise. The Speaker determined to decline to decide the question by giving Mr. Bradlaugh the oath to take, and left the House to determine in what way they would act in the matter. Lord Cavendish, representing the Government in the absence of its leading members, moved the appointment of a Select Committee to consider and report their opinion on the construction of the statutes upon which Mr. Bradlaugh founded his claim. The Committee were not appointed to consider whether he ought to be allowed to affirm in all the circumstances; they had only to consider whether it was within the meaning of the

statutes that he should be allowed to affirm. There was some skirmishing over Lord F. Cavendish's proposal, but it was supported by Sir Stafford Northcote, and on Monday, the 3rd of May, the House agreed to the appointment of a Committee on the 11th, when the motion was made that the Committee should consist of nineteen members. Sir H. Drummond Wolff moved the previous question, arguing that the motion for a Select Committee to inquire into Parliamentary oaths, at that particular stage of the constitution of the House, was unprecedented and irregular, and was, if not an infringement, at any rate an invasion of the royal prerogative. The ground taken by Sir H. Drummond Wolff at this stage was purely technical; he argued that the Queen's Speech declaring the cause of the summoning of Parliament was the true commencement of business. The House had met to constitute itself, and for the issuing of new writs. The Commons had been informed in the name of the Queen that when this business was completed they were to adjourn for a short recess, and that they would be made acquainted on their return with the reasons that had called them together. Till the Speech declaring these had been read to them, it was an infringement or an evasion of the Constitution to appoint a Select Committee. He also went on to hint that it was to oblige the Member for Northampton that the Government were acting with such precipitancy. The Attorney-General defended the action of Government. The question of Mr. Bradlaugh's admission arose out of the business which they had been compelled to undertake, namely, the taking of the oath. Sir John Holker agreed with the Attorney-General that it was quite competent to transact any business that was incident to the taking of the oath. Sir Hardinge Giffard took the same view. In the course of the debate, Mr. Gorst and Mr. O'Donnell supported Sir H. D. Wolff against the leaders of the Conservatives and the Home Rulers, and this was the origin, or at any rate the

first appearance of the Fourth Party, as they came to be called. The appointment of the Committee was carried by 171 against 74. By a majority of one, the Select Committee rejected Mr. Bradlaugh's claim.

On the 21st, Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House to be sworn. Sir H. Drummond Wolff interposed to object, and Mr. Bradlaugh was therefore ordered to withdraw till the objection had been heard and decided on the ground stated by Sir Drummond H. Wolff, and the resolution which he then moved was that Mr. Bradlaugh had previously claimed the right of making an affirmation, referring to certain statutes, and that the presiding judge at a trial, acting under these statutes, had been satisfied that an oath would have no binding effect on his conscience. By the Common Law of England, Sir H. D. Wolff argued an atheist was not entitled to take an oath. That Mr. Bradlaugh was an atheist he showed by quoting from a book in which he had described himself as a propagandist of atheism. He referred also to Mr. Bradlaugh's own admission in his letter to the papers. "Is the House," he asked, "to allow that formality now to be gone through which the hon. member himself allows will be a formality and nothing more?" The motion was seconded by Mr. Alderman Fowler, who presented a petition, influentially signed by London merchants and bankers, praying that no alteration should be made in the laws and customs of this realm for the purpose of enabling one who denied the existence of a God to sit in Parliament.

But what, asked Mr. Gladstone, was the law and custom of this realm? To decide that difficult and delicate question, he moved the appointment of a Select Committee. The question immediately raised was, not whether atheists should or should not be excluded from the House of Commons. That was a political and constitutional question. The House might, if it chose, pass a resolution that Mr. Gladstone, on the ground of atheism, or on the

ground of his political opinions, be excluded from the House of Commons as not being in a condition to fulfil his duty. But the question here raised was not one of directly excluding him from the House, but of interfering to prevent him taking the oath. Was the House competent to do this? The obligation of taking the oath before taking his seat was not an obligation imposed by the House of Commons alone, but was a statutory obligation. Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself in fulfilment of a duty imposed by statute. If he took the oath in a manner or under circumstances not acquitting him of that statutory duty, he was open to prosecution, and to penalties recoverable in the courts of justice. But if the House interfered to prevent him from fulfilling his statutory duty, would they be acting within their competence? In dealing with statutory subject-matter, the House was treading upon delicate ground, liable at every step to have its proceedings questioned, and therefore Mr. Gladstone proposed to refer the question of the competence of the House to a Select Committee. Such a course, however, was distasteful to the Opposition. Amidst vociferous cheers from his own side, Mr. Gibson maintained that the House was in a position at once to decide against Mr. Bradlaugh's claim, and did not need the assistance of a Select Committee. If Mr. Bradlaugh had presented himself in the crowd of members, he might have taken the oath without any observation; but by refusing in the first place to take the oath, he had thrown the responsibility upon them. "Could they allow him to ignore all that, and to come up as if nothing had happened? If he had taken the oath after declaring that it would have no binding effect upon his conscience, would there not have been a thrill of horror and indignation through the House, and would not the unanimous conscience of the House have declined to allow itself to be so openly outraged?" Sir Stafford Northcote, the leader of the Conservatives, supported this view, while Mr. Bright, in an eloquent

appeal, asked the House to decide the question as one of right, and as a question of law, and not with reference to religious views. The question was adjourned, but when the debate was resumed, it was fought fiercely on the old lines. Sir H. D. Wolff's resolution was negatived by 289 to 214.

But another wrangle took place on the wording of the appointment of a Committee; at length, one was agreed to, worded by Mr. Watkin Williams, enabling the Committee to take cognizance of all the facts and circumstances connected with Mr. Bradlaugh's claim. Even then there was further wrangling as to the names of members.

On June 2nd, the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the question of Mr. Bradlaugh's right to take the oath of allegiance met for the purpose of taking evidence in the case, when Mr. Spencer Walpole presided. The other members of the Committee were:—The Attorney-General, the Right Hon. John Bright, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Childers, Sir Richard Cross, Mr. Gibson, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Staveley Hill, Sir John Holker, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Hopwood, Sir Henry Jackson, Lord Henry Lennox, Mr. Massey, Major Nolan, Mr. Pemberton, Serjeant Simon, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Watkin Williams. Mr. Bradlaugh was present, having been previously informed that he was to be permitted to suggest questions to the witnesses through the Chairman, and that he might address the Committee on his own behalf or by his counsel at the close of the evidence.

The first witness called was Sir Erskine May, Principal Clerk of the House of Commons. He stated, in reply to the Chairman, that he was the person to whom Mr. Bradlaugh made his application to affirm rather than take the oath. The witness then reading from the notes and proceedings of the House, described the way in which Mr. Bradlaugh came to the

table of the House on the 3rd of May, and claimed to make an affirmation instead of an oath. He explained at length all that took place on that occasion.

In reply to Mr. Gibson, witness stated that the House met on the 29th of April, when the swearing-in of members commenced, and Mr. Bradlaugh came up to the table on the 3rd of May.

Mr. Gibson—Now you know Mr. Bradlaugh's appearance, are you aware that Mr. Bradlaugh had been in the House during the swearing-in of members during the intervening days between the 29th of April and the 3rd of May?

Witness—He had been about the House certainly.

Witness continued in reply to the Chairman, that since the Committee had been appointed he had directed the Clerk of the Journals to make a search for the precedents with regard to the taking of the oath. The result of the search was the paper that was now in the hands of all the members of the Committee.

The Chairman asked if there was any precedent where a member had come up to the table stating that he was willing to take the oath, and of his being objected to?

Witness said he did not know a precedent, unless it was argued that the case of Daniel O'Connell, which occurred in 1829, was one. In that case O'Connell declined to take the old oath, but desired to take the new one, under the Catholic Relief Act, and the House refused to allow him to do so.

Mr. Bradlaugh wished the witness to be asked, through the Chairman, whether O'Connell's case was not a refusal to take the oath prescribed by law.

Witness thought the best answer would be to read the case of O'Connell, which he did; and

The Chairman said the question was more a matter for argument than for evidence.

Mr. Bradlaugh asked if it was not the practice of the House that when a member presented himself to be sworn the other

business of the House immediately ceased, and was not resumed until such member had been sworn and had subscribed the roll.

Witness said that was the old system, but it had been done away with by a recent Standing Order under the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866.

Mr. Bradlaugh said it would be a matter of argument whether that Standing Order had altered the law on the subject or not.

Witness said there was no other Standing Order to alter the rule on this subject but the one he had referred to.

Mr. Bradlaugh asked if there was any precedent for the House dealing with the election of a member, except in the case of some statutory disqualification, before such member had taken his seat.

Witness had not searched for such precedents, but he thought it was competent for the House to deal with such questions as this before the member had taken his seat.

The Chairman asked if Mr. Bradlaugh had any precedent.

Mr. Bradlaugh replied that he had in the case of Wilkes, when the House resolved that any such dealing with a member was subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors in this country.

Mr. Gibson asked if there was any analogy between the case of Mr. O'Connell and the present case.

Witness said he would sooner leave that question to be dealt with by the Committee themselves. There was no such record of a member being allowed to take the oath after he had stated that it would have no binding effect upon his conscience.

Mr. Bradlaugh himself was the next witness, but before being questioned proceeded to make a statement on his own behalf. He claimed to be sworn and to take his seat by virtue of his due return by the electors, untainted by illegality of any description, and in pursuance of the Statute 5th of Richard II. This put upon him the duty of swearing to do his duty under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

He further submitted that although a member might not vote until he had taken the oath, he was entitled to all the other privileges of a member of the House of Commons, and was otherwise regarded by the House and by the laws as qualified to serve until some other disqualification had been shown to exist. In support of this he quoted Sir Erskine May's book upon the subject. He did not believe that wishing to affirm in any way disqualified him from taking the oath. He said that he had never at any time refused to take the oath of allegiance provided by statute, but he had claimed to be allowed to affirm, and had been made absolutely silent as to the oath. He had further never expressed his opinion that the appointed oath would not be binding upon him. On the contrary, he said that the essential part of the oath was in the fullest and most comprehensive degree binding on his honour and his conscience, and that repeating the words of asseveration did not weaken the binding effect of the oath on him. He submitted that according to law the House of Commons had neither the right nor jurisdiction to refuse to allow the formal oath to be administered to him, as there was no legal disqualification on his part which could prevent him taking it if he desired so to do. The demand he made was free from any reservation or limitation, and he submitted that there was no case in which the oath of allegiance had been refused to any member unreservedly tendering himself to be sworn. Further, that any member properly presenting himself to be sworn was entitled to take the oath without interruption, and that the question as to any disability must be raised after he had taken his seat. He quoted, in support of this, John Horne Tooke's case in 1801. Tooke, it was then alleged, was ineligible as a member of the House because he was a clergyman of the Church of England. He was, however, allowed to take his seat, and then, on the motion of Earl Temple, although he was allowed to retain it, it was resolved that no clergyman should be admitted in future. He sub-

mitted with great respect to the Committee that Sir Erskine May had misapprehended the force of the Standing Order of 1869, which he had read. Haxell's *Precedents* declared that when members took their oaths within the time prescribed all other business should immediately cease until they had signed the roll. All that the Standing Order referred to was the time and manner in which members should come to the table to be sworn. It would be a most dangerous thing to the House if it were not so. If, say, the first forty-one persons sworn in were to choose, they could prevent all others taking their seats, and would be able to conduct the business of the House by themselves, and send all other members back to their constituencies. In the "*Commons Journal*," Vol. I., it had been laid down that the House could not make itself into an inquisition to examine into the conscience of a man who wished to take the oath. He showed that members whose returns were to be petitioned against were always allowed to be sworn and to sit until the decision of the Courts. The only cases to the contrary, and they were not completely analogous, were those of O'Donovan Rossa, Mitchell, and Wilkes. If he (Mr. Bradlaugh) was qualified to sit, it was his duty to take the oath, and the House had no right to interrupt him in so doing. If his qualification or eligibility to sit were to be discussed, the proper moment to discuss it would be when from his place in the House he could make a suitable and dignified defence. He admitted most completely that the House had a right to expel any sitting member in its own discretion, but even that was only done after casting the member on his own defence. That could not possibly happen until after the member had been sworn. On what ground did the House of Commons refuse to allow him to take the oath? There had been no legal disqualification on his part existing either before or after he had been elected. He contended that in all other cases the constituency was the sole and sovereign judge of the candidate they returned, and the

House of Commons had no right to reverse its judgment.

Mr. Bradlaugh here asked the Chairman whether it was the intention of the Committee to go into the question of any extra Parliamentary utterances or publications for which he might be liable?

The room was then cleared for the Committee to consider the question.

On the doors being opened,

The Chairman said the Committee had decided to ask a few questions upon the matters in question, but he should have the fullest power to object to any of them if he wished.

Mr. Bradlaugh then, continuing his address, said he had neither directly nor indirectly intruded upon the House since he had been a member. He thought he had fair cause to complain that his privileges as a member had been seriously infringed, and the rights of his constituents ignored, in the attacks made upon him and them, and to which he had had no good opportunity of replying.

By the Attorney-General—At the time I made the claim to make an affirmation in the House of Commons, I believed that the law would allow me to do so. Mr. Bradlaugh further said that the testamentary oath would have been binding on his conscience, but he preferred the affirmation, which was more consonant with his feelings.

By virtue of what do you consider the oath as binding on your conscience?—The words of the promissory oath are completely binding on my conscience.

Do you attach any particular meaning to the words "I swear"?—They are a pledge on my conscience to be true to the declaration I am making. It is a pledge given to the properly constituted authorities who are entitled to receive it from me.

Do you attach any greater weight to the words "I swear" than to the words of the ordinary promise?—Not beyond the words of an ordinary promise made under statutory declaration.

In reply to Mr. Gibson, the witness said

he sought now to take the oath in the same spirit as he should have made the affirmation.

Sir H. Jackson—Have you not precluded yourself from taking the oath by having been forbidden to make the affirmation?—The House of Commons has answered that for me. In the case of John Archdale, the House refused to accept his affirmation, and ordered him to take the oath.

Mr. Pemberton—I wish to ask whether, since you were returned a member of this House, and since the Report of the Select Committee, you authorised the publication of a letter which appeared in the newspapers of the 21st May, in reference to the proceedings which had taken place in this matter?

As Mr. Bradlaugh demurred to answering this question, but said he would if the Committee wished him to, the room was once more cleared for the matter to be discussed.

The consultation over,

The Chairman said it was the opinion of the Committee that the question should be pressed.

Mr. Bradlaugh then replied that he had sent lithographed copies of the letter in question to the newspapers.

Mr. John Bright—Is it within your knowledge that some men, although not absolutely refusing to take the oath, still prefer to make an affirmation?—Many members of this House have told me so since this question has been to the fore.

Mr. Bradlaugh then addressing the Committee, said he had now laid his statement before them, and he hoped, when they proceeded to come to a determination upon it, that they would not separate some of his words from the rest, but take them as a whole. He had declared that if he took the oath it would bind him in a most distinct and formal manner—that the oath of allegiance would most fully, completely, and unreservedly be binding on his conscience. Subscribing the words of asseveration would in no way weaken the effect of

it upon him. In conclusion, he quoted the words of Lord Holland, when speaking upon the Promissory Oaths Bill, namely, that no sort of inquisition or inquiry should be tolerated as to a member's religious views.

This closed the evidence, and the Committee rose.

The principal grounds on which the Select Committee decided against that claim may be thus stated:—The Committee decided that in their opinion every member of the House is not only entitled, but is bound, to accept the Parliamentary oath in the absence of any objection advanced by himself; nor is it open either to the House or to any individual in it to institute any inquiry whatever into the "moral, religious, or political opinions" of the person presenting himself to be sworn. In the case of Mr. Bradlaugh, however, a case for which there is no precedent, he claimed under the Parliamentary Oaths Act his right to affirm, and also stated that he had on several occasions been permitted in a court of justice to affirm, and had affirmed under the Evidence Amendment Acts, 1869 and 1870. Mr. Bradlaugh thereby in effect informed the House that on such occasions a judge of such court had been satisfied that an oath would have no binding effect upon his conscience. Nothing that came before the Committee altered their view as to the effect of that which occurred when Mr. Bradlaugh claimed to affirm, and consequently the Committee came to the conclusion that the compliance of Mr. Bradlaugh with the form used when an oath is taken would not be the taking of an oath within the true meaning of the Statutes 29 and 30 Vic., c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic., c. 72, and therefore that the House can, and in their opinion ought, to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh going through this form. The report being completed so far, Mr. Serjeant Simon moved the addition of the following paragraph to the report:—"Your Committee desire to point out to your honourable House the position in which Mr. Bradlaugh will be

placed if he is not allowed either to take the oath or to affirm. If the House of Commons prevent a duly elected member from either taking the oath or affirming, there is no power of reviewing or reversing that decision, however erroneous it may be in point of law; but it appears to your Committee that if a member should make and subscribe an affirmation, in place of taking and subscribing an oath, it will be possible by means of an action brought in the High Court of Justice to test his legal right to make such affirmation. The Committee appointed to inquire into the law relating to the right of certain persons to affirm, in effect, reported that Mr. Bradlaugh was not entitled by law to make an affirmation; but from the fact that that report was carried by the vote only of the Chairman, thus showing a great division of opinion amongst the members of that Committee, the state of the law upon the subject cannot be regarded as satisfactorily determined. Under these circumstances, it appears to your Committee that Mr. Bradlaugh should have the opportunity of having his statutory rights determined beyond doubt by being allowed to take the only step by which the legality of his making that affirmation can be brought for decision before the High Court of Justice. The House, by an exercise of its power, can, doubtless, prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from obtaining such a judicial decision, but your Committee deprecate that course. Your Committee accordingly recommend that, should Mr. Bradlaugh again seek to make and subscribe an affirmation, he be not prevented from so doing."

Sir Richard Cross proposed to strike out the whole of Serjeant Simon's clause after the word "affirm" in the first sentence, and to substitute the words, namely, "That he cannot take his seat unless enabled so to do by fresh legislation. It does not, however, appear to your Committee to come within the scope of their reference to make any special recommendation on this part of the subject."

After a long discussion, Sir Richard Cross's proposed addition was negatived. Serjeant Simon's clause being put to the vote, was carried by a majority of four. The Chairman did not vote, and no Conservative voted for Serjeant Simon's clause. Major Nolan voted with the majority.

In the course of the next few days the conflict took a new turn. On the 21st of June, Mr. Labouchere, the sitting member for Northampton, a gentleman of large fortune and of great ability, who seems to prefer the rôle of a democratic leader to the quiet conventionalism of official life, and who, as editor and proprietor of *Truth*, may be supposed to be peculiarly influential, moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be admitted to make an affirmation or declaration, contending, in a clear and pointed speech, that he had a statutory right to do so if he pleased. Sir Hardinge Giffard, the leading law officer of the late Administration, moved, as an amendment, that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted either to make an affirmation or to take the oath. The debate was not novel, but it was exciting nevertheless. Mr. Bradlaugh's whole past career had made him intensely disliked by most decent people, whether Liberals or Conservatives—and after all, M.P.'s are but men, actuated by human passions, swayed by human interests. "If I were to assent to the proposal of Mr. Labouchere," said Mr. R. N. Fowler, one of the City representatives, "I feel as if I should be recreant to my Sovereign, my Country, and my God." Another member hoped that Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone, both of whom he knew to be religious men, would not throw their shield over an infidel blasphemer. One does not see exactly how an infidel can be a blasphemer; but men engaged in a theological controversy are rarely particular in the choice of terms. Both the members, thus appealed to, spoke in the course of the debate,—Mr. Bright on the first night, Mr. Gladstone on the second,—and both made eloquent appeals on behalf of a toleration which was to include

even a Bradlaugh in its extent. Mr. Bright, however, raised quite a storm when he said that, to a large extent, the working people of this country did not care any more for the dogmas of Christianity than the upper classes care for the practice of that religion.

The speech of Mr. Gladstone was long and effective. In answer to the hon. member for North Warwickshire, he denied that the Government ought to legislate in the matter. He, and those who sat with him, agreed in maintaining that the present law was sufficient to deal with the case. In reply to gentlemen who had appealed to him for guidance in the matter, Mr. Gladstone continued:—

"Sir, I wish it to be understood in what position I, at least, conceive that the Government stands towards the House in a matter of this kind. I believe it to be their duty frankly to offer the best advice in their power to the House. When they have done that, I consider that they are *functi officio*. The appearance of Mr. Bradlaugh at this table is no measure of ours. The dealing with his case is no question of our policy. It is not the result of our councils. We are not bound by anything that he may do, or by anything that he may decline to do, more than are hon. gentlemen opposite. It is our duty to come to a consideration of his case, as we think, with a rigid and absolute impartiality. It is our duty, as we think, to banish from our minds a large portion, aye, the much larger portion of the topics which have presented themselves to the minds of hon. gentlemen opposite, and which evidently, for the most part, will govern their judgments; the topics which will govern the judgment of the hon. gentleman who has just sat down; which will govern the judgment of the hon. member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman Fowler), and of the right hon. gentleman the member for the City of London who addressed us last night, namely, the question which they sometimes call that of religious instinct, sometimes that of religious principle, the great question of constitutional policy whether it is

right that an atheist should be allowed to sit in the House or not. I affirm that that is not the question. Those remonstrances—those audible though not articulate remonstrances—only tend strongly to corroborate the assertion I have made that topics of a certain class, connected no doubt with the great principle of constitutional legislation, but totally disconnected from the administration, application, and interpretation of the law, are the topics which govern the minds, judgment, and actions of many hon. gentlemen opposite in a case where they have no question before them except the just interpretation and application of the existing law. As I have said, the duty of the Government is very limited. It is simply to offer in circumstances for which they are not responsible the best advice in their power, and leave the matter in the hands of the House."

Mr. Gladstone continued, after deprecating religious discussions:—

"Let us see what are the questions before us. The hon. member for Northampton proposes to pass by these questions by a resolution for the terms of which I am not in any degree responsible, but which has the effect of a refusal, on the part of the House, to meddle with this matter at all. I understand it as asserting an authoritative grant to Mr. Bradlaugh by the House of some privilege which it is the duty of the House to dispense—as an assertion that the House will not interpose to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from taking, in the first instance, what he may deem to be his statutory duty, in the form of a process of affirmation. The two propositions which weigh upon my mind with regard to this subject are these:—First of all, that if the House has a jurisdiction in this matter to make any examination of the case further than providing that an exterior and formal duty be performed, it is a jurisdiction which the House has never exercised, and a jurisdiction which it would be most impolitic on the part of the House now to begin exercising. Secondly, speaking for myself, I

confess I go further. The more I have looked at this case the graver appear to me to be the arguments which go to prove that in the sense of the law and the constitution, as it has been asserted by the learned gentleman, the member for Preston, the House has no jurisdiction at all. I agree with the sentiment delivered last night, unfortunately in a thin House, by the hon. member for Bedford, and as I agree with his other opinions so I agree with this, that while he did not for a moment contest the power of the House to proceed within its walls to whatever conclusions and action it pleased, he contested the constitutional title and right of the House to do that which was described by my right hon. friend the member for Cambridge last night when he spoke of our statutory obligation to see that members were rightly seated. The view of that right hon. gentleman was, not merely that we were here as witnesses to perceive and attest and secure the fulfilment of something written down in Act of Parliament, but it is to see that the oath which is taken is rightly taken, or that the affirmation which is substituted for it is an affirmation rightly affirmed. These are wide words indeed, because right swearing and right affirmation includes the relations of the persons swearing or affirming to the oath he takes or the affirmation he makes. This is a matter which, I think, is beyond our cognizance, and is no part of the statutory obligation imposed upon us or the statutory power entrusted to us. If we possessed this jurisdiction, I conceive it would be most unfortunate that we should undertake to exercise it. Surely, sir, we are exceedingly unfitted in these deep matters of belief to do so. Are we not conscious, every man for himself, of the tendency within himself to be heated in his views and judgment upon such points? I have promised to guard myself as well as I can against the intrusion of feeling, but I am conscious it requires the keeping of a continual curb upon those propensities, upon those susceptibilities of mind which are

almost resistless, and which tend to introduce themselves into these discussions. A popular assembly rightly accustomed in its ordinary debates to appeal to feeling, accustomed to use feeling as the minister of reason with perfect justification—aye, and with absolute necessity—in the discharge of our functions, I hold that we have anything but a high qualification for dealing with a matter which ought to be viewed in the driest light of reason, and in no other light whatever. If we undertake to interfere for the first time with a gentleman who proposes to fulfil at the table of this House what he thinks is his statutory duty, we may find ourselves in either of two conflicts, into neither of which am I disposed to enter, not being led thereto by obligation nor by precedent. I am not willing to enter into conflict with the courts of law, nor am I willing to enter into conflict with the constituency of Northampton. The hon. and learned gentleman opposite appeared to make light of a conflict with the courts of law. I can well understand that an action cannot be brought against the House of Commons. I am not, however, so clear that no action can be brought against the servants of the House of Commons, whom it employs, and whom it orders to exercise its will. We have precedents of such action; and if such action arises, the issue of such action will be governed, not so much by the power which this House possesses, as by the ultimate judgment which the public outside the House may form upon the wisdom and prudence of its conduct. This House for a long series of generations has been commonly successful whenever it has found it needful to enter into controversy with the Crown or with the House of Lords, but there is a most marked contrast between the issue of these controversies and the lamentable issue of its one great conflict with the people of this country as represented by one of the constituencies of the country—a constituency numerically smaller than Northampton. It is impossible to question that when the subject of

Mr. Wilkes's writings in the *North Briton* first came before Parliament in the year 1763, a great deal happened that is happening now. The general conception of Mr. Wilkes was that he was a man open to great exception with respect to personal character, and it is not unnatural to believe that the reaction of feeling excited by that idea concerning Mr. Wilkes tended much to govern the first judgment of the House of Commons in that unhappy controversy. That House embarked itself in that controversy. You are still uncommitted. You declined to embark in that controversy when the first proposal was made by proposing to appoint a committee. You are now asked to embark yourselves in that controversy. Consider a little with what confidence your predecessors entered so many years ago upon a controversy by no means dissimilar, and consider what was the final issue of the controversy. You carried everything for years with a high hand. You set Mr. Wilkes at defiance; you set the constituency at defiance; you actually seated in the House the man chosen by the minority of the constituency, because, you said, he was elected, being a man qualified against one whom you had disabled by your vote. But what was the issue? By degrees you found that this was a conflict in which you could win little and lose much. The energies that impelled you grew more and more slack. At length the House ceased to act against Mr. Wilkes. That was the turn of the tide. Mr. Wilkes took his seat unquestioned in this House in the year 1774. He himself rose in his place to move, in terms disparaging and ignominious to the previous Parliament, the expunging of the resolution at which they had arrived. They rejected his motion. The tide had not yet turned sufficiently far in his favour. He renewed the motion from year to year, and after seven more years he carried in 1782, not only the motion that the resolutions carried against him should be expunged, but to heighten and deepen that mark of ignominy, he appended to that resolution, as the reason on which

it was founded, the declaration that the proceedings of the House had been subversive of the rights of the body of the electors of this country. That is a very serious matter, and, in my opinion, affords a reason why we should now very carefully consider our position. And now, sir, I am going on very delicate ground. I am going to endeavour to reason with hon. gentlemen in regard to the religious impulses to which they are giving way. There is no doubt that although some gentlemen on the front Opposition bench, and some few behind them, have argued these questions with reference to law, the declaration is constant and repeated that it cannot be decided without reference to religion. The climax of the speech of the last gentleman who spoke was comprised in the text, 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.' My right hon. friend the member for the City of London has said that this question must be decided by religious instincts. Another hon. member protested against the air of the House being tainted by the presence of atheism. It is needless to multiply citations. Every one is aware that these expressions do convey the feeling which at this moment is impelling and permeating the minds of a great number of gentlemen opposite. Another hon. gentleman, belonging to the neighbouring, but not sympathetic section of the House, begged last night that if any measures were taken which led to the installation of Mr. Bradlaugh among us, he at least, and those who thought with him, might have notice, in order that they might remove themselves from such a contaminating influence. I am not quoting these sentences in any spirit of anger or for the purpose of passing any severe judgment upon them. I am only quoting them as facts establishing the existence of this religious feeling which I look upon as the real strength at the back of the amendment. I want to ask hon. gentlemen to consider a little the position they are about to take up. They are about to take up a position of religious objection to the ap-

pearance of Mr. Bradlaugh in this House. For nearly two centuries this House has been the scene of conflicts of the very same kind. The House was exhorted from the beginning of last century down to 1828 to rally in defence of what I may call its Church constitution, because *de jure* until 1828 it was composed of members who had, or who were in law assumed to have, qualified themselves by the most solemn act of communion to sit here as members of the Church of England. The House was rallied by that call. It was certainly a doctrine perfectly clear and perfectly consistent; and most dismal were the vaticinations as to the effect on the religious character of the House unless that call were obeyed. In that year, however, the Test and Corporation Acts were finally repealed, and then came a new rally of the House on religious grounds. They were next called to rally, not on the Church constitution of the House, but on behalf of the Protestant Church. In the face of the same threats and the same doleful lamentations, the Protestant constitution of the House was given up, and the Roman Catholics were admitted on a footing of equality, and took their seats in the House, many precious years of the nation's life having been angrily spent in the attempt to maintain their exclusion. Having got to the Protestant constitution of the House, you had not escaped from the religious war. There was now a fresh cry raised for the Christian constitution of the House; and it was contended that nothing could be so injurious or destructive to the character of the House as the admission of the Jews. For thirty years, I think, that controversy raged, and then it was closed by the Jewish emancipation, if indeed it is quite closed, because I am under the impression that even at this moment another branch of the Legislature reserves for decision within its own discretion the question whether this or that particular Jew shall be allowed to take his seat upon its benches. Here, however, we meet, Jews included on a footing of perfect equality; and now, sir, as was

justly and truly said by my right hon. friend last night, we are invited to make what I suppose is a final rally for the theistic constitution of the House. You have been driven from the Church ground, driven from the Protestant ground, driven from the Christian ground; and the final rally is made upon this narrow ledge of the theistic ground. Well, whether it is a narrow ledge or not, you have given up your Church, your Protestantism, your Christianity. You are outside of them altogether, and you are standing on what ground remains to you outside of them. What is that ground? How was it described by the mover of the amendment? The mover of the amendment said he would have been most happy if Mr. Bradlaugh had come to this table and had taken the oath of affirmation without making any declaration upon this subject. Did the hon. and learned gentleman then obtain his first information about Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions when Mr. Bradlaugh made his claim to make the affirmation? Was there any fact in England more notorious than the fact of Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions? Therefore see whether your ground is narrow or not. You are not now taking your stand for theism in a definite and dogmatic form. You are declaring your willingness that an atheist should sit here, provided he had not told you what he was in the course of some of the proceedings of the House. Surely, sir, it is a very narrow ground. The form of actual atheism is, so far as I know, a rare form of unbelief in this country. The forms which abound are the forms of what are called positivism, agnosticism, materialism, and pantheism. You are not taking objection to any of these forms. I do not understand you to say that if any gentleman published in every newspaper in London, on the morning that he was going to take the oath, a declaration that he was a pantheist, an agnostic, or anything else, there would be any reason why he should not take his seat in this House. That makes good what I say, that the religious ground on which we

stand is a narrow and slippery ground. For my own part, I see no profit or advantage either to charity or to reason, or to common sense, in taking distinctions of this kind. Under your principles, as I understand them, you would allow a Mahometan to sit in this House without the least question. You would probably allow a Parsee; but you could not, with any consistency, allow a Bhuddist. I am not willing to engage in a contest in which the Mahometan and Parsee on my right [where Mr. Forster and Lord F. Cavendish were sitting] and the Bhuddist on my left. [The right hon. gentleman's remarks were humorously misinterpreted as applying to Mr. Bright.] I gather from the cry of hon. gentlemen opposite that they are prepared also to introduce another new form of religious controversy, and that objection is to be taken on religious grounds to the Mahometan and the Parsee. There is another theory, that it does not matter what worship you have,^s provided you worship some God or other.^t In my opinion there is greater danger of irreverence and impiety in this kind of loose, rambling debate, clutching at some remnant of what we on this side of the House think to be intolerance, than there is in any frank acknowledgment of the absolute separation that has been drawn in the spirit of the law of this land, and, I believe, in the letter of the law of this land, between civil duty and religious belief. I fully accept that principle with entire fearlessness, which I for one am conscious of, as to the civil as well as religious consequences. In past times," continued Mr. Gladstone, "as in the case of Shiffen and Walpole, they would not go between a man and his oath. They permitted a man to swear, though they knew, and knew beyond all doubt, that some members—men like Bolingbroke—had no religious belief at all. At that time this House was not only Christian, theistic, and Protestant, but was actually bound in communion with the Church of England. Yet such was the tenacity with which they adhered—to those golden words

of the time of Queen Elizabeth, 'Not we to examine,' that they would not even in these remarkable cases institute the smallest investigation or stand between any citizen and the full enjoyment of his right. It may be said that there are precedents for the interference of this House with respect to the oath. No doubt there are; but those precedents are precedents in an entirely opposite direction, and are in favour of the person who is desirous to swear, and not against him. The House has assisted in overcoming obstacles as far as it could in favour of those who tendered themselves to swear or affirm at the table. Never has it gone against them. Not only have the precedents been in favour of the person tendering, but they have been entirely and exclusively referrible to his exterior action. We hear nothing about either investigation of his belief or citation of his belief being entered into. And when the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Walpole) says, 'We are under a statutory obligation to see that members are rightly seated,' I must challenge my right hon. friend to produce the evidence of any obligation of such a nature. Our statutory obligations are limited by the letter of the statutes, and let us see what that letter is. It appears to me that the prudential and legal reasons and arguments of the Attorney-General and others on this side are ample to govern the House in the decision of this question. I might go as far as my right hon. friend the member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), and ask the House to consider what is the nature of the jurisdiction which the House considers to belong to it. I hold that it was well defined by my hon. friend the member for Dewsbury (Serjeant Simon), when he said the House were to be witnesses to a certain performance in its exterior jurisdiction—that was, the exterior performance of a certain civil duty of which the law has made us stewards. I do not question for a moment that we have the jurisdiction to see exteriorly that a certain duty is well and rightly performed. That is involved in the nature of the case, but there are many considerations

which tend to show that this House has not the breadth of jurisdiction that is so largely claimed for it. Why is it that the Parliamentary oath is imposed by statute? Why, when the oath began in the reign of Elizabeth, was it not administered by the authority of the House? Because the House had no authority. Why is it you do not administer oaths in your committees? Because you have no authority to administer them. What is the traditional distinction between a Committee of the House of Lords and a Committee of the House of Commons? Because the presumption is that we can have no power whatever except what the statute gives us. Why, again, when oaths were first imposed, were they taken before the Lord Steward? Why for 130 years did this House hear nothing of the oath? Yet the oath was precisely the same in its purpose and effect as it is now. Why, again, after this House began to be witness of the oath, was it that the function of the Lord Steward was continued? Because, as I understand, from the time of the Revolution, from the first of William and Mary down to the first of William the Fourth, the obligation was cumulative, and members took the oath not only in this House, but before the Lord Steward. This shows that the House has only ministerial duty to perform, and that duty is defined by the precise language of the statute, and by the inferences to be justly drawn from that language. The statute says that the House of Commons or the House of Lords shall each of them be invested with power to require of their members that they should take certain oaths. It does not constitute the House of Commons the Minister of the Legislature to act for or on behalf of the Legislature, and with the delegated authority to make them masters of the whole circumstances of the case. The statute is not a power entrusted to the House of Commons. It is a duty imposed upon the citizen, and the spirit of the statute is there in obvious conformity as it seems to me, with the reason of the case. What can be more reasonable than

that the jurisdiction of the House of Commons over its members should really begin at the time when they practically became its members? A man elected by a constituency is in no other sense a member of this assembly than in the sense that he is on the way to become a member. He is potentially a member of this assembly, but not for our purpose. We have nothing to do with him till he has taken the oath. Consequently, what can be more rational than that the real jurisdiction of the House of Commons over this man should begin when he is a member of this assembly?" The statute was referred to by Mr. Gladstone in support of his view of the matter with the Northampton constituency. But the majority of the House were deaf to all appeals, and Sir Hardinge Giffard's amendment was carried by 275 to 230. About thirty Liberals voted against Mr. Labouchere's resolution, and a still larger number abstained from voting. The majority of the Home Rulers voted against it, but in the minority were Messrs. Parnell, Biggar, and T. P. O'Connor. There were many Scotch members who abstained from voting.

Next day, Mr. Bradlaugh came into collision with the House, and was taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. He presented himself at the table and claimed the right to take the oath. The resolution of the previous day was read to him, and he was ordered to withdraw. Previous to so doing he asked to be allowed to speak. This he did with great skill for about twenty minutes, insisting upon his right to take the oath, and deprecating a conflict between the House and his constituents. Mr. Labouchere then moved that the vote of the previous day should be rescinded, but on Mr. Gladstone's advice, withdrew the resolution. Mr. Bradlaugh, on being called in to hear the decision of the House on his claim to take the oath, refused to obey the Speaker's order to withdraw. "With great respect, sir," he said, "I refuse to obey the orders of the House, which are against the law." He was then removed by the Sergeant-at-

Arms, but immediately returned, saying that he admitted the right of the House to imprison him, but admitted no right on the part of the House to exclude him. On the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Bradlaugh was taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. Mr. Gladstone refused to move in the matter. "He had," he said, "advised the House, the House had not taken his advice, and he left it to the leader of the Opposition to take such steps as were necessary in the difficulty into which he had led them." Next day, to everybody's surprise, a motion for Mr. Bradlaugh's release was made by Sir Stafford Northcote, and carried, although Mr. Labouchere maintained that the first use Mr. Bradlaugh would make of his liberty would be to return to the House and claim his right as the representative of Northampton. However, Mr. Bradlaugh did not make this use of his liberty, and on the first of July the difficulty between the constituency and the House was removed, for a time at least, by the passing of a resolution that every one claiming to be a person permitted by law to make an affirmation instead of taking the oath, should be allowed to do so subject to any liability by statute. This resolution, moved by Mr. Gladstone, and opposed by Sir S. Northcote on the ground that it virtually rescinded the previous resolution, was carried, after a long debate, by 303 to 249. On the following day Mr. Bradlaugh made the affirmation, and took his seat without any demonstration, but was subsequently served with a writ in an action in the Court of Queen's Bench for having done so, the allegation being that he did not belong to the class of persons permitted to affirm, and thus the matter was referred to a more dispassionate tribunal than that of the House of Commons.

We read in the arrival register, on July 5th, as Mr. Bradlaugh was leaving the House of Commons, he was met on the mat at the door of the House and served with a writ for having voted in divisions.



THE LOBBY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Mr. Bradlaugh demanded the name of the gentleman who handed him the writ. The gentleman gave his card—"Mr. Barton Brown, of the firm of Barton Brown and Co., Solicitors." Mr. Bradlaugh then asked on whose behalf the writ was served, and he was told Mr. Cecil Barry was the plaintiff. Mr. Bradlaugh then denounced Mr. Brown's conduct in meeting him on the very threshold of the House as irregular, as improper. He desired to know how it was that the writ had not been served on him at his private house? but he was informed that his address was not known. Mr. Bradlaugh then opened the writ and there found that his address was stated in full. The scene at the door of the House attracted notice, and for a time there was considerable commotion in the lobby.

An ineffectual attempt was made by Mr. Gorst to prevent Mr. Gladstone's resolution being proposed on the ground that it raised a question that had been already decided. The Speaker, however, pointed out that there were essential differences between the resolution passed on the 22nd of June and that which the Prime Minister proposed to submit to the House. The former imposed restraint upon a particular individual, the latter was a measure of relief extended to every person returned as a member of the House. This preliminary objection having been disposed of, Mr. Gladstone, in a singularly calm and argumentative speech, stated the reasons which had induced the Government to move in the matter. The necessity of maintaining the exterior decency of the proceedings of Parliament had led his colleagues, he said, although they were not the majority who brought about the difficulty, to consider what could be done to extricate the House from its undignified position. Having shown how altogether wanting in dignity had been the course taken by Sir Stafford Northcote, and the impossibility of discussing in cold blood an alteration of the Parliamentary Oaths Act, under the present circumstances, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to maintain that his

proposal afforded the best remedy which the situation admitted of. After exonerating Mr. Bradlaugh from the charge of thrusting his opinions on the House, Mr. Gladstone added that it was not well that such a person so presenting himself, whatever his opinions might be, should be stopped on the road to his seat by any person, proceeding to question him on the part of the House. It was well that he should be left to be tried by the tribunals of his country, which had full means of conducting such trial, and which would acquit or condemn him according to law. An amendment having been moved by Sir Stafford Northcote to the effect that the House could not adopt a resolution which virtually rescinded the resolution passed on June 22nd, a debate ensued, which was chiefly remarkable for a speech from Mr. Henry Richard, illustrating the position of an advanced Nonconformist. He had, he said, no feeling of hatred for such as held Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions, but a feeling of sadness and of pity, for no men were more deserving of compassion than those who had lost all faith in God. But deeply as they might deplore the existence of such men, the right way to deal with them was not by way of persecution; and let them disguise it as they might, to deprive a man of his rights as a citizen, because of his religious opinions, was persecution. The resolution having been carried by a respectable majority, already recorded, an amendment was moved by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, making the action of the resolution prospective and not retrospective. The gross unfairness of this manoeuvre was, however, too apparent, and the amendment was rejected by 274 to 236. The appeal to law was decided against Mr. Bradlaugh. He moved for a new trial, and carried the case with great skill and acumen from one court to another, but the verdict was against him, and it was found that the penalties he would have to pay were of an alarming character, approaching to somewhere between two hundred and three hundred thousand pounds.

Up to the time of our going to press the Bradlaugh difficulty is not solved; and daily petitions are received by the House of Commons, asking that Mr. Bradlaugh may be, or may not be, permitted to take his seat. In the law courts, the action against Mr. Bradlaugh by parties for taking his seat was settled in a way of which that gentleman did not approve. On June 21st, 1881, in the High Court of Justice, the case of *Clarke v. Bradlaugh* came on, and the following is a condensed report of the decision:—

"The further hearing of this case, which was a demurrer to the plaintiff's statement of claim to recover £500 penalties, in consequence of the defendant having taken his seat and voted in the House of Commons without first having taken the oath as prescribed by law, was renewed this morning. Mr. Bradlaugh again appeared in person; Sir Hardinge Giffard, Q.C., and Mr. Kidd appeared for the plaintiff. Mr. Bradlaugh, in continuation of his argument to show that the issue of the writ in this case was a judicial proceeding, quoted a number of cases to show that the dicta laid down by the learned judges was in favour of his contention, and that the date of the writ dated back to the first moment of the day it bore date, and that consequently no cause of action had arisen when it was issued. Mr. Justice Denman said the statement of claim said nothing about the day on which the writ was issued. It merely stated that the act which was complained of, and the penalty which it was sought to recover, was done after the writ was issued. That had been traversed and demurred to, but there was no statement on the face of this statement of the cause of action when the writ was issued. That was only to be gathered from a statement on its top. His lordship suggested that it would be better for all parties to the decision of the point that it should be inserted in the statement when it was that the writ was issued. Mr. Bradlaugh said that he had no objection. Sir Hardinge Giffard said he would rather not consent to any alteration. After some discussion, the alteration was made by the

introduction of the words, 'On the 2nd of July, and before the issuing of the writ in this action,' which was issued on the same day. Mr. Bradlaugh then proceeded with his argument that a writ was a judicial act, and that a plaintiff must have a complete cause of action before the issue of the writ. Sir H. Giffard said the question which the Court had to decide was a very simple one—namely, what was the extent and meaning of the rule of law which had been adopted for convenience-sake. No case had been quoted in support of the principle which the defendant contended for, except in the argument of counsel. He did not know on what authority it was described as a judicial proceeding. It was the act of the party at the commencement of the suit. He knew no distinction for this purpose between civil and criminal proceedings. A judgment was a judgment, whether that of a superior or inferior court, or in a civil or criminal case. He submitted that the demurrer must be overruled. Mr. Bradlaugh having been heard in reply, Mr. Justice Denman said he was of opinion that the demurrer must be overruled. The statement of claim, as altered by the consent of the parties by the Court, stated that on the 2nd of July, and before the issuing of the writ, which was issued on the same day, the defendant sat and voted, and stated what they must assume to be the cause of action for a penalty. To that the defendant demurred, as being bad in law, on the ground that it disclosed no cause of action. After listening to the arguments that had been addressed to the Court in this case, and after having carefully examined and considered the cases that had been quoted, he was of opinion that the demurrer must be overruled. Mr. Justice Williams said that he was of the same opinion. The statement of claim disclosed a good cause of action. Judgment was given for the plaintiff. Mr. Bradlaugh gave notice of appeal, but the case, however, was ordered to be restored to its position in the list for trial, for which a day would be fixed."

Northampton—which to its shame or

glory, it is not our business to inquire on the present occasion—has returned Mr. Bradlaugh to Parliament, and deserves for that reason a few lines to itself. It lies on the south slope of the Uplands, from which the Avon, the Charwell, and the Nene, flow down to the Severn—the Thames and the Wash of Boston. Its site was the border of two British tribes, in front of a vast forest extending to the Welland. The Saxon chronicle first calls it Hampton in the time of Edward the Elder, Alfred's son. It was the chief station of the Danes who had penetrated Mercia. The town is called Northampton, and contained 330½ houses at the time of the Domesday survey. In the time of the Norman Kings, Northampton, as it is called in the Saxon chronicle, was a place of some importance. In the first year of his reign, Richard Cœur de Lion granted a charter to its burgesses. At one time the town was said to have been a formidable rival to Oxford. In 1528, some Cambridge men began a university there with the leave of the King. Fuller comments:—"Their judgment in the choice of so convenient a place, where the air is clear, nor yet over sharp, the earth fruitful, yet not over dirty; water plentiful, yet far from any fennish annoyance; and wood most wanting, even of dogs conveniently sufficient in that age. But the main advantage of Northampton is near the centre of England, so that all travellers coming from the remotest parts of the land may be said to meet by the town in the midst of their journey, so impartial is the situation of it in the navel of the kingdom." Under Simon de Montford, who summoned Parliaments, Northampton increased in power. The last Parliament held in the town, however, passed the poll-tax of three groats which led to Wat Tyler's rebellion. One of the mayors, John Fox by name, was charged with favouring the doctrines of Wycliffe when they were first promulgated, and with harbouring in his house the first maintainer of Lollardy. Northampton gave birth to Fletcher the dramatist, S. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of

Chester, William Shipley, projector of the Society of Arts, and was also the birthplace of Robert Brown, the founder of the Brownists. The Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth had many abettors both in the town and county of Northampton, disaffected to the doctrine and liturgy of the Church of England. They had frequent controversies here relating to the Book of Discipline and other matters. The town was a stronghold of Independents and Baptists in the seventeenth century.

As the learned Nonconformist ministers who first separated from the Church advanced in years or died, the Dissenters began to feel the want of institutions for the education of their pastors. Dr. Watts was consulted, and an academy, which had been commenced by Mr. Jennings at Kilworth in Leicestershire, was reorganised on a comprehensive and scientific basis by Dr. Doddridge, and established at Harborough, in the house of Mrs. Jennings, whose daughter married Dr. Aikin, and was the mother of Mrs. Barbauld. Dr. Doddridge had a call from the Castle Hill congregation, which was very numerous, and went with his academy to Northampton in 1729, where it remained till his death in 1752. Such a man as Dr. Doddridge could not be 22 years at the head of an academy, and educate 200 young men in a small town without giving some impulse to the intellect and benevolence of the members of the Church, as well as to the Dissenters. It is to the credit of the Parish of All Saints that in its register of christenings and burials, Dissenters were included as far back as 1735. And it was for the parish clerk of this particular Northampton parish that the poet Cowper wrote some of his best verses.

The staple trade of the town is shoemaking. It is an old saying that you may know when you are within a mile of Northampton by the noise of the lapstones. As early as the reign of Edward VI., regulations were made which show that the shoe trade was an important branch of the business of the town. The army, the colonies,

London, and the principal markets are now supplied with shoes from Northampton. Immense contracts have been made, and the demand during the war was perhaps the first cause of the rapid progress of the population. In 1831, 1,322 males aged twenty and upwards were returned as boot and shoe makers; in 1841, the number had increased to 1,821: at the

streets, the houses present a uniform appearance, and are almost entirely occupied by journeymen shoemakers and the other workmen engaged in the trade. It would be wrong, however, to look upon the town as a mere place for the manufacture of shoes. It is the centre of a flourishing agricultural country. It is the mart at which the agricultural produce of North-



PHILIP DODDRIDGE.

same time there were 442 males under twenty, and 346 females classed under the same trade in a population of 10,655 and 10,587 females. The males aged twenty and upwards were 5,756, so that nearly one in three of the men is a shoemaker. "The town is well built and clean," wrote the municipal commissioners; "with the exception of a few, however, of the principal

amptonshire is exchanged for furniture, clothing, books, grocery, and other articles of foreign commerce; the residence of surgeons, lawyers, and other professional men whose sphere of action extends over a wide circle, the place of reunion for the gentry, freeholders, and farmers, and the site of the county institutions." When Oldfield wrote, he was justified in saying,

"Northampton is independent in the return of one of its members; the other is influenced by the corporation, who are under the control of the Earl of Northampton." In the reign of the old corporation, Spencer Percival, whose portrait adorns the Town Hall and statue All Saints' Church, was M.P. for Northampton, till he was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. Liberals were returned after the Reform Bill of 1831, such as the Right Hon. Vernon Smith and Mr. Raikes Currie. At a later day, Mr. Charles Gilpin, a member of the Society of Friends and a leading London Radical to whom Lord Palmerston gave office, represented the borough, and as in time the appearance of Mr. Bradlaugh on the scene had rendered the return of two Liberals impossible unless he was one of them, Mr. Bradlaugh has made himself M.P.

A question, however, of paramount importance in the session of 1880, was that of Ireland. Early in the session a clause was introduced by Mr. O'Connor Power which had for its object the amendment of the Land Act of 1870, by repealing those sections of the Act which limited the discretion of the courts in awarding compensation for disturbances in cases of ejectment for non-payment of rent. Under the sections referred to, the courts had no power to award compensation where an evicted tenant owed a year's rent, unless the court was of opinion that the rent had been raised to an exorbitant figure. The object of the promoters was to insure that compensation should be awarded in all cases, their contention being that the restriction upon compensation practically nullified the tenant's interest in the soil conferred by the Land Act of 1870; the landlord having only power to raise the rent to a figure which the tenant could not pay, or refuse to lower it in bad years in order to be at liberty to evict the tenant without compensation. The debate came on unexpectedly, and Mr. Forster gave this as a reason for not going into the details on which the demand for legislation was rested; but he candidly

stated that he was not prepared to oppose the principle of the Bill. Before the debate was adjourned Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. Parnell urged the acceptance of the proposal upon Government as in the true sense of the word a Bill for the Relief of the Distress in Ireland, and as supplying a most efficient method of peace preservation. Mr. Forster asked for time for Government to consider what they would do in regard to this demand. A week more passed and he was pressed to say what conclusion the Government had come to, and on the 15th of June he announced that the Government, in consequence of the prevailing distress, would propose to enlarge the discretionary powers of the County Court Judge, so that he might, under certain circumstances, give compensation to tenants in certain districts who were ejected for non-payment of rent. For this purpose he was ready to promote a new clause in the Relief of Distress Bill. The Bill in question was nominally an amendment of the Relief Act of 1870, and was based on the provisions of that measure. Its main provision was to authorise the employment of £750,000, out of the Irish Church surplus, in loans to landlords and others for relief works on the same conditions as in the previous Act. This provision was attacked by Mr. Arthur Arnold and several Irish members as tending more to the relief of the landowners than of the distressed population. Mr. Parnell strongly objected to granting any more loans to landlords, and also granting loans out of the Church surplus. Mr. Forster's answer was that a great part of the money had been already lent under the Act of the late Government. They had been authorised to lend £750,000, but applications for a larger amount had been made and granted. The present Government, therefore, had no choice but to ask the House for more money, or to break faith with those who had already applied for loans. However, to make concessions to Irish members, he introduced a grant of £200,000 in aid of out-door relief, imposing a limit for the completion of

relief works, and increasing the grant for fishery piers from £30,000 to £45,000.

A clause of this Bill had a much more stormy existence as the Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill. The Speaker decided that a most unusual course had been made with regard to it, and Mr. Forster agreed to withdraw it and reintroduce it as a separate measure. Mr. Chaplin denounced it as sheer confiscation, and declared that the Government must not ask him to join in their cheap generosity by which they were going to relieve the distress of one class in Ireland by transferring to them the property of another class. In his defence on the second reading of the Bill, which was fixed for the 25th of June, Mr. Forster said that it was brought in to carry out the spirit of the Land Act, and that it was required as a temporary modification of that measure under peculiar circumstances. The Land Act not only legalised the Ulster Tenant Right and gave compensation to tenants all over Ireland for unexhausted improvements, but the third section also recognised on the part of the tenant a certain interest in his holding—an interest which might be called property and goodwill. That was to say, the tenant under that Act could not be turned out on the expiry of his tenancy at the mere pleasure of his landlord: he had to be compensated. But there was an exception to this. No compensation was to be given to tenants where they were evicted for non-payment of rent, and the question was, whether under the special circumstances of the year, and for the relief of the distressed districts, this exception should not itself be modified. The operation of the measure was to be limited to the end of 1881. Secondly, the defaulting, if evicted, was to be entitled to compensation only under stringent conditions. Further, Mr. Forster contended that where Ulster tenant right prevailed, the tenant was entitled to a larger compensation than a County Court Judge could give any tenant under his Bill. As to the question why the Government brought it in now, instead of waiting till another Session, as it had not been part

of the Queen's Speech, Mr. Forster answered that they had no alternative; that they could wait no longer. "Facts are accumulating upon us. Evictions had increased, and were increasing. For the five years ending in 1877, the average for each year was 503; in 1878, the number of evictions was 743; in 1879, it was 1,098, and up to the 26th of June, this year, it had been 1,073. These evictions had to be supported by force; there was a strong feeling of injustice throughout the country, and if no changes were made in the law, the Government would have a grave responsibility in maintaining order. Short as the Bill was—it was only one of thirty-five lines—yet never was a bill so long in discussion. Three sittings were spent upon it before it passed the second reading; eight sittings before it got through Committee, and on the third reading the discussion was as animated and severe. Equally keenly were the provisions of the Bill discussed out of doors. The *Times* and other papers were filled with letters and discussions on the subject. A considerable proportion of the letters were from Irish landlords and their friends, reciting cases of individual hardship that landlords would suffer if deprived of the only effectual means that they had for enforcing the payment of their rents. We heard a good deal of the rascality of landlords' agents, but we also heard a good deal of the sharpness of their tenants. One example will suffice. One morning a tenant rushed into the office of the agent, and throwing a bag with bank-notes on the table, "Here," says he, "is all the money I have in the world; ye may either take it or lave it. If ye take it, I'm off to the workhouse. If ye lave it, I'm off to Ameriky." "Why, my good man," says the agent, unrolling the notes, "here's enough money to pay your rent twice over." "Oh, by gorra! I's give ye the wrong parcel!" was the tenant's reply.

The Irish Land Act of 1870, as originally introduced, was one of the boldest measures which has ever been submitted to a Legislature, except in the heat of a revolution.

Comparing with it, however, the Act as it passed, it is not difficult to understand why it failed to effect a settlement. The Bill had two objects in view,—the one to give greater security to existing tenants, and the other to facilitate the conversion of tenants into full owners. The second of these objects was introduced in what were known as the Bright Clauses, which not only proposed to lend the money of the State on easy terms to tenant purchasers, but gave to tenants whose holdings were sold in the Landed Estates Courts a preferential right of purchase. These clauses notoriously failed, and thousands of tenants whose holdings had been yearly sold in the Land Courts had been disappointed in the hope of becoming land owners. In another respect the Bill also disappointed the reasonable expectations of the Irish people. The original Bill was intended to give legal sanction to the custom of Ulster; and in other parts of Ireland, where such custom does not exist, to provide analogous security to the tenants for improvements effected by them or their predecessors, and against disturbances in their holdings. Every amendment, however, forced upon the Government during the passing of the Bill tended in an opposite direction, and materially contributed to prevent its being a permanent settlement. The changes introduced by the Lords greatly interfered with the scope of the Bill. One particular amendment was exceptionally mischievous. Under the Ulster custom, the payment for goodwill is secured to the tenant, whether he be able to pay rent or not. It is one of the merits of the custom that it tends to replace an insolvent tenant by a solvent one, and that the landlord, being entitled to claim his rent out of the payment made by the incoming tenant, is secure of his rent. In the revised custom of the Bill this was departed from, the right of compensation for disturbance was made contingent on the payment of rent, and was forfeited if rent was not paid; but an exception was grafted on this which enabled the judge to award compensation if he should be

of opinion that the non-payment was due to special circumstances, as when by reason of a disastrous season the tenant was unable to pay his rent. The House of Lords struck out this clause—a clause which would materially have modified the situation.

The opposition to the second reading of Mr. Forster's Bill was led by Mr. Chaplin, who, repeating what he had urged against it, when moved as a separate clause, opposed it emphatically as a departure from every principle of legislation which had hitherto been sanctioned and admitted in civilised society in the country and in the age in which we live. He denied that the principle of the Bill was contained in Section 9 of the Land Act, That applied only to tenancies in the past. But Mr. Chaplin further argued that if it was an extension of the Land Act, it was an extension of its worst and most vicious feature, and he quoted from Mr. Disraeli that the Land Act would create a new Irish grievance—the payment of rent. He denounced the whole theory of compensation for disturbance. "It seems to me," he said, "absolutely monstrous to make a landlord compensate a tenant for the loss, or rather the non-continuance of a privilege which emanated from himself. You might as well, or perhaps even with more justice, compensate a man for the refusal of a farm in the first instance." He quoted from a correspondent the pungent remark that the main result of the Bill, if passed into an Act, will be to foster the notion so sedulously promulgated by agitators in Ireland, that every man who, by any undertaking or promise, has induced another to put him into possession of lands, becomes, therefore, endowed with a right to retain that possession, though he may violate the promises by which it was secured. Mr. Charles Russell defended the Bill, arguing that in England copyholders were originally tenants-at-will. As if tenant-farmers were only to be met with on the other side of the Irish Channel. He also observed, with Mr. Forster, that there was very little difference between Section 9 of the Land

Act and the Government proposal. "The former Act provided that the tenant might get compensation if the court held that he was ejected for non-payment of a rent that was exorbitant. The present Bill allowed compensation if the court found that he was unable to pay rent in consequence of the prevailing distress, and that he was willing to remain on just terms, but that those terms were unreasonably refused. The difference between exorbitant rent and unreasonable terms was not such as to justify the extravagant language which has been used of the Bill."

Perhaps the fiercest and most effective attack on the Bill was that made by Mr. Plunket. He termed it not a Relief Bill, but a political proposal—a proposal for the direct confiscation of the income of one class in favour of another. The Government rested their case on the increasing number of evictions. Why had evictions increased? On account of the anti-rent agitation tenants were incited not to pay their rents, and the landlords were forced to threaten eviction in order to compel them to pay their rents. He quite admitted that the Land Act had given tenants an interest in their holdings. But as a set-off against this boon, and as a compensation to landlords for this concession at their expense, it had established two principles. One was that the Act should apply only to existing tenancies, and that with regard to all future tenancies contract should be free; the other was that the tenant should scrupulously fulfil his duty to the landlord by paying his rent. Non-payment of rent disentitled the tenant to any compensation. But the present Bill proposed to abrogate both these cardinal principles of the Land Act. Mr. Plunket then wanted to know why the Government proposed to apply their Bill only to certain districts? What justice was there in refusing the right to men outside a certain circle, while they gave it to men inside? The debate was still further carried on, the opponents of the Bill arguing that it encouraged a dangerous agitation; that it would make

the tenant think the payment of rent in any shape an injustice; that it would deprive the landlord of his only means of enforcing the payment of rent. And it was contended that if distress was to be relieved, it was unfair to relieve it at the expense of one particular class. In a very able speech Mr. Tottenham, an Irish landlord, defended the class to which he had the misfortune to belong, and protested against their being looked upon "as incapable of sympathy with distress and suffering; mere machines for squeezing the last possible shilling out of the peasantry." He protested against a bill which would enable tenants to emigrate with the plunder of landlords in their pockets. Lord R. Churchill described the Bill as the commencement of a campaign against the landlords; the first step in a social war; an attempt to raise the masses against the propertied classes. He was not one of those, he said, who had disapproved of the Land Act. It had raised the value of landed property in Ireland. But since that Bill was brought forward landed property had been in the market, and it was impossible to find a purchaser for it. Capital acted instinctively, and almost unerringly it refused investment in Irish land, and why? Because the Bill would destroy the cardinal and leading feature of the Land Act—the inviolability of the rent which the landlord demanded and the tenant agreed to pay. Mr. W. H. Smith, as did Mr. Gibson, the Attorney-General for Ireland, in Lord Beaconsfield's Administration, followed on the same side. Mr. W. H. Smith argued that the Bill was a new proposal with respect to property, and that the principle allowed in this case would have in justice to be extended. Were the Government, he asked, prepared to extend it in cases of distress from bad trade? Ought tradesmen, living in a shop believed to be necessary to their existence, to be driven forth without compensation, when they could not in hard times pay their rent?

On the other side—that is, on the side of the Government—the chief speakers

were Mr. Roundell, the Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. Law, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Hartington.

Mr. Gladstone argued that the Bill was in reality one to maintain the principles of property. "We say that in the face of these afflicting circumstances which partially prevail in Ireland with an extreme severity, it is a Bill to enable the State with a safe conscience to use the strength at its command in order to maintain the rights of property, and to enforce the provisions of the law." He enlarged upon the fact that it was an exceptional measure. Those who spoke of its tendency in exaggerated terms were the men who really encouraged the Irish peasantry to believe that it sanctioned the non-payment of rent. The Government had been at the greatest pains to guard the measure demanded by strong necessity, and carefully adapted and limited to that necessity, from establishing a dangerous precedent. They had been most careful so to frame it that it should not deprive the landlord of the power of enforcing payment of the rent due to him. What the Bill really restrained, and that temporarily, was the landlord's power of eviction, a power conferred upon the landlord by the law in Ireland by recent Acts — conferred upon him, Mr. Gladstone said, "behind the back of the Irish occupier, almost in fraud of the Irish occupier. Apart from this temporary check of the landlord's power of eviction, the Bill left intact and entire the only remedy which the landlord possessed for the recovery of rent." Lord Hartington also ably defended the Government measure. "I assert," he said, "that so far from being any contravention of the principles of the Land Act, this measure has been framed simply with the view of preventing the objects of that Act from being defeated—defeated by exceptional circumstances which could not possibly have been foreseen. In some parts of Ireland the impoverished circumstances of the tenant have placed in the hands of the landlord a weapon which the Government never con-

templated, and which has enabled the landlord, at a sacrifice of a-half or a-quarter of a year's rent, to clear his estate of hundreds of tenants whom, in ordinary circumstances, he would not have been able to remove except upon payment of a heavy pecuniary fine. I ask whether that is not a weapon calculated to enable landlords absolutely to defeat the main purpose of the Act? Supposing a landlord wished to clear his estate of a small number of tenants, he knows that this is the time to do it, and if he should lose this opportunity he can never have it again without a great pecuniary sacrifice." In answer to the argument that the Bill would lead to a general refusal to pay rent and deprive the landlord of all means of enforcing payment, Lord Hartington pointed out that the landlord was left in possession of every power which he ever possessed, including the power of eviction which was given him by the Acts of 1851 and 1860. The Bill only provided that if the landlord used his power of eviction, the tenant might bring him into court. Under the Bill the tenant had to make good his claim, and if the landlord could show that he had been actuated by one particle of moderation or forbearance towards the tenant, such as only good landlords exercise, then the case of the tenant fails. That there would be a general refusal to pay rent in those circumstances—that a tenantry specially attached to the land would run the risk of eviction on the chance of being able to make good a bad claim, Lord Hartington considered a monstrous supposition. His Lordship seems to have forgotten that nothing is too monstrous to be imagined where a susceptible and easily deluded people like the Irish are made the sway of agitators and of priests.

One of the most impressive of Mr. Gladstone's speeches on the subject was delivered in the House of Commons on Tuesday, July 5th, when the second reading of the Bill was carried, after three nights' debate, by 295 to 217. About fifty Liberals abstained from voting, and twenty

voted against the Bill. Mr. Gladstone admitted that the Bill was exceptional in its circumstances—exceptional in its provisions—because it constitutes on the part of the Executive Government something like a promise to the poorest part of the population of Ireland now suffering heavily under a visitation of Providence. The Bill, he said, was to maintain the principles of property, to enable the State with a safe conscience, in the face of the afflicting circumstances which partially prevail in Ireland, to maintain the rights of property and to enforce the provisions of the law. It was the duty of the Government to listen with respect to the member for Cork, and those who act with him. Mr. Gladstone contended that it could not be argued against the Bill that it was exceptional, since the late Parliament and the present Parliament have sanctioned and were sanctioning, apart from the Bill, most exceptional measures. As regarded a great deal of the opposition to the measure, it was really a revival of the smouldering hostility against the Land Act. Again, it was said to interfere with the principles of property; the principles of property were vital to the welfare of the State. Nevertheless, he, Mr. Gladstone, maintained that for the last fifty years Parliament had interfered with them more or less. "In the case of the Tithe Commutation Act they had taken the whole of the prospective increase of tithe in this country from the clergy, and handed it over to the landlords. That Bill was a further extension of the provisions of the Land Act, an Act agreed to by men so little revolutionary as Lord Carlingford, Lord Cardwell, and Lord Clarendon; nor was it opposed by Mr. Disraeli, who was then a member of the House of Commons, on the plea that it was an interference of a revolutionary character. Up to the time of the passing of that measure, the rule had been nothing for the tenant, and everything for the landlord. He had never denied that the Land Act was a measure of very great gravity, but maintained that it had been

justified by the great gravity of the case. It was a necessary measure, and it had led to a great improvement, and had led to a great decrease in agrarian crime. Further legislation in the same direction was needed. I believe," continued Mr. Gladstone, "that it is not understating it or overstating it when we say that the two bad harvests of 1877-8 were succeeded in 1879 by a harvest which in portions of Ireland was the very worst that has been known since the great Irish famine. Well, with these bad harvests evictions began to creep up. The number was greatly enlarged, and, under a state of facts in which I firmly believe the general conduct of the landlords has been highly to their honour, my right hon. friend the Attorney-General pointed out that this was a distress due to the act of God. This succession of bad harvests had produced an extreme state of things. In the failure of the crops, crowned by the year 1879, the act of God had replaced the Irish occupier in the condition in which he stood before the Land Act. Because what had he to contemplate? He had to contemplate eviction for non-payment of rent, and, as a consequence of eviction, starvation. And this eviction, it is no exaggeration to say, in a country where the agricultural pursuit is the only pursuit, and where the means of payment are entirely destroyed for the time by the visitation of Providence, that the poor occupier may in these circumstances regard the sentence of eviction as coming, for him, very near to the sentence of death. Well, that was the state of things which we had to contemplate, as it has been ultimately developed before us. I admit that when we passed the Land Act we did not foresee everything. We hoped that we were going to pass into a normal condition. We sought in good faith to do that which we told the landlord we desired to do. We told him that while on the one hand we created a new estate for the tenant in the soil, still on the other hand we desired to give the landlord not only a continuance of security, but an increase of security for

the payment of his rent. That, I believe, has been the effect; but I admit we did not foresee every contingency. We did not foresee that there would arise in Ireland, though only in parts of it, a state of things analogous to that which led to the legislation of 1847. That state of things, however, did arise, and the question is, how are we to deal with it? We are now going, I admit, to constitute a new exception to the Land Act, and for such an exception we ought to show, in my opinion, a justification under three heads; in the first place, that the necessity is strong; in the second place, that the remedy is carefully adapted and limited to the necessity; and, in the third place, that the case is of such a nature that we have taken effectual precautions against being betrayed unawares into the establishing of a dangerous precedent. We are going to establish an exception, by leaving the Irish landlord as much right as the English landlord had to recover his rent." Mr. Gladstone then gave the history of legislation on this subject. "The House of Commons, and yet more the House of Lords, has legislated against the Irish tenant. As I understand it, anything like eviction for non-payment of rent by the process so well known in Ireland was unknown to the law of this land until the reign of George I., and it was then, I believe, introduced as applicable exclusively to the case of leases. Various subsequent Acts were passed, but it was by Acts of the years 1851 and 1860 that the Parliament of this country thought fit to establish and make effective against the Irish occupier remedies of which the landlord in Scotland and in England knew nothing. The consequence of this was that the power of eviction was extended from leases to tenants-at-will, and tenants from year to year; it was extended alike to the cases of parol and written agreements, and having first been brought in for sums under a limited amount in the Civil Bill Courts or County Courts alone, it was then enlarged so as to embrace in its sweep the whole of the tenants in Ireland. Now

be it recollected that it is only to that law, and not at all to the general law of the land for the recovery of rent which remained wholly untouched, as it is in England; it is only to this peculiar law, introduced, as I may say, behind the back of the Irish occupier, I might almost say in fraud of the Irish occupier, that we propose an exception. I do not say that on that account an exception is to be justified beyond what necessity and prudence required. Well, sir, is the necessity not strong? It appears to us that it is exceedingly strong. You have had a visitation affecting the crops in a part of Ireland such at any rate as comes but once in a generation, for there has been no such visitation since 1847. You have had, as we believe, capricious evictions to a certain and limited extent practised in Ireland, and those who have practised them are chargeable with bringing upon their more numerous and better minded brethren the consequences of their misconduct. We have had a great increase of ejectments for non-payment of rent." Mr. Gladstone then spoke of the way in which the law was carried out. "In the West Riding of Galway alone nearly 3,500 men have been employed in enforcing the processes of the law; and these processes are now to be enforced not by units, nor by scores, for scores are not sufficient, but by hundreds; and when you have arrived at a state of things, however it be limited to a portion of the country, in which hundreds of peace officers are required to be employed for the purpose of enforcing evictions, you have got dangerously near to something that would be called local civil war. Now, what is the remedy that we propose to apply, and is it not a carefully limited and guarded remedy? How is this provision limited? It is limited in time, as you admit, and why does the noble lord charge us with being in contradiction with ourselves, and having said that we had no information? We have never said anything of the sort in reference to the scope of this Bill. It is one thing to have information in reference to the exceptional

state of things created for us, and recognised in this Bill; it is quite another kind of information that would be requisite for the purpose of reviewing the whole of the provisions of the Land Acts; and considering in what respects they have succeeded or have partially failed, we have ample information to justify the present measure. It is limited in time, though I believe a particular date is not very easy to fix mathematically. It is limited in place again. We have drawn a line, the only one practicable for us to draw, perhaps not mathematically exact, but at the same time indicating a distinct intention. It is limited in subject-matter, because, as the noble lord has seen, not one farthing can be allowed by the judge under this Bill unless in cases where, first, there is inability to pay; secondly, that inability is proved to him to be due to the recent calamities; thirdly, where the tenant is willing to accept reasonable terms; and, fourthly, where the landlord unreasonably refuses them. Well, these are the limitations. If you think there are others, state them; but let us get rid of these general charges. The question now is, whether we establish a *prima facie* case for the principle of the Bill. And now with regard to the third condition I laid down, that the cause ought to be so well defined that you should not unawares establish precedents in cases of this kind. I will make this admission to the noble lord and others who have spoken, that no man is more reluctant than I am to depart from the principles of the Land Act, and especially from that part of it which aims at giving the landlord increased security for the payment of his rent. I think it is almost a personal obligation in honour on those who were parties to the Land Act to maintain in spirit, if we cannot in letter, the whole bearing of that Act, for the improvement of the condition of the landlord no less than that of the occupier. I am as jealous as the noble lord is of being led into the admission of precedents and principles as to which I wish to preserve a perfectly free discretion; but I will point

out to the noble lord that if you are afraid of the precedent we establish in this Bill, the true danger of establishing such a precedent is to be found in the speeches of those who assert that it contains all those ulterior, wider, and unnecessary changes which we ourselves have declined to recognise as having any connection with the Bill, and as to which we desire to maintain our perfect freedom. Sir, I cannot state too broadly what I conceive to be the great safeguard which marks the present legislation as exceptional legislation, and which reserves for future and free consideration every other question, great and small, connected with the Irish Land Act. But the security is that you have already created by Parliamentary legislation this exceptional state of things. I think the noble lord was unintentionally most unjust to my right hon. friend in saying he thought he spoke in a spirit of vindictive legislation against the landlords. I do not speak in that sense; I wish to recognise their claims. I don't think my right hon. friend was in the slightest degree chargeable with that intention. For myself, I shall regard it as a very great offence indeed. But let us look at the facts as they stand. I regard the landlord no less than the occupier as suffering in this instance by the act of God—not suffering to the same extent, but as truly suffering by the act of God; and Parliament has recognised that state of facts, and Parliament has come down to contribute to the support of one portion of the community at the expense of the rest of the community. That is the proceeding on the part of Parliament which, if it were made common, would be pretty nearly the dissolution of society. It is a principle of the utmost danger, to be watched with great jealousy—aye, with just as great jealousy as the principle embodied in the present Bill. But what has Parliament actually done? It has granted £1,250,000 in the shape of loans to the landlords. Suppose those loans to be taken, how much of it is the landlord to pay back? He is to pay

it back subject to a deduction of £36 per £100, so that the portion of the £1,250,000 offered to the landlord for the improvement of his estate—[Lord R. Churchill: Not merely as a boon]. I know it is not a mere boon to the landlord. I am speaking simply of what the State is doing for the landlord and the occupier together. I cannot consent to regard their interests as separate, as the noble lord seems to do. Of the £1,250,000, no more than £800,000 can ever come back to the Church surplus, so that £450,000 is a gift. Of the £250,000 advanced to guardians, reckoning it in the same way, the repayment will be made less £16 for every £100; that is, there will be a gift of £40,000. £200,000 more is now to be placed at the disposal of the Government for the purpose of meeting this distress. Well, sir, that is a sum in all of £690,000. But you will perhaps say that the State has done nothing. The State has done little compared with what the Church surplus has done. But at the same time even the contribution of the State is £930,000. We have given a large sum of money, I think £600,000, for two years without interest, to purchase seeds, £46,000 for piers, and we have just made a remission of interest of £54,000 to the Church surplus—that is to say, £130,000; and the total of the figures I have read is £820,000. I am not saying that all this is for the landlord, but I say it is given to the landlords and tenants together, of these districts—it is the gift of the State, and of Ireland particularly, from an Irish fund, to the landlords and tenants of these districts. Now let us divide a little between the tenant and the landlord. Where would the landlord have been if this gift had not been made? Are we really so cruel to him in proposing that in exceptional and extreme cases, where the man has no power to pay, he shall have some indulgence, limited as it is by the Bill? To answer the question, consider where the landlord stood apart from the legislation of Parliament. Why, sir, he stood liable through the medium of Parliament to feed sufficiently out of the

produce and value of his land every one of these hungry mouths without reference to the Church surplus, and without reference to the Exchequer. That was his strict, his absolute, his legal liability. Some men of singularly-framed minds may believe that Parliament has not, in providing these means for the landlord's assistance, enormously benefited his condition, and that we are other than wise in taking some precaution against his endangering the peace of the country by pursuing to the extreme those processes of eviction of which he has become the master by legislation, quite as peculiar, I will venture to say, as any now proposed. My right hon. friend said truly that no doubt we are liable, like others, to error; but our object in this Bill is not the object of soothing the feelings of anyone, of conciliating the support of anyone, or of attaining any indirect or secondary purpose. If we have a special object it is this: that we may be enabled with a firm and an unflinching hand to maintain the principles of order and of law in Ireland. But we do regard with a repugnance which some seem not to share the introduction of armies of agents of the State, for such I may call them, of regiments of constabulary, for the purpose of conducting what ought to be peaceful operations. You will tell me that this is all caused by an anti-rent agitation. A noble lord has complained of my right hon. friend because he did not dwell on the extent of this anti-rent agitation. I admit the existence of that which in some parts of the country may undoubtedly be called a conspiracy—a conspiracy not against the payment of rent only, but against the payment of all just debts. I am not able to draw a distinction between rent and other debts. I must say that rent is to be regarded as a just debt, and no admission will be made by me, or by any of my right hon. friends, I am quite sure, which will tend in any way to weaken that proposition. But what we fear is this: that there is no way of so strengthening the anti-rent agitation as to leave some pleas of justice in the mouths of those who promote it."

On July 8th, there was a further fight when the order Committee was read, Mr. Pell interposing with an amendment that the Bill should be confined to estates on which evictions had taken place since November, 1879. A striking incident in the debate was Mr. Parnell's declaration of war against the Bill on the ground of an amendment proposed by the Attorney-General for Ireland, to the effect that the tenant should have no claim to compensation when the landlord before evicting him had given him permission to sell his interest in the holding. The question that the House go into Committee over the Bill was carried by 255 to 199, the Home Rulers abstaining from voting. Again, on the question that the preamble be postponed, there was a fight about the obnoxious clause, which Mr. Gladstone subsequently withdrew. When Committee on the Bill was resumed on the 13th of July, Lord R. Churchill moved to report progress on the ground that the new amendment would alter the proposed character of the Bill, and then came a very fierce attack opened by Lord George Hamilton, who challenged the accuracy of the returns of evictions which furnished the Government with their chief reasons for bringing in the Bill. Mr. Gibson also delivered another onslaught, and was followed by Mr. Plunket. In reply Mr. Gladstone, suspending judgment, and promising inquiry as to the accuracy of Lord George Hamilton's criticism of the Government returns, argued that if tenants were legally ejected, and afterwards admitted to their farms as care-takers, the effect upon the general condition of the country was very much the same as if they had been actually evicted and expelled. They were deprived of their status as tenants; they were deprived of the interest in their holdings which the Land Act had been intended to secure for them. With regard to the number of constabulary employed, the Government looked, he said, not so much to the total number of men, as to the number required to enforce any single process. "We have," he said,

"arrived at a state of things where fifty where a hundred, where two hundred people are required to enable a legal act to be done, which legal act ought to require no support whatever." A powerful speech, on behalf of the Government, was also made by a new member, Mr. H. Fowler, who protested against delaying the progress of the Bill "by a trumpety contest about statistics which did not affect the matter one way or another," and held that the Bill "was based on the broad and general principle that landlords ought not to take advantage of exceptional circumstances of distress to interfere with property that legitimately belonged to the tenants under the Land Act of 1870." The next crisis in the Bill was a proposal originated by the Opposition that the measure should be limited in its application to tenancies not exceeding £15 a year. The figure ultimately decided on was a £30 valuation, equivalent to £42 or £43 rent. At length came July 26th, when the measure was carried by 303 to 237, after a very heated debate. Mr. Parnell and his immediate following abstained from voting, and sixteen Liberal M.P.'s voted in the minority.

Unfortunately for the true interests of England and Ireland alike, all the trouble about the Compensation for Disturbance Bill was taken in vain. After two nights' debate the Bill was rejected in the House of Lords by the overwhelming majority of 282 to 51. The landlords, evidently, especially the absentee ones, were seriously alarmed. Lord Granville introduced the measure in a very conciliatory speech, representing it as a temporary measure intended to assist the Government in the maintenance of the law, and Lord Derby, after an exhibition of the defects and dangers of the measure, made an appeal to the House to let it pass the second reading, and modify it in Committee, but the appeal was in vain. In his three objections to the Bill Lord Beaconsfield summed up the general feeling of the House. "The Bill," he said, "contained three proposals, and he objected to all

three of them. His first objection was that it imposed a burden on a specific class. His second, that it brought insecurity into all kinds of transactions. His third, that it delegated to a public officer the extraordinary power of fixing the rents of the country."

Let us now return to the House of Commons, and listen to the financial proposals of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was a difficult task which was laid upon Mr. Gladstone. Sir Stafford Northcote had calculated on a narrow surplus, which it was quite clear would be entirely absorbed by a falling off in the revenue and an increase in the expenditure. Besides, the Commercial Treaty with France, if renewed at all, had to be renewed within the existing financial year, and this involved a reconstruction of the wine duties. To the wonder of Tories and Liberals alike, Mr. Gladstone resolved to make a new Budget, from which the stock grievance of the British farmer, the malt tax, was undoubtedly to disappear.

Mr. Gladstone's proposals were communicated to the House on June 10th, in a speech which occupied nearly two hours in delivery, and went into elaborate detail with regard to the wine duties and the advantages and disadvantages of the various modes of levying an assessment on fermented drinks. He began by alluding to the wine duties, and recounting the success of his various efforts to promote the substitution of a cheap and sound wine for the abominable compounds at one time sold in this country. He proposed that there should be a new scale of duties, as follows:—A uniform sixpenny rate per gallon on wine up to an alcoholic strength of twenty degrees; between twenty and fifty-five, an extra penny for each additional degree; above thirty-five, when wine almost ceased to be wine, a rate rising by 2½d. for each degree. Coming then to beer, which he described as the staple drink of England, he did not think it would be fair to relieve it entirely from taxation, while whisky, the staple drink of Scotland, remained uncheapered.

But the duty on beer was at present levied through the malt tax, and he argued at length that it was not the best way of levying it. The opinion of economists was strong against taxes levied on the raw material; the excise on malt pressed hardly on the producer, and hampered his business. The malt tax then was to be abolished, but as some means must be found of supplying the loss of eight millions which its mere abolition would entail, Mr. Gladstone proposed to put a tax of about six shillings a barrel on beer. He showed how at one time the great difficulty of consenting to a beer tax in place of a malt tax arose out of the immense quantity of private brewing that existed year after year; this private brewing had decreased. Mr. Gladstone showed with what marvellous rapidity it had fallen away of late, and assumed that in time it would cease altogether. For those who brew at home there is to be a license duty. The householder living in a house of modest dimensions, and brewing only for his own consumption, will simply pay a few shillings for his license. The brewer will have his duty imposed in a simple and satisfactory way, without interference with the operation of his trade or the times and the seasons when he may perform it. The beer is to be gauged for the purposes of the duty when it is in the fermenting stage. The result will be to cheapen the beer to the consumer, and a better quality of beer. The Conservatives seemed a good deal staggered with the announcement about the malt tax, and Mr. Pell acknowledged with simple frankness that he was very sorry it had not come from his own people. Mr. Gladstone held that his proposals would be advantageous in liberating capital, would be a great act of justice to makers of vinegar and yeast, and would also in the end be found profitable to the revenue. On the ground of all its advantages, immediate and prospective, he thought he was justified in asking for a penny additional of income tax to enable him to make the change. He further proposed various

changes in the licensing rates, altering the scale so as to raise the licenses on the whole, and at the same time secure a better proportion between the charges laid on different kinds of license. The Bill was read a second time on June 24th. On going into committee on July 6th, Mr. Gladstone announced that the wine duties clauses would be dropped in consequence of inability to conclude their negotiations with the French Government on the subject—that the allowance of waste to the brewer would be increased from 4 per cent. to 6 per cent., and that there would be other slight alterations. The various clauses of the Bill were subjected to minute criticism; and when the Bill came up for consideration on the 28th, Lord George Hamilton moved an amendment to the effect that the malt tax should not be abolished at the expense of the payers of income tax, and was supported by Sir Stafford Northcote. Their argument was that the country was not in a condition to bear additional taxation. The amendment was opposed by Lord Randolph Churchill. "Notwithstanding his willingness to co-operate in any motion brought forward to embarrass the Government," he said he could not support this, because he did not see how the malt tax could be abolished without some substitute being provided. Only ninety-four voted in support of the amendment, a result which was fairly pointed to as showing the confidence in Mr. Gladstone's financial schemes on both sides of the House.

The Ground Game Act was another subject in which the Government asked the House to legislate. The preamble set forth that it was expedient in the interests of good husbandry, and for the better security for the capital and labour invested by the occupiers of land in the cultivation of the soil, that further provision should be made to enable such occupiers to protect their crops from injury and loss by ground game. The hardship to good husbandry from hares and rabbits was incontrovertibly established by the report of the

Committee of 1873. "The Bill," said Sir William Harcourt, who introduced it, "did not pretend to reform the game laws, but only to give the tenant protection. The Government had considered a suggestion that protection should be given by leaving hares and rabbits out of the category of game, but they had come to the conclusion that their end could be better attained by the main provision of the Bill, which was simply that the occupier of the land should have, as incident to and inseparable from his occupation of land, the right to kill and take ground game concurrently with the landlord, or any other person authorised by the landlord—all agreements to the contrary were to be null and void; the occupier could not legally contract himself out of the right. Sir W. Harcourt justified this interference with freedom of contract by reference to various acts in which that principle had been abrogated on grounds of public policy. Current leases were, however, to be exempted from the operation of the Act. Most doleful and amusing were the prophecies of the correspondents of newspapers on the subject. Hares and rabbits, they urged, would be finally exterminated. The people would thereby lose an enormous amount of valuable food, and the working man would be deprived of his favourite Sunday dinner. One nobleman went further, and contended it would end in the extermination of the farmer himself. First, hares and rabbits would be exterminated—then foxes would have nothing to eat but pheasants and poultry; then fox-hunting, and then we were told, as in the time of the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, landowners would go abroad in search of amusement. The result would be the moral and physical deterioration of the landlord class; and as for the farmer, his industry would be ruined; for where could he find a market for his horses, his oats, his hay, and his straw? But the farmers were satisfied, and that was something; though neither Mr. P. A. Taylor nor Mr. Bright found that the Bill entirely met their views. On

the adjourned debate on the second reading, July 29th, Mr. Brand moved the rejection of the Bill as a violation of freedom of contract, though he admitted that if it could be shown to be required in the public interest, he would cease to oppose. For himself, he believed that the farmers were able to protect themselves, and if any changes were needed, it should be in the direction of removing hares and rabbits from the game list. Lord Elcho made the most elaborate and uncompromising attack on the Bill, and a host of small amendments were made. In the House of Lords, Lord Redesdale moved its rejection on the ground that no adequate time was afforded for deliberating on it. Lord Beaconsfield advocated its second reading, and much attention was attracted by his earnest advice to the Lords to avoid collisions with the Commons except on matters of high principle and deep importance. Two subjects, he said, occupied the thoughts of the country—the government of Ireland and the principles upon which the landed property of the country should continue to be established. On these matters the Lords should stand firm in defence of their convictions, but it would be a mistake to take up a futile position on the eve of a great constitutional struggle, and the Lords had the good sense to take his lordship's advice.

Another question equally open to the criticism that it was an interference with the rights of contract and the rights of property was the Employers' Liability Bill. The subject had been often before Parliament, and one of the most common accusations against the late Government was that they had neglected their promises to deal with it. The solution of the difficulty proposed by Mr. Gladstone's Government was the same as that proposed by Mr. Brassey in 1879. In judicial decisions, said Mr. Dodson, it had been established that an employer was liable for any injury done to third parties by the negligence of his servants; but by one decision after another a principle of exceptions had been established, so that when the injured person

was in the same employment with the person whose negligence caused the injury he and his legal representatives had no claim for damages whatever. If an explosion occurred, the owners of the damaged property were entitled to compensation, but injured fellow-workmen had no claim because they were in the same employment. This was the doctrine of common employment of which workmen had been contending for years that it was unjust. The Government proposed to extend the employers' liability, but not so far as the workmen wished. The employer was liable when the injury was caused by defect in the machinery by the negligence of any person to whom the employer had delegated superintendence, or to whose orders the workmen were bound to conform; or, lastly, by any act or mission done or made in obedience to the employers' rules or bye-laws. Mr. Knowles opposed the second reading, and advocated instead the appointment of a select committee to consider whether the workmen's grievance could not be met by a system of insurance. The Bill was committed *pro forma* till July 6th, when it was found to be entirely rewritten, though the principle of compensation remained the same. The opinions of extreme men on each side were freely ventilated. Mr. Macdonald, as a working-man's representative, had given notice of an amendment on going into committee, to the effect that the doctrine of common employment should be abolished, but he withdrew it. In vain Mr. Knowles renewed his motion for the appointment of a select committee. Mr. Gladstone stated that, if any well-considered scheme of insurance were submitted to the Government in committee, with a view to being embodied in the Bill, it should have attention. But, in the end, the Bill was passed after protracted debate, without any such addition. In the House of Lords an important clause was struck out, but it was restored by the Commons, and finally agreed to.

Another topic on which Parliament was called on by the Government to legislate

was that of Education. The Education Act of 1876 left the framing of bye-laws as to half-time and exemption from attendance at school after passing certain standards to local machinery of a somewhat clumsy and expensive kind. Before the School Board Attendance Committee could make bye-laws on these points, they had to receive a requisition from the parish, and a very large proportion of the parishes had let the matter slip, and done nothing. Lord Spencer proposed to enable the Committee to dispense with this requisition, and to provide further that if they did not frame bye-laws before the close of the present year the Education Department should frame laws for them. The Bill also proposed to regulate certain matters in which there had been collision between the Education Acts and the Factory and Workhouse Acts.

Another educational measure explained by Lord Spencer was a Bill for the Advancement of Secondary Education in Scotland. In 1878, a Commission had been appointed to deal with Educational Endowments in Scotland without compulsory powers. It was intimated at the time that unless the institutions affected took action, a compulsory measure would be introduced. They did not do so to any great extent, and it was proposed that the new Commission should interfere with the remainder, but local opposition was got up, and the Bill was lost after it had passed safely through the Lords.

Again Lord Norton moved an address to the Crown, praying for the omission of the Fourth Schedule of the New Education Code allowing grants for certain subjects, and the address was carried. In order to snatch a victory, the members of the late Government who had introduced the Schedule, opposed it, though it had been favourably reported on by the inspectors.

A good deal of useful but not strong legislation was effected in the course of the session. Mr. Chamberlain, the President of the Board of Trade, got the House to carry a Grain Cargoes Act, and a Seaman's

Wages Act. An end was put by the latter to the system, which had been found to work very injuriously, of advance notes for the payment of a seaman's wages, conditionally on his going to sea. It was enacted that such notes should be void, and that money paid in satisfaction of any such document should not be deducted from a sailor's wages. The appointment of a Committee on the Grain Cargoes Act gave rise to a lively discussion on the principle on which committees should be appointed. It had been the custom that the members on the Ministerial side should be in a majority of one. But there was now a third party, consisting of Home Rulers, and it was asked on which side were they now to be reckoned in the composition of committees. Government claimed to have the majority of one independent of them. To this it was replied that the effect would be to make the third party practically masters of the situation. The principle asserted by the Government was carried, and the Committee they appointed dealt with the question of the loading of grain cargoes with such effect and expedition that a Bill embodying these resolutions was carried before the end of the session.

Post-Office Savings Banks had also to be legislated on. There had been an accumulating deficiency in connection with the savings bank system which had reached the sum of more than three and a-half millions. This had been for some time a concealed portion of the National Debt, but Sir Stafford Northcote had taken the step of taking the interest upon the deficiency as a separate vote. Mr. Gladstone now proposed to provide for the extinction of the deficiency by the creation of terminable annuities and for the stoppage of the annual loss by a small reduction in the rate of interest from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. Another proposal was to raise the limit of total deposits from £200 to £300, and the limit of annual deposits from £30 to £100; and the other to throw open the public funds through the savings banks to investors of sums of £16. The object of the

Money Orders Act was to reduce the charge for orders, and to facilitate their currency. Under 10s., the cost of orders was two-pence, now it was to be a penny; for one shilling a halfpenny, and for from ten shillings to a pound, two-pence. Also, an attempt was made to induce habits of thrift. It was provided that forms, containing twelve spaces each, could be obtained at the Post-Office, and when a penny stamp had been affixed in each space, the form might be put in the Savings Bank, and an account opened in the name of the depositor; certain counties were selected for this experiment.

One private member was enabled to get a small measure of reform carried—and that was Mr. Ashton Dilke, who was enabled to get through the House a measure to increase the hours of polling in certain districts. Another step in the right direction, as it would be considered by the Temperance Reformers, was the passing of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Local Option Act, on June 18th, by 229 to 203. In the last debate on the question in the last Parliament, Mr. Gladstone's opposition had not been of a very decided character. As to the principles of local option, he declared that he was not an objecting party, but what he desiderated was a plan which should unite them all. After the publication of the Lords' Report on Intemperance, he considered that the time had come for action, and he fully expected that the Government would take the matter up. He admitted that the present state of the law was disgraceful. It had been said that greater calamities had been inflicted on mankind by intemperance than the three great historical scourges—war, pestilence, and famine; and that was true as regarded England—though not for France, or Germany, or Italy, or Spain, or Portugal—and that truth was the measure of our discredit and disgrace. When Sir Wilfrid gained his triumph, Mr. Gladstone did not profess to be able to see his way more clearly to a practicable reform than when the subject was before Parliament in March,

and not being able to recommend any such scheme to the House, he declined to vote for the resolution, not because he considered the present system all that it should be, but because he objected to Parliament's passing abstract resolutions without any practicable end in view.

Again, besides the Bradlaugh interlude, and the usual heat on Irish matters, the House was thrown into not a little state of excitement in consequence of the attempt of certain parties—supposed to be royal ones—to get a statue to the ex-Prince Imperial Louis Napoleon in Westminster Abbey. Under the belief that the Prince could distinguish himself as a soldier, and could thus make an attempt on the French Government and nation in the irresistible garb of a hero, he had accompanied Lord Chelmsford in the miserable Zulu campaign. It was not a war in which we had any right to interfere: and his presence in our camp was for many reasons specially undesirable. However, he went, and in the course of the campaign fell a victim to the carelessness which seems to have characterized the conduct of the campaign, so far as the English were concerned. One fine morning the Prince with a small party rode away from the camp, and they came back without him. Their story was that they had offsaddled and breakfasted, and just as they were preparing to mount some Kaffirs fired on them, and they all rode for their lives, and left the poor Prince to his fate, who was unable to get away, as he could not mount his horse. At any rate the Prince—who of course sold his life as dearly as possible—fell, and all that was left of him, for his weeping and widowed mother, was his lifeless corpse, which in due time was brought to England and buried with military honours, and with deep national sympathy, at Chislehurst. We all liked the Prince. He had been educated at Woolwich, and his pure and blameless life, and the misfortunes of his race, and the beauty of his mother, had excited on his behalf the interest of the community at large; but when the Dean of Westminster insisted

that he should have a monument in Westminster Abbey, where we bury our heroes, and where there is not an inch of ground to spare for illustrious foreigners, there came over the country quite a reaction, as was to be expected under the circumstances. Meetings were held to denounce the scheme, and a numerous deputation waited on the

thing but pleasant to the great French Republic, which had suffered so much from the Bonaparte family in time past. The debate which ensued was regarded as significant of the character of the New Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone said he had arrived at the conclusion that the House would do well



THE PRINCE IMPERIAL

Dean of Westminster to induce him to desist. The Dean, however, was most unaccountably obstinate, and refused to give way; an M.P., Mr. Briggs, had the courage of his opinions, and brought the matter before the House, condemning the whole scheme, which, if supposed to be agreeable to the Royal Family of England, was any-

thing but pleasant to the great French Republic, which had suffered so much from the Bonaparte family in time past. The debate which ensued was regarded as significant of the character of the New Parliament. Mr. Gladstone said he had arrived at the conclusion that the House would do well

question might be well left in the hands of the Dean. What the Dean intended was no more than a mark of hospitality mingled with profound sympathy. From beginning to end no political influence had been imported into the matter, and after the time which had elapsed since the proposal was first made, the House would commit an act of indiscretion if it were now to create a new precedent. Under these circumstances the practical way of dealing with the subject was for the House to go into Committee of Supply, which would be tantamount to adopting the previous question. Mr. M'Intyre could not see why the House should not give a substantial vote on this question, for the Prime Minister had not stated a single reason in favour of raising the proposed monument. Sir S. Northcote concurred with the views expressed by Mr. Gladstone, and he believed that it would be a mistake for Government or the House of Commons to step out of their province by interfering with the Dean's prerogative, and taking upon themselves functions that it was not desirable they should assume. Mr. W. Fowler reminded the House that the late Prince Napoleon was too young, even had he been an Englishman, to merit such a remarkable honour. He had not gone to the Cape to fight the battle of England, but as an adventurer to obtain military experience that would fit him better to take part against the established Government of his own country. After some further debate Mr. Briggs withdrew his motion in favour of the proposal suggested by Mr. Beresford Hope that the erection in Westminster Abbey of a statue to the memory of the late Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte would be inconsistent with the national character of that edifice. The House then divided, and negatived the motion for going into Supply by 162 to 147, or a majority of 15. Another division then took place on the amendment of Mr. Hope, which had now become a substantive motion, but when the question was put, the whole or the occupants of the Treasury Bench rose and

withdrew from the House amid derisive cheers and laughter. In the result the motion was carried by 171 to 116, or a majority of 55.

During Mr. Gladstone's absence from illness, the leadership of the House had been placed in the able hands of the Marquis of Hartington, who obtained quite a reputation as a leader under very trying circumstances. In an elaborate reply to the charge made in August by members of the Obstructive party that the Government were hurrying through measures at a period of the Session when reasonable time could not be afforded for their discussion, the Marquis delivered a very telling reply. He also supplied the House with some statistics, which are worth recording here as illustrations of the increasing difficulty with which the Queen's Government is carried on. Mr. Gorst, one of the Fourth Party, had made one hundred and five speeches and asked eighty-five questions; Sir H. Wolff had made sixty-eight speeches and had asked thirty-four questions; Lord R. Churchill had made seventy-four speeches and had asked twenty-one questions; Mr. Biggar, the most active of the Parnellites, had made fifty-eight speeches and had asked fourteen questions; Mr. Finigan had made forty-seven speeches and had asked ten questions; and Mr. A. O'Connor had made fifty-five speeches and only asked two questions. As these numbers were read out, there was much laughter, accompanied with ironical cheering. Six members, continued the noble Marquis, had thus made 407 speeches, and allowing ten minutes to each speech, they had occupied about a fortnight of the working time of the House. If all of the 652 members occupied a similar time the session would last about four years, which, said Lord Hartington, winding up the calculation, as Euclid remarked in similar circumstances, was absurd. The offending members had frequently stated that they had no desire to obstruct, but the Marquis triumphantly asked, amid the excited cheers of the Ministerialists, what would be

the time occupied if a similar number of members had desired to obstruct? That might be freedom of discussion for the six members, but it was complete exclusion from discussion for the vast majority of the House. This state of things would soon become intolerable. It was not, the noble lord added, amid loud and protracted cheers, very far from that now. And here he added a declaration to the effect that the House was determined to proceed with the business, and the House when he sat down was in a state of unusual excitement. In the next session of Parliament we shall see that Government endeavoured to deal with this growing evil, but with little effect after all. It will be deeply to be regretted if under the sway of the greatest Parliamentary debate of the day, Parliamentary Government dies amidst the contempt of the nation, and if in lieu of it we have the despotism of a mob. Yet that we are nearing some such catastrophe does not seem so uncertain as it did, when, by the abolition of places and pensions, and other economical reforms, the sagacious old Duke of Wellington exclaimed that it would be impossible for the future to carry on the Government of the country.

One thing Mr. Gladstone must deeply have regretted, and that is, that he judged too favourably of human nature as far as Irishmen are concerned. When the Conservatives left office, they left information and a drafted Bill, which would be sufficient to convince men of intelligence, as Mr. W. H. Smith said, on the occasion of a Conservative meeting at Reading, that a Coercion Act was necessary. But what did they do? Knowing that a little fire was burning (to quote the language of Lord Hartington), the Government deprived themselves of the powers that they then had. Mr. Gladstone, evidently feeling that the Irish would appreciate the confidence thus reposed in them, and would be grateful to the men whose motto had ever been justice for Ireland. Alas, Mr. Gladstone was now to find that his confidence was misplaced—

that gratitude formed no part of the Irishman's character, and that the wisdom of the statesman, whose only aim was the welfare of the country, against the factious designs of the agitator and the Roman Catholic priest, is of little avail. On the rejection of the Disturbance Bill for Ireland, Mr. T. P. O'Connor gave notice of a motion for the abolition of the House of Lords. And then came, day by day, disquieting reports of outrages of all kinds on the other side of St. George's Channel. There were riots at evictions—tenants who had taken the place of evicted occupiers were assaulted, their property damaged, their ricks burnt, their cattle maimed; there was a mysterious robbery of arms from a ship lying in the harbour of Queenstown, and it was said there was a plot for blowing up Cork Barracks. At a Land League meeting Mr. John Dillon made a speech, which was neither more nor less than an incitement to outrage and also to organised insurrection. Mr. Dillon expressed his belief that cattle would not thrive on the grounds of a supplanter, and said that, with 200,000 men enrolled in the Land League, and trained like regiments of soldiers, all the army of England would not be able to levy rent in the country. Mr. Forster truly said of this speech that its wickedness could only be equalled by its cowardice, and the Irish M.P.'s were loud and bitter in their condemnation of Mr. Forster and his speech. Next day, Mr. Parnell moved, in the House of Commons, that the rejection of the Disturbance Bill had supplied one more proof of the necessity of a radical change in the Parliamentary relations of England and Ireland; and was, in short, an illustration of the need of Home Rule. In opposing the motion, Mr. Forster said the Government were determined to maintain the law in Ireland, and if they did not find the existing powers sufficient for that purpose, they would call Parliament together and ask for increased powers. He added that, "if they should find what during the first two or three weeks they had not found, and which he trusted they would not find, that

the landlords of Ireland were, to any great extent, making use of their powers, so as to force the Government to support them in the exercise of injustice, they would certainly accompany any request for special powers with some sort of a Bill which should prevent them from being obliged to support injustice. He thought that the Irish people, notwithstanding the history of centuries, might have sufficient hope, and confidence, and trust, to allow the Government one year at least in which to try and solve the most difficult problem before them. Again, there was a little excitement with respect to this language of Mr. Forster's. And there was still more when Mr. Parnell said that if the Government did not give satisfactory assurances as to their intentions this session, he and his followers would obstruct the passing of the Irish estimates. In reply, Lord Hartington said that the time had come for plain speaking. The Government had no further concessions to make, and nothing to add to their previous assertions. It had been said that a majority of Liberal peers had opposed the Disturbance Bill in the House of Lords, and that this fact was evidence of the unfairness with which English politicians regarded Irish affairs. Their unsympathetic spirit, Lord Hartington said, could not be mended if Irish members obstructed public business. In consequence of this, the Irish members, as usual, asserted themselves, much to the disgust of the public, and when the House went into Committee on the Irish Estimates, the Constabulary vote was violently opposed, and by speeches on alternate motions for reporting progress, and for the Speaker to leave the chair, the House was kept sitting through the night, and did not rise till ten minutes to one on Friday afternoon. The Government had to assent to the postponement of the Constabulary vote, which was finally got rid of by another debate on August 30th.

Nor was this the only Irish row in the course of the session. If an Irishman becomes a politician, he is bound to be in opposition, till he succeeds in getting his

personal or public ends, and the ^{isive} of Lords had very stupidly thrown out the Irish Registration Bill—a Bill intended to put the law of registration on the same footing in Ireland as in England. The Lords did this at the instigation of Lord Redesdale, a very obsolete old nobleman, quite out of place in a Parliament professing to govern this England and Ireland of the nineteenth century, and he did this in a thin House, and in spite of the pleading of the Ministerial Peers, who saw all the consequences of this silly vote. At that time the Government and the Irish M.P.'s were going on swimmingly, and the rejection of the Bill of course quite upset that arrangement. Mr. Parnell angrily proposed that the main clause of the measure should be tacked to the Appropriation Bill. The Government declined to take this course. Then he proposed that the main clause of the Bill should again be sent up to the House of Lords as a separate Bill. To this also the Government objected on the ground that it was not urgent. But in reply to one of Mr. Parnell's many speeches, Mr. Forster made a speech about the conduct of the House of Lords, which was considered satisfactory to his irritable friends the Irish M.P.'s, and the equally irritable Radicals. "If such a course were often taken," said Mr. Forster, "it would make it very difficult for the two Houses to go on, and the Commons might think that some change in the constitution of the House of Lords was desirable or might be necessary." With reference to the complaint made by Lord Redesdale of want of time, Mr. Forster said that this was one of the matters which especially *noblesse oblige*, and that the House of Lords ought not to allow the argument of personal inconvenience to prevent Bills sent up from the House at any time of the session being thoroughly considered. They could not forget—at any rate the country could not forget—these two facts: first, that the Commons were the hardest worked law-makers in the world; and, secondly, that on the other hand probably there was no

assembly of law-makers with so much power and so little personal labour as the House of Lords. They must not forget the fact that they were the representatives of the people, and that the power which the Lords had, was simply owing to an accident of birth.

Mr. Gladstone had come into power by

Churchmen—whether intolerant or the reverse—to refuse the Dissenter in the parochial churchyard any right of burial in accordance with his own religious ideas, and by his own particular pastor. Hence we had a Burials Bill introduced early in the Session, and carried. The discussion was principally confined to the Lords. It



IRISH ROADSIDE SCENE.

means of the unbounded support of the Nonconformists, and it was not to be expected that the Session could pass over without attempting something on their behalf. It had been the habit of intolerant Churchmen to refuse them burial in the graveyard of the parish in which they lived. It had been the universal custom of all

was a compromise, and as such was attacked on both sides. The exclusion of services that were not Christian was attacked as maintaining unnecessarily a fragment of intolerance. A protest came from an unexpected quarter. The Liberation Society protested, as they were bound to do in conformity with their principle

that the State had nothing to do with religion—a memorial demanding the removal of this limitation from the Bill. In the debate on the second reading Lord Derby also objected to the word Christian on the ground that it was not capable of definition for legal purposes, and might lead to litigation on a subject which it would be disagreeable to have agitated in a court of law. The opposition to the measure on the part of those who objected to the admission of Dissenters to churchyards, was led by the Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Cranbrook, and followed familiar lines. Dissenters, it was argued, would not be satisfied with admission to the churchyards; they would next demand admission to the churches. Such was the import of Bishop Wordsworth's speech. Their lordships were to refuse the first demand on the ground that if that were ceded, others, still more important, would ensue. "Does any one of your lordships imagine," asked Lord Cranbrook, "that by this Bill you are about to terminate a controversy?" However, their lordships were sensible of the true state of affairs, and the second reading of the Bill was carried by 126 to 101. It was passed through committee with the addition of an amendment to the effect that the concession to Dissenters should not apply where there was an unconsecrated burial-ground in the parish. The Lord Chancellor also attempted to define Christian service as including every religious service used by any church denomination, or person professing to be Christian.

It was late in the session when the Burials Bill came for discussion in the House of Commons, where its leading principle had long received an influential and increasing support, and where it was felt that the conduct of some of the clergy on the occasion of a Dissenter's funeral was a scandal, and a danger to the Established Church. On August the 12th, the Bill came to be read a second time, and in many quarters the hope was expressed that the Government would quietly drop

it, especially when it was felt that a large number of their supporters objected to the maintenance of any restriction upon burial services. It was not expected that the Commons would agree willingly to this restriction, much less to the limitation of the principle of the Bill introduced in the House of Lords. But late in August—that is, on the 28th—the Bill, under the charge of Mr. Osborne Morgan, who for years had made the question the occasion of an annual debate in the House of Commons, was proposed for the consideration of the Committee, and carried through that stage at a single sitting, after a very animated and interesting debate. The Lords' limitation that the Bill should not apply where there was an unconsecrated burial-ground in the parish, was, of course, struck out by a majority of 157 to 72. There was a warm discussion as to the propriety of limitation of the right to conduct a service to members of Christian denominations; and though it was defended by Mr. Bright on the ground that some concession should be made to the feelings of hostility to the measure, honestly felt by so many clergy of the Established Church, to whom the whole detail of the Bill was a heavy blow, and a great discouragement, it was carried only by a majority of three.

Of course, in ecclesiastical circles, there had been a good deal of wrangling on this measure. The clergy and the High Churchmen had so long been in the habit of considering the churchyard as their own peculiar property, in which a Dissenter had no legal right, and where he could only be permitted on sufferance, that the measure was warmly criticised, and keenly discussed in all quarters.

The *Spectator* said:—"We certainly shall not deny that the Burials Bill is a measure into which a large amount of compromise might fairly and wisely have been imported. But there are compromises and compromises, and the rejection of Mr. Illingworth's amendment seems to us to be a compromise of the bad kind,—one which gives up the principle on which the Bill to

which it relates is founded, which will not really conciliate those for whose edification it may be supposed to be intended, and leaves a question open which, in the interests of all concerned, cannot be too soon closed. . . . The State knows the Established Church, but it knows nothing of other religions. At least, it knew nothing of them prior to this Bill. Now it may be said to have founded a new Established Church which is common to all Christians. Henceforth, it will be illegal to treat churchyards as the property of the Church of England; but it will be equally illegal to treat them as the property of the State. They will belong neither to English Churchmen nor to English citizens, but to a hitherto unknown species—English Christians. . . . It is incredible that the clergy—and if anybody is to be conciliated, it should be the clergy, rather than the bishops—should be complimented by having any kind of service put on a level with their own, so long as it is called a Christian service. In so far as the clergy really feel themselves injured by the Burials Bill, the injury will surely be greater under the Bill as it stands than under the Bill as Mr. Illingworth would have made it. Under the Bill as Mr. Illingworth would have made it, Parliament would have pronounced no opinion upon the relative merits of different religious services; it would simply have thrown the churchyard open to all citizens. Under the Bill as it stands, Parliament is made to affirm the necessity of a Christian service, thereby implying that any service whatever, so long as it be Christian, is as good as the service of the Church of England. If this conciliates the clergy, they must be very easily conciliated."

The *Saturday Review* spoke of the Bill as one "on which momentous issues for the future of the Church of England depend."

The *Rock* remarked that "the exclusive right of Church of England clergymen to officiate in the churchyard ceases." It says it to be "satisfactory that the passage referring to Convocation has been struck out

in the Commons. Even if the Bill were an excellent one in other respects, that clause would have been sufficient to condemn it." The writer proceeded:—"There are many Dissenters who, in their religious services, use many portions of the Church Liturgy, and probably there would be found very little in the service for the burial of the dead to which any of them would object. On such solemn occasions as those of committing dust to dust, a beautiful Scriptural form, like that of the Church of England, might, in the main, be adopted by orthodox Nonconformists, no matter to what denomination they may belong, and it might be found more suitable for the purpose than extemporaneous prayers. We throw out the hint for their consideration, knowing that many outside the English Church have experienced the consolatory character of the Prayer-book service, which, we think, could scarcely be improved."

The *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* said:—"The Burials Bill and Ground Game Bill are now certain of enactment, and both clergy and landlords must be prepared to see some of their most cherished privileges interfered with. The parish churchyards in England are no longer secure from invasion, and those quiet resting-places of the dead will, henceforth, witness to very motley and strange religious exercises. The next step, no doubt, will be in the direction of having the parish churches thrown open for such services. The fact is, the Church of England is being disestablished piecemeal. It looks as if it was the desire of the Radicals to drive Churchmen themselves to clamour for separation from the State. The majority of the bishops, under the pressure put upon them by the Primate, voted for the measure, and so have come under the lash of the parochial clergy, who are highly indignant with their lordships. The Bishop of Lincoln, whose independent action has won for him universal admiration, is an exception to the faint-heartedness of the majority of his brethren. It is evident that the

correspondence in the Church papers that the English clergy are very sore on the subject."

The *Bradford Observer*, referring to the rejection of Mr. Illingworth's amendment, remarked:—"When a man is claiming a right for himself, he is, no doubt, at liberty to accept any concession, however small. When he is demanding justice for others as well as for himself, it is not equally clear that he may ignore the demand of the few, because it would endanger his own success. Perhaps many of those who voted against the amendment would justify their action by saying that at any future time they will support the claim of those who refuse to be styled Christians. Mr. Osborne Morgan said that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the friends of those buried in the churchyards would select the form of service permitted by the Act. Probably the statement is about correct, for whilst in these days mild scepticism is somewhat common, the more pronounced forms of unbelief are rare. This fact, however, has no bearing on the moral aspect of the question. As matters stand, the 'agnostic' who values the full recognition of his status by the nation, is told in effect that he can only receive justice when, like those who now get it, his party has made itself troublesome. In the interests of religion no social penalty should be imposed on free thought. The mild martyrdom invests the man of no creed with a fictitious dignity, whilst it tends to burden the Church with the nominal allegiance of many who are no credit to it."

The Burial Laws Amendment Act received the royal assent on Tuesday, September 7th, and at once became law. Immediately several burials took place under its provisions. In fact, so urgently was the measure needed, that two funerals took place in anticipation of the royal assent being given. This was, of course, after it had become known that the Lords had accepted the Commons amendments, and that the passing of the Bill was therefore assured. The first of these funerals took

place on Sunday, September 5th, in the Wisbeach Cemetery. In this case, a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Sumner, interred a child in unconsecrated ground. On the following day, the remains of a Dissenter were buried in the consecrated portion of the cemetery at Heywood. The name of the deceased was Sarah Chadwick. This was an instance in which the person had desired to be buried in the grave of a relative, which was in consecrated ground, while at the same time she was naturally anxious that the minister who had attended her during her sickness should officiate. The gentleman in question, Mr. John Ashworth of Rochdale, who was for several years Vice-President of the Rochdale Branch of the Liberation Society, was permitted to inter, by the courtesy of the Rev. E. J. Russell, the resident clergyman. Mr. Ashworth conducted a service in a Dissenting chapel before going with the mourners to the cemetery. At the graveside he acknowledged the kindly conduct of the clergyman in charge, and, in the course of a short prayer, he referred to that service as preceding, by a few days, others which would be similarly conducted, and which, unlike that, would be in accordance with the law of the land. The first funeral after the Act came into operation took place in the churchyard, Beckenham, Sept. 9th. This was a little over fifty-eight hours after the Act came into force, and allowing for the legal notice required, the interment took place as early as the provisions of the Act would allow. The minister officiating was the Rev. G. Samuel, of the Baptist Chapel, Penge, and the deceased, Mrs. Beal, had long been a member of his church. The service was, in every way, a Nonconformist one, and was marked by simplicity, naturalness, and solemnity. Its only defect was that it was too long. A number of clergymen and gentlemen were drawn to the place by the exceptional character of the proceedings. They stood at a little distance from the mourners, evidently deeply interested in what was going on; but there was nothing to which the

information at the earliest period in my power.

"No advance has recently been made in the project of a South African Confederation, nor could advantage arise from endeavours to press it forward, except in proportion to the favourable movement of public opinion in that portion of the Empire. The general state of affairs in South Africa is, however, on the whole, satisfactory, except in Basutoland, where I trust that a moderate and conciliatory policy may allay the agitation caused by the enforcement of the Disarmament Act.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I tender you my thanks for the liberal provision which you have made to meet the charges of the public service.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I acknowledge, with thankfulness to the Almighty, the happy continuance during several weeks of fine weather for securing a harvest which gives in many places a reasonable promise of abundance. I am thus enabled to anticipate both a further revival of trade and some addition to the revenue

of the country for the year; and I dwell with especial pleasure upon the probable improvement in the condition of the people of Ireland, who have so seriously suffered from previous failure of the crops.

"I rejoice also to observe that, notwithstanding the lateness of the period at which you began your labours, your indefatigable zeal and patience have enabled you to add to the Statute Book some valuable laws.

"I refer particularly to your settlement of the long-contested questions relating to the subject of Burials, to the Education Act, and the Act for the latter determining the Liability of Employers; and to these I would add the Act relating to Ground Game, the repeal of the Malt Duty, the Savings Banks Act, and the Post-office Money Orders Act, and the measures for bettering the condition of merchant seamen, and providing for the safer carriage of grain cargoes.

"I trust that these measures may, under Divine Providence, contribute to the welfare and prosperity of my people."



CHAPTER XXXIX.

ABUSE OF MR GLADSTONE—PARLIAMENTARY SCENES AND INCIDENTS—
IRISH AFFAIRS—MR. GLADSTONE AND PRINCE ALBERT.

PAGES might be filled—but we spare our readers the infliction—with the slanders of the Jingoës and the orators of the bar-parlour and pot-house against Mr. Gladstone. There are men whose praise is shame and whose censure is the highest praise. And thus it is while they are so abusive, no true man thinks the less of Mr. Gladstone on that account. Defamation has been cultivated into an art, as the *Sheffield Independent* remarked, by some Tory speakers and writers, and the man whom they persistently strive to blacken, because of the uprightness and transparent truthfulness of his character rebukes the deformity of theirs, is Mr. Gladstone. There is nothing surprising or abnormal in this. It is the instinctive outcome of a certain class of moral beings. To some men true nobility of character in any form is disgusting. Milton makes Satan invoke the Sun to tell it how much he hated its beams—

"Oh thou that with surpassing glory crown'd
Lookst out from thy sole dominion like the God
Of this new world, at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads, to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell—how glorious once above thy sphere;
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down."

Many, many reasons have some people for their dislike of Mr. Gladstone, and many are the ways in which they evince that dislike. In the middle of the Session of 1880 a Tory peer, Lord Dartmouth, was not ashamed to disgrace himself by insinuating in the House of Lords that Mr.

Gladstone incited the Fenian outrages, and that he was responsible for a certain murder; and other Tory peers and Commoners have uttered slanders equally atrocious. But for undiluted defamation, for intensified scurrility and venom, the Jingoës of the Press were and are unrivalled. One of them actually went so far as to affirm that Mr. Gladstone "admitted that he recommended gunpowder for practical purposes," that he has borne testimony to the efficacy of assassination, and stated that Parnellites commit murder and then allege as their justification, "that Mr. Gladstone told us to kick up a row." Can anything be more atrocious? After this, how can we venture to blame the scurrility of the American Press? In its lowest depths it has nothing worse than this.

But this is not all. We reprint a handbill called the "Gladstone Mess," which was published in a sheet, and sold throughout London:—

"A Grand Banquet (or General Mess) will be given at the Boer's Head Hotel, immediately after the sale of the effects of Mr. John Bull (previously announced), carefully prepared by Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the auctioneer, and at the vendor's expense, to which all the company attending the sale are hereby respectfully invited.

"MENU.—*Soups*.—Peace Soup; Grévy Soup à la Tunis; Dulcigno Broth; White Liver Soup. *Fish*.—Alabama Cod with Yankee Tickle; Greenwich White Bait, served on a Board with Sauce de Vers; Plaice Boned. *Entrées*.—Irish Stew with Buckshot Sauce; Toady in the Hole; Chicken Hearts; Knuckledowns with Austrian Leeks; Collar'd Budget au Financier; Compôtes of Verbosity; Potted

Landlords; Aspics of Foreign Affairs with Sauce Effervescente. *Removes*.—Hind Quarter of British Lion from Candahar; Boer's Cheek with Joubert Sauce; Laing's Neck and Caper Sauce; Calf's Head (without the brains); Cold Shoulder from Argyle, with Land Bilberry Jelly. *Rôts*.—Quails. *Entremets*.—Dutch Plummery à la Suzeraine; Prestige Fritters; Cabinet Pudding with Birmingham Sauce; Army Mince-Meat; Herbert Fool and Barley Sugar Drops; *Ballofines* of Briberries. *Cheese*.—Milk and Water Cheese. *Savouries*.—Deville Oaths and Affirmation Sauce; Hashed Turkey with mulled Port; Grill'd Bones à l'Africaine. *Des(s)erts*.—These are being prepared for the Auctioneer by the British public; meanwhile the Company can depend upon Cede Cake ad libitum, W(h)ines and other Beverages. Midlothian Campaign; Chateau De Feat; Chabbilis [Black Sea]; Cold Water; Hot Water. In compliment to M. Lobanoff, who is expected to be a large purchaser at the sale on behalf of his employer, the dinner will be served à la Russe. The banquetting room will be appropriately decorated for the occasion with white feathers intertwined with cypress garlands, whilst the door-mats and carpets of the apartments will be entirely composed of British flags. To avoid expense the whole of the artistic ornamentation will be fixed by a penny-worth of income taxes. That the arrangements may be effected without confusion, and to distinguish them from the Company, all the servitors at the banquet will be habited in imaginary surpluses. *Note*.—The speeches on this occasion will be curtailed to enable the auctioneer to catch his train."

Another illustration of Conservative, or rather Jingo blackguardism—for Conservatives are mostly above such dirty ways of scattering mud—may be seen in the following attempt at humour:—

"Selling off! Retiring from business!

"Freeholds, Leaseholds, Reversionary Interests, Household Effects, and Shares.

"Mr. W. E. Gladstone will sell by Auction,

at the Boer's Head Hotel, Saturday, the 1st day of April next, at noon (*Greenwich Mean Time*), the whole of the vast Landed Estates, Goods, Chattels, and Effects of John Bull, Esq., who is retiring from Business on account of advancing age and ill-health, induced by recent losses in his Transvaal Venture, comprising—Three Kingdoms (United or otherwise), one Empire, one Dominion, forty-eight Colonies, and one Suzerainty, situate as under-mentioned, and containing upwards of 8,982,177 square miles (with a total rent-roll of £174,775,000) of good freehold and leasehold land, Government offices, residences, and missionary stations. One large public-house, known as 'The Lords and Commons'; also, an extremely elegant, spacious, and well-built family mansion, known as the 'Buckingham Palace,' with greenhouses, gardens, stables, &c., and every necessary appurtenment. The residence contains ample accommodation for a family of position, is situate in its own grounds, and commands good views of the Nelson Monument, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey and is within easy distance of the thriving market towns of London and Westminster. Railway communications to all parts close at hand.

"The whole will be offered in one lot, and, failing to find a purchaser, will be put up in fourteen lots, as under:—

"Lot 1.—**GREAT BRITAIN.** This Freehold Estate is comprised of the adjoining properties of England, Wales, and Scotland, the first of which has been in the possession and occupation of the Vendor's family for a lengthened period, and on it are situated the above-mentioned Family Mansion and Public-house.

"NOTE.—All Trophies, notably the Russian Cannon, which have been placed in ornamental positions on this Estate and to which the Vendor acknowledges he has no moral right, will be returned to their respective owners, with apologies, if demanded, at the close of the sale.

"Lot 2.—**IRELAND.** A fine Residential Property with bullet-proof Dwelling Houses

and Out Buildings (this is coloured green on the plan), and the option of purchasing it will be first offered to the *peasant* proprietors.

"NOTE.—As the Vendor cannot disguise the fact that this is a bad lot, he will not enter into any covenant to indemnify the purchaser from loss arising from Boycotting, or other sentences of the Land League Courts, but the purchaser will be entitled to appropriate any back rents he may be able to collect.

"Lot 3.—INDIA. This magnificent Empire, purchased by the Vendor at enormous expense, would form a most desirable acquisition to neighbouring owners. The key of the Mansion may be obtained on application to Mr. Abdur Rahman, *Candahar Lodge*, close to the north-west entrance of the *Acemesne*. There is a great variety of game on the Estate, and also capital Bear shooting within easy distance. In this lot is included a right of way over the Cyprus Estate.

"Lot 4.—CANADA. All that well watered Messuage, Tenement, Dominion, Hereditaments, and Premises lying to the northward of the allotment ground known by the name of the 'United States,' formerly in the Vendor's possession.

"NOTE.—The present Steward of this Estate is a connection of the Vendor, and can, if necessary, remain in charge for a limited period, to suit the convenience of the purchaser.

"Lot 5.—Two small but very conveniently situated Island Dependencies, known respectively as Heligoland and Malta, and a rocky Promontory called Gibraltar.

"NOTE.—All of these nice little Properties are in Europe, and would be most valuable acquisitions to an enterprising Company as Coaling Stations, or to Yacht Clubs.

"Lot 6.—Four semi-detached Residences, Aden, Hong Kong, Sarawak, and Singapore, and two Islands, Ceylon and Labuan, the whole known as the British Colonies in Asia.

"Lot 7.—All those Freehold, Leasehold, and Copyhold Estates, collectively known as

the British Colonies in Africa. This lot includes the Transvaal Farm, which is Leasehold, and the purchaser may have at any time short notice to quit.

"Lot 8.—Comprises the whole of the British Colonies in America and the West Indies. The purchaser of this Lot will have the right of fishing over the waters of the Newfoundland Fishing Association and a Reversionary Interest in a large number of Bonds issued by the Peruvian Government.

"Lot 9.—Comprises the whole of the British Colonies in Australasia. This lot abounds in mineral wealth, and also offers special attractions to sheep-farmers and others. A portion of this property is of immense interest to historians as the scene of the early labours of Arthur Orton.

"Lot 10.—All that choice assortment of War Ships, wooden, iron, and plated, of the newest patterns and designs; as well as the Great Guns, Torpedoes, &c., all of the Vendor's own manufacture, for which he has long been so justly celebrated, and Marine Stores of every description. This lot is the Finest Collection of specimens of naval architecture in the world, and includes that fine old three-decker 'The Victory,' which although depreciated by the radical tendencies of the age, is still an object of respectful veneration to all admirers of the brilliant history of the present owner's family.

"Lot 11.—All that choice assortment of Warlike Implements (not included in the last lot); comprising Rifles (both breach and muzzle loading), Swords, Bayonets, and other Accoutrements, Heliographs, Field Telegraphs, Rocket and other Apparatus, used by the British Army before its annihilation.

"NOTE.—It will be observed that as the Vendor is disposing of the whole of his real estate, the property comprised in the last two lots, hitherto used in defence of the same, will be of no further use to him."

Other lots are enumerated. The complete satire has been published at 3d. per copy, and was largely sold.

most captious could take exception, and no allusion was made to the Act by which such a funeral under such circumstances had been made possible. Only one little unpleasantness seems to have occurred, and that was at Dudley, where a funeral took place under circumstances of a very painful character. It appears that a young man named Parsons—a collier—died from the effects of bruises received in Lord Dudley's Saltwells colliery. It was decided to bury him in Netherton churchyard, this being the only available spot within the district in which his home was situated. As the deceased man had during his life been a member of the Baptist body, and as all his relatives belonged to the same religious community, it was thought well that the Rev. W. Millington, pastor of the chapel at Netherton, should read a service over the grave under the provisions of the new Act. As, however, the funeral was to take place on Sunday, the family found it necessary to ask permission of the vicar of the parish, the Rev. S. J. Marriott. It appears the vicar was absent, but the curate, the Rev. E. J. Crowther, was seen, and permission was given. Arrangements were then made for the interment of the body on the Sunday, but on Saturday notice was given that the vicar had withdrawn his consent. The friends and relatives of Parsons took legal advice, and were informed that under the circumstances the consent could not be withdrawn, and proceeded on Sunday to bury the man. Accordingly, the funeral procession left the Baptist chapel, where a short service had been held, and made its way to the churchyard. There, four police officers guarded the gate, and allowed no one to pass except those connected with the funeral and the reporters. The Rev. E. J. Crowther met the body at the church door, and walked with the procession to the grave. The Church of England service for the dead was then read by him, and the body was lowered into the grave. The moment the Benediction was pronounced, Mr. Millington, who was standing

at the head of the grave, commenced a service. He was interrupted by Mr. Crowther, who said, "Mr. Millington, I cannot—Mr. Millington, I will not allow you to read any service here." Mr. Millington continued without noticing the interruption, and Mr. Crowther said, "In the name of the vicar—in the name of the vicar, the Bishop, and the Queen, I forbid you to read that service; you will hear of this again." Mr. Millington still continuing, Mr. Crowther retired, but as he passed the father and mother of the deceased, he exclaimed, "It is no use, you should have given proper notice," and then the curate went into the church, and Mr. Millington concluded a brief service. In the course of it he prayed that all the clogs on religious freedom might be speedily swept away, and that a more generous spirit might pervade religion than had been shown that day. The assemblage then dispersed. Notwithstanding the heavy rain during the whole of the afternoon, some 200 persons hung about the churchyard. Commenting on the above case, the *Birmingham Post* wrote:—"The Burials Act came into force on the 7th instant, so that the friends of the deceased were clearly within their right. They did not, it is true, give the forty-eight hours' notice in writing, but this was omitted because the curate undertook to consult the vicar on the matter. The vicar assented to the request, and there, as it seems to us, the matter should have ended, for the vicar's consent had practically condoned any formal omission."

One blot on the Act was pointed out very early after it had become law, and that was while it permitted Episcopalian ministers to officiate in unconsecrated cemetery chapels, it failed to make similar provision for Nonconformist ministers in consecrated chapels. But it is clear that ratepayers will not be content to pay for two chapels when the abolition of privilege in churchyards and cemeteries has virtually done away with their necessity. The real gainers by the Act were the clergymen of

the Church of England, who could now officiate in consecrated and unconsecrated ground alike, and who retained all their privileges, while the Nonconformists had only gained the right to bury their dead in consecrated ground. It is not clear what is the law as to the right of a Nonconformist minister to use a consecrated chapel in a cemetery, but it is very clear that ratepayers will not put themselves to the cost of building two chapels when one is enough. As the law now stood, said a speaker, at a meeting of the Hove (Brighton) commissioners in their capacity as burial board, he thought they were pretty safe in feeling that a bishop had no legal right to refuse a Nonconformist minister officiating in a consecrated mortuary chapel. He believed—as Mr. Osborne Morgan remarked on one occasion when that question was brought forward—that the ground carried the buildings that were on the ground, and that whatever were the privileges belonging to Nonconformists in reference to the burial ground, the same privileges would be theirs in reference to the buildings that stood on it. The bishop, it is to be presumed, if he has the power, will not have the desire to stand out against the wishes of the ratepayers, and the vestry, and the Secretary for the Home Department.

The following are the provisions of the new Burials Act, which now stands on the Statute Book as 43 and 44 Vict., chap. 41. After declaring that it is expedient to amend the law of burial in England and the Channel Islands, the Bill declares.—“After the passing of this Act, any relative or friend, or legal representative, having the charge of, or being responsible for, the burial of a deceased person, may give forty-eight hours’ notice in writing, endorsed on the outside, Notice of Burial to, or leave, or cause the same to be left, at the usual place of abode of the rector, vicar, or other incumbent, or, in his absence, the officiating minister in charge of any parish or ecclesiastical district, or place, or any person appointed by him to receive such notice, that it is intended that such deceased

person shall be buried within the churchyard or graveyard of such parish or ecclesiastical district, or place, without the performance, in the manner prescribed by law, of the service for the burial of the dead according to the rites of the Church of England; and, after receiving such notice, no rector, vicar, incumbent, or officiating minister shall be liable to any censure or penalty, ecclesiastical or civil, for permitting any such burial aforesaid. Such notice shall be in writing, plainly signed with the name, and stating the address of the person giving it, and shall be in the form or to the effect of Schedule A annexed to this Act.” The Schedule referred to is—“I, —, of —, being the relative [or friend, or legal representative, as the case may be, describing the relation of a relative], having the charge of, or being responsible for, the burial of A. B., of —, who died at —, in the parish of —, on the — day of —, do hereby give you notice that it is intended by me that the body of the said A. B. shall be buried within the [here describe the churchyard or graveyard in which the body is to be buried], on the — day of —, at the hour of —, without the performance, in the manner prescribed by law, of the service for the burial of the dead according to the rites of the Church of England: and I give this notice pursuant to the Burial Laws Amendment Act.” It was also resolved that the word graveyard shall include the burial-ground or cemetery vested in any Burial Board in which the parishioners or inhabitants of any parish or ecclesiastical district shall have rights of burial. Papers also were included in the Act. The time for such burial, unless arranged previously, to be within the hours of 10 A.M. and 6 P.M., if between the 1st of April and the 1st of October, and the hour of 10 and 3 for the rest of the year. It was also enacted that no such burial should take place in any churchyard on Sunday, or on Good Friday, or Christmas day, or any such day, being proposed by the notice, shall be objected to, in writing.

for a reason assigned by the person receiving such notice. The Act preserves all the old regulations as to fees, &c. And the Act gives no right of burial where no such right previously existed. Burials under the Act are to be registered as usual. Under the Act clergymen of the Church of England are to be exempted from penalties for acting in accordance with its provisions. The chief clauses are as follow:—

"6.—Burial may be with or without religious service.—At any burial under this Act all persons shall have free access to the churchyard or graveyard in which the same shall take place. The burial may take place, at the option of the person so having the charge of, or being responsible for the same as aforesaid, either without any religious service, or with such Christian and orderly religious service at the grave as such person shall think fit; and any person or persons who shall be thereunto invited, or be authorised by the person having the charge of or being responsible for such burial, may conduct such service or take part in any religious act thereat. The words 'Christian service' in this section shall include every religious service used by any Church, denomination, or person professing to be Christian.

"7.—Burials to be conducted in a decent and orderly manner and without obstruction—All burials under this Act, whether with or without a religious service, shall be conducted in a decent and orderly manner; and every person guilty of any riotous, violent, or indecent behaviour at any burial under this Act, or wilfully obstructing such burial, or any such service as aforesaid thereat, or who shall, in any such churchyard or graveyard as aforesaid deliver any address not being part of or incidental to a religious service permitted by this Act, and not otherwise permitted by any lawful authority, or who shall, under colour of any religious service or otherwise, in any such churchyard or graveyard, wilfully endeavour to bring into contempt or obloquy the Christian religion, or the belief or worship of any Church or denomination of Christians,

or the members or any minister of any such Church or denomination, or any other person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

"8.—Powers for prevention of disorder.—All powers and authorities now existing, by law for the preservation of order, and for the prevention and punishment of disorderly behaviour in any churchyard or graveyard, may be exercised in any case of burial under this Act in the same manner and by the same persons as if the same had been a burial according to the rites of the Church of England."

Such was the legislation of the new Parliament with the Liberals but a short time in office, and with Mr. Gladstone unexpectedly called to the helm under a peculiarly unpleasant position of affairs. That he did the best under the circumstances of the case few will be prepared to deny. At any rate, it was felt that more could not be expected or required, and none were sorry when, in September, Parliament was formally prorogued by Commission. The following is the Queen's Speech read on the occasion:—

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with satisfaction that I find myself at length enabled to release you from your arduous labours.

"I continue to receive assurances of the most friendly character from all foreign Powers.

"The failure of the Sublime Porte to execute, according to its engagement, a plan which was agreed upon in April last for the determination of the Ottoman frontier lying towards Montenegro has caused unfortunate delays in the settlement of that question, and the Treaty of Berlin has not yet taken effect in other points of importance which remained open at the commencement of the Session.

"The Governments which were parties to that Treaty have communicated to the Sultan their judgment on the means of bringing to a satisfactory settlement the Greek and Montenegrin Frontier questions, on the administrative organisation of the

European provinces of Turkey, and on the principal reforms required in the Asiatic provinces inhabited by Armenians.

"For the attainment of the objects in view I continue to place reliance on the fact that the concert of Europe has been steadily maintained in regard to the Eastern question, and that the Powers which signed the Treaty of Berlin are pressing upon the Sublime Porte, with all the authority which belongs to their united action, the measures

"A renewal of hostilities by the Afghans, under Ayoub Khan, has rendered necessary further military operations in Southern Afghanistan. The prompt measures taken by the Government of India for the relief of the garrison of Candahar, and the conspicuous ability and energy displayed by my officers and troops in the execution of these measures, resulting in the brilliant victory recently gained by the gallant force under the command of Sir Frederick



ROAD-MAKING IN AFGHANISTAN.

which in their belief are best calculated to insure tranquillity in the East.

"I have not been unmindful during the few months which have elapsed since I last addressed you of the considerations which I have stated would guide my policy on the north-western frontier of my Indian Empire. Measures have already been taken for the complete military evacuation of Northern Afghanistan, and some progress has been made towards the pacification and settlement of the country.

Roberts, will, I trust, speedily bring to an honourable termination the war in that division of the country.

"I regret that it has not hitherto been possible to give you such information on the general state of Indian finance, and the recent miscarriages in presenting the accounts of military expenditure, as you would justly require before entering on a practical consideration of the subject. You may, however, rest assured that I shall redeem my pledge to supply you with this

ber 30th, 671 families and 3,447 persons; and in the quarter ended December 31st, 198 families and 954 persons. There were re-admitted during the year as tenants 217 families and 1,021 persons; and as care-takers, 997 families and 4,996 persons.

supported the Government, as did one Marquis, Northampton, and one Bishop, Ely, whilst Earl Grey's amendment was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, twelve Dukes and eleven Marquises, and three Bishops. The liberal Peers who voted



LORD GEORGE F. HAMILTON.

An analysis of the vote given in the House of Lords on the Compensation for Disturbances (Ireland) Bill, which was rejected by 282 contents against 51 non-contents, showed the following results.—Two Dukes, Devonshire and Westminster,

against the Bill were sufficiently strong to have rejected it even had not a single Conservative vote been given. There were in the majority no fewer than fifty-eight Peers classed as Liberals, and twelve who sit on the cross benches. A noteworthy

fact is that Lords Sherbrooke and Bra-
 bourne (better known as Mr. Robert Lowe
 and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) both op-
 posed the Bill, as did the following Liberal
 Peers:—The Archbishop of Canterbury,
 the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Somerset,
 the Marquises of Ailesbury and Lans-
 downe, the Earls of Airlie, Camperdown,
 Clarendon, Craven, Dartrey, Durham,
 Fitzwilliam, Fortescue, Ilchester, Dunraven,
 Gosford, Lovelace, Minto, Normanton,
 Stair, Somers, Suffolk and Berkshire,
 Zetland, Carysfort, Granard, Listowel and
 Clancarty; the Bishop of St. David's; Lords
 Annaly, Ashburton, Brayc, Calthorpe,
 Carcw, Clermont, Coryleton, Dacre,
 De Freyne, De Mauley, Dormer, Fitzhar-
 dinge, Foley, Keane, Londesborough, Lovat,
 Lyveden, Penzance, Romilly, Sandys,
 Stratheden and Campbell, Suffield, Talbot
 de Malahide, Vaux of Harrowden, Vernon,
 Wentworth; and the Marquises of Sligo
 and Clanricarde. The following Lords,
 who are classed as sitting on the cross
 benches, voted against the Bill:—The Duke
 of Sutherland; the Earls of Cathcart, Grey,
 Minton, St. Germans, Shaftesbury; Lords
 Blantyre Collesloe, Plunket, Stanley of
 Alderley, and Vivian. The following were
 among the Liberal Peers who were absent:—
 The Archbishop of York; Dukes of Bedford,
 Cleveland, and St. Albans; Marquises
 Cholmondeley, Huntly, Normanby, and
 Townshend; Earls Abingdon, Berkeley,
 Buckinghamshire, Caithness, Carlisle,
 Chichester, Cottenham, Ducie, Dudley,
 Effingham, Erroll, Fingall, Leicester,
 Lichfield, Moray, Munster, Rosebery,
 Scarborough, Sheffield, Southesk, and Yar-
 nborough; Viscounts Canterbury, Cardwell,
 Eversley, Falmouth, Falkland, Halifax,
 and Portland; fifteen Liberal Bishops; Lords
 Abercromby, Acton, Auckland, Belper,
 Blachford, Brougham, Camoys, Carliford,
 Castletown, Churchill, Clifford de Clifford,
 De Tabley, Derwent, Rollo, Ebury, Napier,
 and Ettrick. Gardner, Greville, Gwydyr,
 Hanmer, Herberton, Howard of Glossop,
 Kinnaird, Limerick, Lurgan, Moncreiff,
 Overstone, Petre, Stratton, Stafford, Teyn-

ham, Thurlow, Truro, Wenlock. The
 Duke of Cambridge was present but did
 not vote. Thirteen Peers were unavoidably
 prevented from voting against the Bill, while
 the Duke of Roxburghe paired in its favour.

It is impossible not to be struck by the
 contrast Ireland presents to England. At
 a time when the Repeal movement, which
 was suspended in Ireland by the famine, is
 manifestly reviving; when the establish-
 ment of religious equality has removed the
 old lines of party controversy, and prepared
 the way for new combinations; when
 security of tenure and increased material
 prosperity have given a new weight and
 independence to the people, we find a dis-
 loyalty in some respects more malignant
 than that of a former period. The Imperial
 Parliament, as an Irish writer confesses,
 exercises for Ireland legislative functions,
 but it is almost powerless upon Irish opinion.
 It allays no discontent, and attracts no
 attention. Political talent, which was for
 many years at least as abundant among
 Irishmen as in any equally numerous
 section of the community, has been steadily
 declining; the upper classes have lost
 their sympathy with, and their moral as-
 cendancy over their tenants. The genuine
 national enthusiasm never flows in the
 channel of Imperial politics. With great
 multitudes sectarian considerations have
 entirely superseded national ones, and their
 representatives are accustomed systemati-
 cally to subordinate all party and political
 questions to ecclesiastical interests, and
 while calling themselves Liberals they make
 it the main object of their home politics to
 separate the different classes of their
 fellow-countrymen during the period of
 their education, and the main object of
 their foreign policy to support the tem-
 poral power of the Pope. With another
 and a still larger class, the prevailing feel-
 ing seems to be one of indifference to all
 Parliamentary proceedings—an utter scepti-
 cism about constitutional means of gain-
 ing their end—a blind, persistent hatred of
 England. Every cause is taken up with
 an enthusiasm exactly proportioned to the

degree in which it is supposed to be injurious to English interests. An amount of energy and enthusiasm which, if rightly directed, would suffice for the political regeneration of Ireland, is wasted on the most insane projects of disloyalty, while the diversion of so much public feeling from Parliamentary politics leaves the Parliamentary arena more and more open to corruption, to place-hunting, and to imposture. Such was the case, as described by an Irishman in 1871. Now the condition is worse instead of better. Home Rulers, Fenians, Land Leaguers, keep the land in a perpetual state of unrest and revolt. Never were Ireland and England so far apart as at the present time.

Michael Davitt, the Land League organiser, who has sprung into notoriety, is the son of a tenant-farmer, and was born at Straid, near Castlebar, in the county Mayo, in the year 1846. His father was evicted in 1851, and the family went to reside in England. They settled in Lancashire, where they remained for twenty-five years. Young Michael went to work in a cotton mill at Haslingden near Manchester, at the age of nine, and he had been a year at that labour when his right arm got crushed by the machinery, necessitating its amputation at the shoulder. For five years after he attended the Wesleyan school in Haslingden, and at fifteen got employment as assistant letter-carrier and book-keeper in the service of the Post-office. Leaving that occupation and locality in 1863, he became a commercial traveller, and in that capacity was connected with the Fenian movement. He contributed some stirring Fenian ballads to the *Irish People* newspaper. He dealt largely in firearms, the police tracing many of his consignments into Ireland. On the 14th of May, 1870, Davitt was arrested in London, and was tried at Newgate on a charge of treason-felony. Corydon was the informer on the occasion, and Davitt declared solemnly that he had never seen Corydon before in his life till he confronted him in the dock. In the progress of the evidence it transpired

that Davitt was frequently in Liverpool during 1867, in company with many members of the Fenian organisation, and some American officers who were known to have taken part in the preparations for the projected attack on Chester Castle and the concerted revolt in Ireland. The trial concluded on July 17, 1870, when both prisoners were found guilty. Davitt appealed to the judge to increase the sentence upon himself in order to lessen that on Wilson. The Lord Chief Justice passed sentence of fifteen years' penal servitude on Davitt, and of seven years on Wilson. Davitt underwent his imprisonment at Clerkenwell, Newgate, Millbank, Dartmoor, Portsmouth for a short time, and then Dartmoor again, till on December 19, 1877, after being seven years and seven months in prison, he was handed a ticket-of-leave and discharged. He then went on a lecturing tour through England and Scotland, speaking in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow. On June 21, 1878, he was examined before the Royal Commissioners (of which the Earl of Kimberley was the president) appointed to inquire into the working of the Penal Servitude Acts, and the evidence given by him on that occasion fills 15 pages of the Blue-book. On the 23rd of July, 1878, he went to America, delivered a course of lectures, and with John Devoy matured the entire programme of the Land League and the present agitation. He landed again in Ireland on the 21st December, 1878, and immediately set to work to spread among the poor and discontented migratory labourers of the west the germs of the present Communistic agitation. It was some time before he "got hold of" Parnell, but finally he either won him or forced him to join forces. Davitt is the correspondent of the *Pilot* and of an Irish-American paper in New York.

A correspondent writes as follows to a contemporary from Dublin:—"Mr. Davitt, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Elphin, in Roscommon, not far from his

native place, took some trouble in explaining to me, last September, the reasons which actuated him in forming the original idea of the Land League. A relative of Mr. Davitt's possessed a farm, in the town land of Cloonamaskery, held on a lease for three lives, or thirty-one years, and he further took a neighbouring farm, held from a gentleman of good family. His leased farm was bad land, but his new farm, without a lease, was exceedingly good land, but in very bad order. The gates were down, the land was 'out of heart,' and what the Connaught men call scutch grass ruined the land. It was taken in hand with a will, large sums of money were spent on it, the scutch grass was burned in bonfires, it was crossploughed twice in one November, and guano and superphosphate were used freely. After five years' hard work and heavy expenditure the farm became a show place, the oats grew so high that tall men could bite off ears from the growing corn without stooping, the clover stood up to the first waistcoat button, and Italian rye-grass stood 3ft. 9in. high. This energetic farmer had a wife, and she, like many a good wife in Ireland, trembled for her husband's adventurousness, and many a time she begged him to spend his money and time on his leased farm of bad land, and not on the other; but with all the ardour of one who finds his pleasure in his work, the husband threw his heart, his soul, the sweat of his brow, and his little savings, into his new farm. One hot day, after saving his rye-grass and working till 8.30 p.m., tired and happy, he returned to his house, when his wife met him with distended eyes and placed in his hands a notice to quit from the landlord of his farm held without fixity of tenure. The husband was stunned; for some time he could not comprehend the fact that his labour for years and his little all were irretrievably lost. The landlord had been offered a higher rent for the improved farm, and the improving farmer was evicted and ruined. His son, the son of an evicted farmer, thereafter devoted himself

to the task of asking the people of the Irish Empire to grant better land laws to Ireland." At the present time, Davitt is an inmate of Portland Prison. Perhaps he is less mischievous there than if he were at large.

This mention of Messrs. Parnell and Michael Davitt reminds us that it is time that we speak more at length of the Irish Question. Lord George Hamilton, the other day, told his hearers that it was always well with Ireland when the Tories were in office; and it is true that latterly, and under Mr. Gladstone's rule, Irish discontent and dislike to England have increased to an extent almost incompatible with any friendly connection between the two countries. In the early part of 1880 there was much activity on the part of Irish agitators, and such excitement on the part of the deluded people, that Messrs. Davitt, Callan, and Brennan were charged with sedition, appeared at the Crown office, Dublin, when it was found that there were no stamped forms of the required nature, and having thus fulfilled their legal obligations to appear, and having subsequently surrendered at next assizes, the prosecution was allowed to drop. In January, also, the Home Rule League met in Dublin under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, forty members of Parliament being present, when a resolution was passed strongly censuring Government for its mode of dealing with Irish distress, a distress occasioned by a bad harvest, and a complete inability of the people to gain an honest living. At the general election, Mr. Parnell's candidates were victorious everywhere. At that time he seems to have claimed the power at one time wielded by the arch agitator O'Connell himself. For instance, we find him in March addressing the following letter to Mr. Daniel O'Connell Martin, an elector of Dundalk:—"Sir,—I am much surprised to hear from your letter of yesterday, that Mr. Callan has publicly stated that I have approved of his Parliamentary career, and that, if it was necessary, I would go down to support him. In reply

"Catalogues, illustrated by *Woodcuts*, laboriously executed by the Auctioneer himself, of objects of interest in and about the Property, may be had on application at his office. All communications replied to immediately by post-card. For cards to view the several properties, apply to the Vendor's Solicitors,

"Messrs. JAMES & HERSCHELL, Westminster, or to the Auctioneer, Government Auction Offices, Downing-street, S.W."

These papers were said to be circulated in London. We frankly confess that we never saw them in this, the capital of the world, though it is possible they might have circulated in some obscure corner of it. The trash we have given is taken from respectable (?) colonial newspapers, which appear greatly to circulate such rubbish. The fact is, the colonial papers too often represent the passions and prejudices of their supporters. The press can hardly be said to be free in a small community and hence it is there is a pandering to the worst prejudices of its supporters, to an extent unknown to any English community. This is especially the case with regard to the South African papers, which circulate among colonists, who fancy that they may do what they like with Boers and Kaffirs, and who feel not a little aggrieved that the Zulu war was condemned by the Liberals at home, and that Mr. Gladstone's Government has admitted the right of the Boers to exist and flourish on the soil they have made by their industry and skill their own. As a rule, a colonist is a rabid Jingo, and hence such melancholy exhibitions of spite as we have reprinted are actually in colonial circles mistaken for wit.

As an illustration of the bitterness felt in certain quarters, it may be mentioned that in the Session of 1880, when Mr. Gladstone was absent from illness, Mr. Bourke made a personal statement in the House of Commons in reference to Mr. Gladstone's charge against the late Government of suppressing the fact that the jealousy

felt by the Great Powers at the Anglo-Turkish Convention had been put upon record by France. As a matter of fact he said no jealousy had been expressed by the Great Powers, and though France had expressed uneasiness, that feeling was entirely removed by explanations given by Lord Salisbury to Mr. Waddington at Berlin. As to the charge of concealment, he pointed out that on August 15, 1878 the day before the prorogation, he laid on the table despatches dated July 7th, July 21st, and August 7th, in which the history of this point was fully related, and though they were not actually printed until November, that occurred in due course, and was not the fault of the Foreign Office. Sir Charles Dilke, who made, as he said, an explanation on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, contended that his description of the affair was strictly accurate, and relied not so much on the delay in publishing the despatches (though he believed that the confidential despatches not published would strengthen his case, as on the speeches of Mr. Cross, Lord Sandon, and other ministers in the debate on the Berlin Treaty at the end of July. Though pressed to say whether the Treaty had not roused foreign jealousy, they all denied it and Lord John Manners in particular gave the suggestion an unqualified denial. Lord John Manners said the Under Secretary of State had not been courteous enough to give him an opportunity of refreshing his memory as to what he said then, but speaking from recollection, he asserted that he was quite accurate, and he adhered to the statement that at the time he spoke there was not a cloud between the two governments. As a proof of this, he mentioned the difficult and delicate Egyptian negotiations which were brought soon after to a successful termination.

In 1880, we have to record one of those attempts at obstruction which our Irish M.P.'s have carried to an art unparalleled in our own and other lands, and which, if persisted in, threatens the extinction of Parliamentary government altogether. In

August, one sitting commenced at four o'clock on Thursday, and did not terminate until ten minutes to one on Friday noontime. Of the twenty-one hours thus passed almost exclusively on Irish affairs, nearly eighteen hours were spent in committee over the vote for the pay of the Irish constabulary force. Early on Thursday morning it was known that there was to be a trial of strength between the Government and the Home Rule Members—the former desiring to carry the vote which, owing to the delay, had now become urgent, and the latter determined to resist in the hope of eliciting from the Government a pledge that some modification in the constitution of the Royal Irish Constabulary would be made before next year. It was even suggested as a condition of passing the vote that the Government should promise to disarm and reduce the strength of the Irish police force. Arrangements were made on the Ministerial side of the House to furnish the Government with strong relays of members throughout the night, and the Home Rulers—about twenty-eight Irish members—joined in the contest also came to an agreement that eight or ten of their members should remain on duty while their colleagues might repose in their turn. Under these circumstances the vote was debated with vigour, but not undue warmth, until three o'clock, when signs of impatience began to show themselves on the Liberal benches, at the repetitions indulged in by the Irish speakers, who talked a good deal on the land question and said nothing on the vote itself. A diversion was made for a time by an explosion of indignation at the conduct of the Government whips in providing relays—a point with regard to which Lord Kensington declined to supply the Home Rulers with any information. The brunt of the battle on the Treasury bench had to be borne by the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. Forster. At six o'clock Dr. Playfair retired from the chair, quite exhausted, and his place was taken by Mr. Herschell, the Home Rulers saluting the incident with ironical cheers.

Mr. Parnell, the Home Rule leader, came forward occasionally to suggest that they should now adjourn and meet again at night on Monday, to take up the real debate on the vote, but the proposals were rejected as not definite—the Ministers wanted a clear understanding that if the vote was fixed for Monday it should be finished at that sitting, and that clear understanding no one apparently was prepared to give, and so the battle went on. A division taken at the time showed that there were eleven Home Rulers in the House against ninety-eight supporters of the Government. Mr. Courtney warmly remonstrated with the minority, and charged them with following tactics which would injure their country. Mr. Forster, who had been frequently on his legs to correct or challenge statements, and to defend himself, disappeared about seven o'clock, and was not heard of till nine, when he came to the table to announce that he was quite ready to go on, and prepared for any amount of discussion or debate. Several of the Irish members, such as Mr. Biggar and Mr. Dillon, returned to the House serene and vigorous, as if they had had the benefit of a good night's rest. The Government was also reinforced by the arrival of Liberal and Conservative members, who had been sent for to release their friends from further attendance. On the whole, with the exception of an episode connected with one Irish member—Mr. M. A. Sullivan, who was supposed to have brought his provisions with him, instead of patronising the refreshment bar—the discussion, and the whole proceeding, had been carried on with perfect propriety and good humour. A change, however, took place during a speech delivered by Mr. O'Shaughnessy, who angrily resented an insinuation that the honour of the Irish members was tainted, but Mr. Forster somehow or other managed to soothe the hon. gentleman's irritated nerves, and again the struggle proceeded in a steady, commonplace manner, Irish M.P.'s merely contenting themselves with repeating what

had been said, and better said, a thousand times before. On the Treasury Bench were, besides Mr. Forster and Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Fawcett, and Mr. Mundella. On the front Opposition bench were Sir S. Northcote, Sir R. Cross, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Plunkett. Lord R. Churchill sat behind, having drawn away from his usual seat below the gangway, where the Irish members held their ground. Mr. Parnell retired to rest himself outside the House, behind the bar. About fifty Liberal members, chiefly sitting below the gangway, looked on or slept on while the Irish members continued talking; while, on the opposite side, above the gangway, were a host of Conservative members, employed in a similarly unpleasant and unprofitable manner. The floor of the House was littered with scraps of paper; documents were scattered untidily on all the benches; the air was heavy, and the whole aspect of the place was dismal and untidy. Many of the members, who had never flinched from their post, looked worn and haggard, as, under the circumstances of the case, was to be expected. At midday there were ironical calls from the Liberal side for Mr. Parnell to return to the field of battle and take charge of his party. For a time the hon. member paid no heed to, gave no heed to these calls, but shortly after he came back to his seat in the House. For hours the Government had been trying to ascertain whether the Irish members would state what arrangement they proposed, and give a pledge to abide by it. All demands to disarm the constabulary, to reduce their number, and all appeals to the Government to promise not to employ them in evictions, having died away for the moment, Mr. Parnell, responding to an appeal made from the Liberal side, below the gangway, proposed "that the Government should give the Irish members one whole night to the vote." "If," said he, "that was conceded, he had no doubt the vote would be disposed of in one night." This offer was accepted by the Government, and the constabulary vote being fixed for the

following Monday, the long-trying House, numbering at the last close on 160 members, disappeared, only a few waiting for the return of the Speaker to the chair formally to put the orders of the day. It is needless to add, when the House did meet, the Irish constabulary—the finest and most efficient set of men in the Government employ (of eleven thousand, more than half are upward of six feet high)—were spoken of in terms as uncomplimentary, as unjust by the Irish Home Rule members. It was said of an Irish emigrant, as he landed at New York in all the simplicity of his native isle, that he was asked to vote against a candidate. "Oh, I am agin' all government," was his reply, and his vote was scored at once. The Home Rulers, apparently, all agree that all government, certainly all English rule, is quite inconsistent with their ideas, and as to the House of Commons, the result, at times, is disastrous in the extreme.

Nor were the Home Rulers the only thorns in Mr. Gladstone's side: other Irish politicians were equally troublesome. In December of 1880 some correspondence was published between Captain Boycott and Mr. Gladstone, which the Conservative journals made a good deal of fuss about. It appears the Captain had made himself obnoxious to the Irish Land League, and they, in consequence, excommunicated him. No one was to work for him; no one was to supply him or his family with goods. He was to be treated as a leper or an outcast. When the Land League had succeeded in driving him away from Ireland, he wrote to the Prime Minister, giving an account of the events which had led him to take that step, and to ask for compensation from the Government. "I have been prevented," he wrote, "from pursuing my business peaceably; where my property has not been stolen it has been maliciously wasted, and my life has been in hourly peril for many months. At length, in defiance of all law and order, I have been driven from my house, and having done no evil, find myself a ruined man, because the

to your inquiry as an elector respecting the truth of these statements, I feel compelled to say to them a most unqualified contradiction. So far from approving of the career of Mr. Cadan, I am of opinion that his connection with the Irish party has been to it a source of weakness, and I could not regard his re-election in any other light than a political discredit to the country. I therefore trust that the electors of Dundalk will do their utmost to prevent his return."

In vain did Englishmen send succour to Ireland. Under Mr. Parnell and his allies and followers, the Irish were learning to hate the hand that blessed them. Actually it appeared on the eve of the withdrawal of the Duke of Marlborough from the Irish Viceroyalty, that the Duchess had received £112,000 for the Famine Relief Fund inaugurated by her. Of this total amount £32,295 had been expended for potato and other seeds; £60,828 in other forms of relief, food, clothing, etc. At the same time, the Dublin Mansion House Committee, during the period of its existence, had received £143,000, of which £110,000 had been expended in various ways. The plans of action of the two committees varied considerably. In the Duchess of Marlborough's committee, the Union was made the area over which operations extended, and the chairman of the Union was appointed chairman of the committee, and was the individual with whom the Dublin committee corresponded. To him was intrusted the duty of contributing to local committees in the Union the allotments of money made from time to time. In the Mansion House Committees, the rule was to select local committees in each parish. The plan had the advantage of directness, and of sending the relief at once to the point at which it is required; but there could be little supervision of the lists of the committee, and there is every reason to believe that relief was often given to persons who neither deserved it nor required it.

But there was distress, and deep distress,

which the English public sought to remove, but in vain. In many districts the wretched people lived on small farms, from which four to five pounds an acre was paid, on which, in the best of times, they could only eke out a miserable existence. In one particular spot—and this points at one of the great ills of Ireland—Mr. Tuke tells us "the estates are encumbered and the landlords are unable to do anything. As we have heard, the presentment for the very road so much needed to give access to these lands, and the making of which would have given the employment which is so much wanted at this time of distress, were thrown out by them. No landlord had paid, or was able to pay, anything towards assisting the poor in this district; even the interest of the estate, in one case, was badly paid, the Poor Law in these districts, in fact, became inoperative, from the unwillingness of the guardians to tax themselves." Said one employer of labour to Mr. Tuke, "The *little farms* are the curse of the country; no man can really live on them in the best times; they are miserable homes, and there can be none of that moral respect without which no real improvement of the people is possible. That is at the bottom of it all. It is to the improvement of the home that we must look, and my people bear witness to the good effects of the work in that way." The priests and leaders of the people thought otherwise. "At the hotel," writes Mr. Tuke, "we met with three priests, who, with rolls of cases of those needing relief most appalling to look at—I fear rather an indiscriminate list of all their people—had come in to attend the Relief Committee. With them we had much talk. All the evils of the country were the result of want of *fixity of tenure*, and of the want of power on the part of the people of Ireland to rule their own country. Differing from most, they thought the smallest *farms* would pay if the holders knew that they were secure of their improvements, and were not likely to have the rents raised at any moment. The Bright clauses—bless-

ings on Mr. Bright for them—were the only bit of good legislation England had given to Ireland. On saying that I knew Mr. Bright, they exclaimed, 'Oh, then, indeed, when you next see him, give him the blessings of three Irish priests for his good work—he has done more than any other man for the country.' Yet, strange to say, the Government of which Mr. Bright was a distinguished member, was attacked—as we shall see—and villified and opposed by the Irish priests, and the men whom they sent to Parliament, in a way which no one previously could have had the remotest idea. There is too much reason to believe that the tenants did all they could to appear poor. They lived in filth, they came to the rent audit in their worst clothes. They paid the rent in sixpences or shillings, to give the appearance of having collected it with great difficulty, changing their bank-notes into coin on their arrival in town."

Mr. Tukethus describes an Irish village: "The village of Kilgeven had been specially reported as requiring help. A relieving officer had recently been appointed to look after it, and with him we went round this miserable-looking place. As he also held the office of sub-bailiff, the man was very familiar with the people, who were quite friendly with him" (the time had not then arrived when bailiffs and sub-bailiffs were to be hunted to death, in consequence of the inflammatory speeches of Priests, and Land Leaguers, and Home Rulers), "in spite of his visits of another character at times. The houses are built in a very irregular, higgledy-piggledy manner among the rocks, which stand out from the surrounding bog. The heaps of manure which were piled about the doorways were sometimes almost as large as the cabins themselves, and were in process of being removed to the land. Men, women, and children were most industriously at work, but the result to the visitor was anything but agreeable, and the cottages were in a filthy state from the passing to and fro of the people and the cattle. Even the relieving officer thought

it necessary to caution the people that they were liable to be summoned for so glaring an infraction of sanitary laws. It is a terrible thought that all these huge heaps had been taken from the single rooms, each of which formed a common sty for men, women, children, horses, cows, pigs, and poultry. No wonder that in one or two cases I thought that I was entering a very filthy cow-house rather than a human dwelling."

For ages people have complained of Irish filth, but at present with little or no effect; Miss Edgeworth, Mrs. S. C. Hall, and others, have all laboured to improve the people in this direction, who decidedly object to Lord Palmerston's celebrated definition of dirt as "matter in the wrong place." This dirt in houses and outhouses is the one thing that strikes the eye of the traveller, as he visits the sister Isle. It is the same in the town as in the country. In Ireland the people are too busy agitating for Home Rule, or plotting to cheat landlords out of their rent, to think much about home improvement—a matter for which there is urgent need. It is not surprising that the Recorder of Dublin should have alluded, at the opening of Quarter Sessions, to the unenviable pre-eminence of Dublin in crime. The number of indictable offences committed in the Irish capital, as shown in the latest volume of judicial statistics, has reached the large total of 3,735. In Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Galway, taken together, the number was only 437, and in all Ireland outside the Metropolitan Police district only 5,354. The Recorder attributes much of the exceptional criminality of the capital to the condition of the houses and surroundings of the poorer classes. The Report of the Commissioners who last year to inquire into the excessive death-rate of the city shows that Dublin in 1870 contained 23,830 houses. Of these 9,700 were occupied as dwellings let in tenements, and 2,300, containing an estimated population of 10,000, were reported to be in a condition unfit for human habitation. These

tenement hovels, when first erected, were arranged each for one family, but now they are divided, and sub-divided, and let in flats and single rooms from basement to attic, one house visited by the Commissioners serving for no less than 78 tenants. We fear the Recorder is right when he says that until some change for the better is made in the dwellings of the poor there can be little hope of bringing the death-rate of Dublin to a moderate standard. Unfortunately, whilst the Corporation recognise the crying want of better house accommodation, they plead the absence of funds. Yet it should not be impossible, or even difficult, in a city like Dublin, to make a beginning. The Lord Mayor is an ardent Home Ruler, and apt in these exciting times to forget, perhaps, that a crime-rate and a death-rate extravagantly excessive are subjects not less deserving of consideration than those burning questions which shake society.

Yet that Irishmen have much to suffer no one can deny. Indeed, they have suffered so much wrong, not from England but from themselves, that it seems a hopeless task to attempt to put Ireland right. Mr. Tuke, whom everyone admits to be a competent authority, writes :—"At another time, in company with Dr. Johnson, I visited a village in his dispensary district, a few miles from Westport. From peculiar circumstances, this village had not been as well attended to as others, and the people were represented as being in a great state of destitution. The village was a very scattered one. A few of the houses were near the rough mountain road by which you approached the spot, but the valley in which the greater number was situated was only reached by walking some distance over the adjacent hilly land or bog, which shuts them out of view from the road. Here, without any regular way of approach, as far as I could see, was a cluster of about twenty houses, into most of which we entered. It would only be to repeat over again the same story of wretchedness and want with which, alas, I have become so

familiar, but it is a familiarity which only makes me feel more deeply, and burns into my heart the sense of how hard is the lot of hundreds, nay, of thousands of the families of these little Irish towners. The lands lying low were swampy and full of water. The large main drain which ought to have taken the water away to the sea was choked up. The owner lives away and does nothing, is probably not able to do anything. Few rents had been paid. Some said they owed one or one year and a-half's rent, others more; the lands were highly rented, and very few persons had either money or stock rent. This estate, I fear, is a sample of many small ones which have been sold by the Encumbered Estates Court. It was purchased some years ago by a mere speculator, who sent down a valuer for the purpose of raising the rents to the highest rate. He doubled them, it is said, but probably raised them from 50 to 80 per cent. This was done without any regard to the question of the improvements or reclamation of the tenants. It was looked at merely as the letting value of each little farm, without considering the tenants at all. When done, the estate, with its nominally largely increased rental, was again sold at a large profit, and the rack-rented tenants have grown poorer and poorer, until the calamities of last year have brought them to the utmost verge of poverty. No rent having been paid, processes were served, or rather attempted to be served, a few weeks ago. Fifty or sixty constables were collected to protect the process-server. The people hearing of it, attended from all sides by hundreds, and by sheer force of numbers kept the police at bay, whilst the villagers closed up their doorways with timber or brushwood, or with the near-at-hand manure heaps. The result was that the police had to retire without effecting their purpose. I heard afterwards that some processes had been served by the bailiff and a little rent paid. Many of the families were seven, eight, or ten in number, and the small weekly allowance

of two stones of Indian meal per family was barely sufficient to support life. The children especially looked thin and wan."

Referring to the estate of Mr. Jonathan Pim, Mr. Tuke remarks:—"If every Irish landlord would improve his estate, and give the facilities and inducements to his tenants to cultivate their lands which he has done, the cry of Irish distress would no more be heard, and content and well-being would take the place of the social disorder and wretchedness which now abound in these Western districts. Why is it that the true exercise of the functions and responsibilities which belong to land owning is so rare in Ireland, whilst as a rule it is universal in England?"

As to that question, Mr. Tuke unfortunately gives a reply, which is not a little at variance with his optimist views. In the course of his journey he visits the estate of Mr. Mitchell Henry, and notes the spirited and noble way in which that gentleman does his duty to his tenants. "There are," he writes, "about 130 tenants on the estate, and they certainly are not highly rented. It is deeply disappointing that tenants who are so liberally treated by their landlord should be found combining together to refuse their rents. Whilst it may be hoped that their number is small, who are acting in this way, no more striking proof can be given of the injury resulting from the extreme doctrines which have of late been so widely taught in certain quarters."

In 1880 the violence of the Irish reached almost a culminating point. In May we read for instance the Sheriff of Tipperary, the resident magistrate, and a party of police having to evict a tenant who owed £700 for more than a year's rent on his farm, on arriving found the house barricaded with felled trees and other obstacles. The tenant's wife appeared at the window and threatened the police with violence. The latter having procured a ladder, attempted to enter the house through a window, but were beaten off with pitchforks and lead, boiling water, and stones thrown at them.

The door having at length been battered open, the sheriff rushed in and found a number of men armed with scythes, hatchets, &c., of whom about thirteen were eventually arrested and about ten escaped.

No toleration is shown to opponents. In July, a stormy scene arose in the Limerick Corporation out of a motion to confer the freedom of that city on Mr. Parnell, M.P. Mr. Ambrose Hall opposed the motion, and having said that Mr. Parnell had demoralised the tenant farmers by his course of action, the speaker was cried down by an uproarious crowd which filled the precincts of the council chamber. In vain Mr. Hall essayed to address the meeting, and the Mayor's efforts to restore order were unavailing. A threat was uttered that Mr. Hall would be flung through the window. The Mayor quitted the chair, and after most tumultuous proceedings the meeting broke up in the utmost confusion.

In August, intelligence was received that Mr. Charles Boyd, an undergraduate of King's College, Dublin, while riding with his father in the neighbourhood of New Ross, was shot at by men disguised as mariners. Four tenants of his father's were arrested on suspicion, but no motive for the outrage could be discovered.

In the same month a robbery of arms was effected from a Norwegian ship named the *Junco*, lying at Passage West Docks, Cork; the cargo of the vessel consisted of mineral ore and forty cases of arm, containing twenty-four weapons each. She was bound from Antwerp for New York, and put in at Cork for repairs. The captain, his wife, and a revenue officer, and a crew were on board between one and two o'clock, when five or six boats, containing altogether about forty men, came alongside. The revenue officer was on watch on the deck, and the first batch of men that came aboard took him to the captain's room, and shut him up there, saying that they did not want to interfere with any one on board. The captain and the revenue officer were thus shut up and unable to interfere with anything that went on. In

the course of half an hour the men left the ship as they had come, in boats, taking the direction of Marina, from which they turned, and proceeded down the river. An examination of the hold being made, it was found that ninety-two guns had been removed. The most remarkable circumstance connected with the whole affair is, that while the boats were leaving and still in view of the vessel, no alarm was given by the captain or revenue officer, both of whom described the route taken by the boats. At the time the robbery was being committed the Passage patrol was on the road outside the dock wall, not more than twenty-five yards from the side of the ship, and the slightest alarm would have reached them. It was also found that the wire on the railway at Horsehead was cut into two pieces, the object, of course, being to prevent the outrage being reported at Cork. About three o'clock in the morning, information of the occurrence was communicated to the Passage police, and in the course of the morning they made six arrests, all of young men who they said belonged to Cork. The crew of the *Juno* consisted of twenty-three men, who were asleep when the boarders arrived, and were at once battened down. Twenty of the guns were subsequently recovered, but the police failed to obtain any satisfactory clue with which to connect the men arrested with the robbery.

Crime after crime in Ireland aroused and disgusted Englishmen. For instance, in September, as Lord Mountmorres was returning to Ebor Hall from a meeting of magistrates at Clonbur, County Galway, a volley of rifle bullets was discharged at him, and he was found dead at Rutheen, only half a mile from his residence. When asked to allow the body to be taken to his house a neighbouring farmer refused permission, his womenfolks threatening him if he did. This was the reply, apparently, to Mr. Parnell's advice to the tenants to keep a firm grip on the land.

The land agitators made capital out of this murder. In October seventeen land

meetings were held in different parts of Ireland, at one of which, at Cork, Mr. Parnell was present, and addressed an audience of at least 30,000 persons. Under these circumstances, the unfortunate landowners, to the number of more than a hundred, had an interview with the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Secretary at Dublin Castle. The object of the meeting was to lay before the authorities the condition of affairs throughout the country, and to suggest means for restoring law and order. In October, Captain Boycott, of Lough Maske House, described in a letter to the *Times* the various persecutions to which he had been subjected by the people, who endeavoured to starve him out of the county, and permitted no one to tend his cattle, work on his farm, or gather in his crops. Again we find a large meeting of Irish landowners was held in London, and a representation to the Viceroy carried unanimously, urging the adoption of coercive measures throughout the country.

In October, Mr. Hutchinson, a landlord residing near Skibbereen, was fired at on returning home after rent collecting. The shot missed Mr. Hutchinson, but mortally wounded the driver of the car.

In the same month the following outrage was reported from the county of Cork. A party of armed men, variously estimated at between twenty and forty, and most of whom were disguised, went to the house of a respectable farmer named Daly, residing at Knocknalgre, near Blarney. They first called Daly up, and placing a book in his hand wanted him to swear that he would give up a farm which he had recently taken. Daly would not swear, and the party then fired shots over his head. The farm referred to was previously in the occupation of a man named Edmund Murphy, and in June last Murphy gave up the possession of his holding, preferring to direct his attention to other business in which he had engaged. Mr. Daly rented the farm for grazing, but did not occupy the house. After the armed party left Daly's place, they proceeded to the house

of Edmund Murphy. They had a car with them, and they obliged Murphy to go with them, and against his will they placed him in possession of the holding he had previously surrendered with his own free will. Daly's cattle were then removed from the land, and were turned upon the road, and after firing several shots, the marauders went away. A threatening notice was left with Daly cautioning him against taking the land. No arrests were made. In Ireland the executive were paralysed, and thus the Land League shot ahead. Had Irish magistrates, and juries, and judges done their duty, a great deal of outrage and agitation would never have existed. As it was, they did little more than organise a Boycott relief expedition, composed of Orangemen from the North. Great precautions had been taken all along their route to prevent any collision with the Land Leaguers, and a large force of soldiers and police were stationed round and on Lord Erne's property, of which Captain Boycott was the agent.

In October, Mr. Henry Wheeler, son of the agent to a Mr. Lloyd, was brutally murdered near Limerick Junction, within sixty yards of the boundary of Tipperary county. In December, James Mulholland, a bailiff, was shot dead near Cookestown, Co. Tyrone, on his way to serve a notice of ejectment on a farmer.

In December the following correspondence appeared in the *Times*, sent by an extensive landed proprietor in Ireland, who formerly represented an Irish county in Parliament:—

"DUBLIN CASTLE, December 10th.

"SIR,—The Lord Lieutenant having been pleased to appoint you to be High Sheriff for the county of ——— for the ensuing year, I am directed by his Excellency to request you will make the necessary arrangements for undertaking the duties of that office. An early acknowledgment of this communication is requested.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"To ———."

"T. H. BURKE.

"December 15, 1880.

"SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the letter of the 10th December, informing me that the Lord Lieutenant had been pleased to appoint me to be High Sheriff of the county of ——— for the ensuing year.

"I must most respectfully decline the appointment—

"1. Because, owing to the state of the country, I am in receipt of so diminished a rental, that I cannot afford the expenses of the office.

"2. Her Majesty's Government having allowed the country to verge into a state of anarchy and rebellion, the responsibilities and dangers of the office are more than I am willing to incur.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"To H. BURKE, The Castle, Dublin."

Thus from the highest to the lowest in Ireland, people were afraid to do their duty. The Land League and the Home Rulers thus obtained the mastery. No wonder, then, that when Mr. Healy, M.P., Mr. Parnell's private secretary, and Mr. Walsh, were tried in the month of December at the Cork assizes, on the charge of attempting a farmer near Bantry, and to force him to give up possession of a holding, from which a former tenant had been evicted, after an hour's deliberation both prisoners were acquitted.

Altogether in December, 1880, the state of Ireland was as bad as could be. In that month a letter appeared from Colonel Gordon stating that the result of his study of the Irish question on the spot showed him that the gulf of antipathy between landlords and tenants is not to be bridged; that the condition of the people of Ireland is worse than that of the Chinese, Indians, or Anatolians, and that the true policy of the Government would be to buy up eleven counties, viz., Westmeath, Cork, Clare, Kerry, Limerick, Sligo, Mayo, Cavan, Longford, and Donegal, at the cost of £80,000,000, the territory to be a Crown

Estate managed by a Commission, and that £100,000 per annum should be provided to assist emigration.

Fret and fume as Ireland may, it is impossible that England can give her up. In the first place, if we do, the people will quarrel among themselves, and anarchy will be the result. In the second place, the Irish could not afford to sacrifice the openings provided for them by their connection with England. It is a fact that while Irish emigration is leavening the New World, Irish administrators under the British crown are organising, in no small degree, the empires or the republics of the future. All this noble career for talent and enterprise would be destroyed by separation; every element of Irish greatness would dwindle or perish; the energies of the people, confined to the narrow circle of a small and isolated state, would be wasted in petty quarrels, or sink into inanity. Again, such a separation is impossible, as in a time of European revulsion, Ireland would be a serious danger to England. Even in times of peace its discontent engrosses the chief part of our Parliamentary sessions, and necessitates a heavy military expenditure, and the emigration from its shores is multiplying enemies to England in the New World. In New York are published the papers fullest of deadly hate to England, and there are raised the funds which are supposed to be devoted to the support of Irish agitators and Irish agitation at home. Unfortunately, this state of things, if bad for England, is almost ruinous to Ireland. Ireland wants capital—she needs repose, and to learn the triumphs of peaceful industry; but the widespread disaffection of the people restricts the influx of capital, which is essential to the full development of Irish resources, and the energy of the people takes every direction except that which would make them respectable in circumstances, and useful and helpful to the land. They are so busy attending public meetings, or intimidating landlords and tenants, or declaiming against the hardships of English

rule, that honest work and its blessed results seem to be quite beyond their power.

Turning from Ireland to English matter, let the reader mark that the majority in the House of Commons in favour of the second reading of the Burials Bill, including tellers, was composed of 198 English and Welsh, 34 Scotch, and 28 Irish Members, and the minority of 79 English and two Irish Members. There was therefore a majority of 119 English, five Scotch, and three Irish Conservatives,—16 in all,—while not a single Liberal voted against it. The majorities fluctuated considerably. In the Parliament of 1868-'74, Mr. Morgan's majority was as high as 111, and as low as 62, while in the Parliament of 1874-80, when the Conservatives were in power, Mr. Morgan was beaten by majorities of 14, 33, and 15. The largest number of votes recorded against the principle of the Bill was 279, in 1876; the smallest number was the last, 79, a falling off of exactly 200.

In the session of 1880 a Parliamentary return was published showing that in 1879 the House of Commons sat 975 hours before midnight, and 170 hours after midnight; while in the session of 1878 the House sat 1,047 hours before midnight, and 163 after.

In the beginning of the year we ought to have mentioned that Mr. Gladstone received a heavy blow and great discouragement from Earl Grey, the son of the great Earl Grey, and venerable on account of his illustrious descent. In the *Newcastle Journal* appeared a long letter from his lordship, addressed to Mr. G. A. Grey, of Millfield, stating the grounds on which he dissented from and disapproved of the opposition to the return of the sitting Conservative members, Lord Percy and Sir W. Ridley. Lord Grey held that, although he thought the foreign policy of the Government unwise and mischievous, its colonial affairs mismanaged, and its measures deficient in energy, it was not desirable that the Beaconsfield Administration should be overthrown. He further announced his

attachment to the old Whig creed, which, to him, it seemed that Mr. Gladstone and his most active followers had utterly repudiated. His lordship must have been astonished not a little at the result of the general election when it did take place.

How much greater was the wisdom displayed by the poet Tennyson, when nominated by the Conservative Club of Glasgow as their Lord Rector. In a letter to Dr. Fraser, he wrote, May 6, 1880—"Dear Sir,—I only consented to stand for your Lord Rectorship when informed, by the

honour of your candidature. You are probably aware that, some years ago, the Glasgow Liberals asked me to be their candidate, and that I in like manner declined. Yet I would gladly accept a nomination after what has occurred on this occasion if at any time a body of students, bearing no party name, should wish to nominate me, or if both Liberals and Conservatives should ever happen to agree in foregoing the excitement of a political contest, and in desiring a Lord Rector who would not appear for installation, and who,



THE RIGHT HON. J. G. DODSON.

letter of introduction which your agreeable deputation brought, that my nomination was supported by a large majority, if not a totality of the students of Glasgow. It now seems necessary that I should, by standing at your invitation, appear what I have steadfastly refused to be—a party candidate for the Conservative Club. The

mere fact of a contest between the supporters of a Liberal and that of a Conservative club leads, I suppose, invariably to this conclusion in the minds of the public, and, therefore, I must beg to decline the

in fact, would be a mere *infameant*, with nothing but the literary merits you have been good enough to appreciate. I thank you for all the trouble you have taken, and I am, with best wishes for the prosperity of your University, yours faithfully, A. TENNYSON."

In May, the British Reformation Society, through Lord Oranmore, having presented to Mr. Gladstone a resolution condemnatory of the appointment of two Roman Catholic Peers to the office of Viceroy of India and Lord Chamberlain, a reply was

sent to the Society explaining that the functions of both offices were purely lay and civil.

In August, the following letter appeared in the *Times* :—

"SIR,—In reference to the complaints of Lord Hartington concerning the obstruction of business by the utterance of 407 speeches by six members, viz., Lord R. Churchill, Sir H. Wolff, Mr. Gorst, and three Irish members, will you allow me to recall to mind a few occurrences of last session, which, if not abetted, were, at least, passively endured by his Lordship.

Nolan 10 times, Mr. O'Donnell four times, Mr. Biggar twice, and Major O'Beirne once. On this day, therefore, 41 speeches were delivered by these members. The number of speeches made by the same gentlemen on the following days of July were, 73 on the 10th, 39 on the 14th, 40 on the 15th, and 54 on the 18th. In fourteen of the sittings quoted, nearly 900 speeches were made, or an average of 112 per man—Mr. Parnell alone having spoken 296 times. Out of 628 speeches delivered during the first four



SIR W. V. HARCOURT.

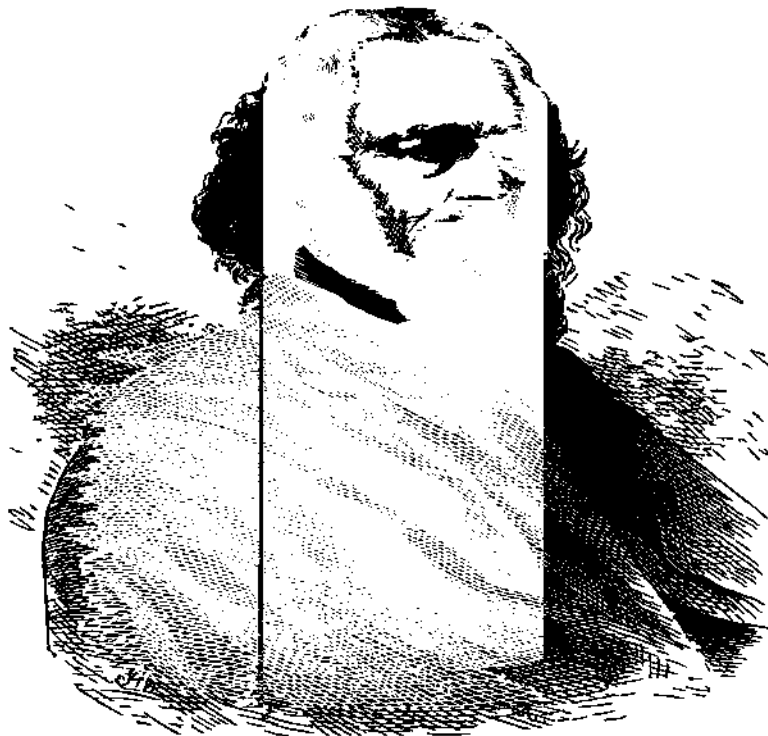
"On June 30th, the Irish members spoke 110 times between the hours of 4.50 and half-past one. On July the 3rd, on the Army Bill, they spoke 96 times, and on July 5th, a Saturday, 112 times. Between June 16th and July 7th, Mr. Parnell spoke 222 times; Mr. O'Connor Power, 56; Mr. O'Donnell, 113; Mr. Biggar, 74; Mr. Callan, 26; Major Nolan, 108; and Major O'Beirne, 34 times. In this period there were 11 sittings, and a total of 633 speeches delivered by these gentlemen alone. On July 28th, Mr. Parnell rose 24 times, Major

weeks of the session, 171 were by Home Rulers, and it was calculated at the time that had all the members spoken to the same extent, the effect would have been 10,000 speeches, and 1,400 hours of talk—A. M."

It is not clear why A. M. should find fault with Lord Hartington. It seems to us that he only did his duty after witnessing all the waste of time by the speech-making habits of certain members in 1879, in protesting against it in 1880. It was the repetition of the offence that made it unpardonable.

The changes made in the course of the Session by elections were not of any import as regarded public opinion. The election at Oxford, when Sir W. V. Harcourt was opposed—much to the indignation of the

post of Secretary of State for the Home Department. The next election was at Sandwich, where the Conservative candidate, Mr. Crompton Roberts, polled 1,145 votes, against 705 given to Sir Julian



ALFRED TENNYSON.

Times—by the local candidate, Mr. A. W. Hall, whom he had formerly beaten, resulted in the Conservative polling 27,855, against 26,811, polled by Sir W. V. Harcourt, who had vacated his seat on accepting the

Goldsmid. Election committees found that in both these cases the seats had been gained by the most barefaced bribery. In the Wigtown boroughs the Lord Advocate won by a majority of twenty-three, Mr.

Mark Stewart polling 656 votes. At the General Election the same candidate had stood, and Mr. J. M'Laren, subsequently made Lord Advocate, was returned by a majority of 12. In June, Sir John Lubbock was returned for the University of London, without contest, in the place of Mr. Lowe, created Viscount Sherbrooke. In the same month, the petition filed by Colonel Tomline against the return of Sir Henry Tyler for Harwich was dismissed with costs; that filed by Sir Algernon Borthwick against Mr. Radcliff, who had been returned for Evesham, was declared to have been proved, and the election void. On the 12th of June, Mr. Bevan, the Liberal member for Gravesend, was unseated for bribery. On the 22nd, the elections at Canterbury, Macclesfield, Tewkesbury, Bewdley, and Wallingford were declared null and void, but the petition against Mr. C. P. Phipps at Westbury was dismissed with costs. On the 25th, Sir Edward Bates was unseated for Plymouth, on the ground of corrupt payment by his agents, though his own gifts in charity and for public purposes were held to be harmless and laudable; the place was ultimately filled by Mr. E. Clarke. On the 26th, the election petitions against the members returned for Leominster, Bury St. Edmunds, Wilton, Nottingham, and Horsham were withdrawn. On July 1st, Sir Sydney Waterlow (Liberal) was returned for Gravesend by a majority of 220 votes over Sir Robert Peel (Conservative). On July 2nd, the County Down election inquiry, having occupied an unusual number of days, came to an end, Lord Castlereagh retaining his seat. The judges were divided in opinion as to the legal effect of the course taken by the member's agent, who published to the voters a statement impugning the secrecy of the ballot. One judge thought this enough to invalidate the election, but the other judge held otherwise in the absence of evidence that any voter had in fact been deterred from voting in consequence.

On July 3rd, the Opposition scored a real victory, Mr. Charles Dalrymple (Conser-

vative) being elected for Buteshire by 583 votes against 540 given to Mr. Thomas Russell (Liberal), the result being a gain of a seat by the Opposition.

On July 4th, the Lichfield election was declared void on the ground of the abduction and intimidation of voters; and a day or two after the petition against the return of Sir E. A. H. Lechmere and Mr. W. Knight for East Worcestershire, on the ground of treating, was dismissed, with costs against the petitioner. At Evesham, about the same time, Mr. Lehmann, the Liberal candidate, polled 378 votes against 376 given to Mr. F. Dixon Hartland, the Conservative; and at Tewkesbury, Mr. Martin, Liberal, polled 380 votes against 298 given to the Conservative, Mr. Fowler, neither election causing any change in the state of parties. The Wigtown burghs election petition resulted in the unseating of Mr. Mark Stewart, the Conservative member. On the same day, Colonel Levete (Conservative) was returned by 578 against Sir John Swinburne (Liberal), whose votes were 544.

On the 17th of July, the Right Hon. J. G. Dodson, President of the Local Government Board, and member of the Cabinet, and the Hon. Beilby Lawley were unseated for Chester on the ground of illegal practices by their agents. Both members were acquitted of complicity, but the judges (Lush and Manisty) declared their intention of reporting to the Speaker of the House of Commons that corrupt practices extensively prevailed in the City at the last general election. The polling at Berwick-on-Tweed, to fill the vacancy of Mr. Strutt (Liberal), to the peerage, resulted in the return of Mr. Milne Holme (C), by 584 votes against 582 given to the Lord Advocate. The Right Hon. George Dodson was returned as M.P. for Scarborough, by 1,828 votes to 1,606, given to his Conservative opponent, Mr. Duncombe. On the same day, also, the third election for the Wigtown burghs within four months, took place, resulting in the return of Admiral Sir J. E. Dalrymple Hay, by 636 votes

against 620 given to Mr. Maiking, the Liberal candidate. At the General Election, the numbers were—M'Laren, 650; Stewart, 638. At the bye election, consequent on Mr. M'Laren accepting office, the numbers were—Stewart (C), 656; M'Laren (L), 633. Mr. Stewart's election, on petition, was declared to be void.

In August, there was an election at Liverpool, to fill the seat vacated by Lord Ramsey's elevation to the peerage. Mr. Plimsoll was the Liberal candidate, and Lord Claude Hamilton, the Conservative. The latter polled 21,019 votes, defeating his opponent by 1,901 votes.

On the 2nd of September, on the motion of the Attorney-General, the House of Commons agreed, after some discussion, to the issue of a Royal Commission to inquire into the alleged corrupt practices prevailing in Gloucester, Canterbury, Chester, Macclesfield, Knaresborough, Boston, Sandwich, and Oxford. In November, in the place of Mr. Watkin Williams, promoted to the Bench, Mr. Rathbone, Liberal, was elected for Carnarvonshire by 3,180 votes against 2,151 votes given to Mr. Nanney, a local Conservative. In the same month the Evesham election inquiry closed, and resulted in the unseating of Mr. Lehmann, Liberal, and the awarding of the seat to Mr. Hartland, Conservative.

In May, it was announced that the Farmers' Candidate Committee in Herefordshire had resolved to make their representative, Mr. Duckworth, M.P. for the county, an allowance of £500. The other paid members of the new Parliament are Mr. Burt, M.P. for Morpeth, as representing the Miners' Union, and Mr. Broadhurst, M.P. for Stoke-upon-Trent, as representing the Trades' Union.

On the whole, the members had reason to congratulate themselves that their friends had not become weary, or that the nation was in any way desirous of a change. At one time we know Mr. Gladstone laid a good deal of stress on bye elections as they are termed. It is a singular fact, that all

the bye elections of the late Parliament were completely upset by the general election of 1880. In every case the tables were turned—and the defeated party in the one case benefited in the other. The fickleness of the public is proverbial; but in such cases as those alluded to, was quite unexpected.

On June 16th, the freedom of the City of London was presented to the King of the Hellenes. The Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and Mr. Gladstone were present. The latter made a speech with reference to the claims of Greece under the Berlin Treaty.

In the House of Commons, in July, at the close of the debates on Mr. Briggs's motion condemning the erection in Westminster Abbey of a monument to the late Prince Imperial being put, Mr. Gladstone and the occupants of the Treasury Bench left the House. The motion having been carried by a majority of fifteen, Sir H. D. Wolff inquired whether Ministers, having heard the question put, were not bound to vote. The Speaker ruled that it was quite in order for any one to retire before a division; but, after a long and angry discussion on this point, the Speaker ultimately ruled that members who had heard the question put a second time were bound to vote. In the present case the ministers had left previously.

With reference to the vote of the House of Commons relative to the proposed monument to the Prince Imperial in Westminster Abbey, the following correspondence took place:—

"CLEVELAND SQUARE, S.W.,

"July 21, 1880.

"DEAR MR. DEAN,—At a meeting of the Napoleon Memorial Committee held this day, I was requested to inform you that the committee have unanimously resolved to withdraw the proposal to place the monument of the late Prince Imperial in Henry VII.'s Chapel. I beg to remain, Dear Mr. Dean, yours faithfully,

"SYDNEY."

"DEANERY, WESTMINSTER,

"July 21, 1880.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have received your Lordship's communication of the resolution of the committee to withdraw the proposal for erecting a monument to the late Prince Imperial in King Henry VII's

"It was the response to a feeling of universal sympathy which at the time I believed to be permanent, and which I still believe to be genuine.

"It was in entire conformity to the best traditions of the Abbey in the commemoration of an event most tragical and, considering



THE LATE DEAN STANLEY.

Chapel I accede to the withdrawal. You will perhaps permit me to add a few words on the subject

"There are few acts of my official life at Westminster at which I look back with more satisfaction than the acceptance of the offer of the monument to the Prince Imperial.

all the circumstances of the case, most historical. It expresses the sense of national reparation due for a signal misfortune. *Sunt lacrymæ virum et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

"I have since repeatedly refused to withdraw my consent to a proposal to

which I consider myself in honour pledged. In the early part of this year I made the following public statement:—‘The authority of the Sovereign, of the Parliament, of the Minister for the time being, would have absolved me from any responsibility in the matter. But such authority has not intervened, and as long as I am left to act on my own responsibility I cannot recede from what I deliberately believe to be my public duty.’

“The Sovereign, who is the visitor of the whole institution, and to whom it appertains to command or forbid the interment or the commemoration of anyone in King Henry VII.’s Chapel, has, since the acceptance of the office, never swerved from the determination to keep the engagement then entered into. The Ministers have supported this determination equally in the late and the present Parliament. But a majority of the House of Commons has defeated the decision of the Ministers by a resolution which has the effect of throwing upon the House the responsibility of refusal. The resolution to have its full effect should have assumed the usual form, which alone could give it legal validity—that of an address to the Crown as visitor of the Abbey. But your committee have rightly judged—that is, if I may presume to give an opinion—that a proposed honour met in a temper so unlike that in which it was offered would lose its generous intention.

“I have always recognised a legitimate difference of opinion on the subject. There are very few interments or commemorations in the Abbey which have not provoked some such difference. But I was not prepared to find that an overflow of generous sympathy was to be checked from political considerations, or that circumstances entirely accidental or irrelevant should have magnified into importance, or that the liberal and comprehensive principles which, without respect to person or party or nationality, have marked the administration of Westminster Abbey, should have been discouraged or thwarted.

“Such an expression of opinion it may be for many reasons inexpedient to disregard. It conveys, no doubt, the views of a large amount of public feeling. I venture to utter, on the part of many, their grateful sense of the public spirit of those who at some risk to themselves stood firm against what they deemed to be an illiberal and ignorant clamour. I have further to acknowledge the kindly expressions used on the occasion towards the gallant and unfortunate Prince and his widowed mother. They are in striking contrast to the persistent misrepresentations and savage menaces which have hitherto supported the agitation on the subject.

“The monument, which is nearly completed, will receive a habitation worthy of the labour and skill which the gifted sculptor has bestowed upon it, and of the pathetic feelings which it embodies.

“The vacant chapel in Westminster Abbey which should have contained his remains, will always cherish the association which will give it enduring interest.

“On the adjoining pavement I long ago caused to be recorded the only act in which a precedent for the recent action of the House of Commons is sought to be found—the disinterment of the Magnates of the Commonwealth under the pressure of the strong outburst of party passion which followed the Restoration. Posterity will judge how far the ingenuous spirit which governed the Parliament of 1661 still under an altered form survives in the Parliament of 1880.

“I have the honour to be

“Yours faithfully,

“A. P. STANLEY.”

Never was a more foolish letter written even by a Dean. We record it as an illustration of the too well known truth, that no man is wise at all hours. The men who wanted to get the monument in the Abbey, were naturally anxious to please the Court party, touched with the misfortunes of one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of her day. The

men who opposed the scheme were not the victims of illiberal and ignorant clamour; and what was the risk to themselves the advocates of the preposterous scheme encountered, it is really hard to say. No one outside the Court circle felt that Prince Napoleon should have a monument in the English Walhalla—Westminster Abbey.

Two incidents which took place in this year ought not to be lost sight of. In the House of Commons on the last night previous to the prorogation and dissolution, Sir George Bowyer called attention to the use by the Usher of the Black Rod of the expression, "required the attention of the Speaker and House," instead of "desired." The Speaker replied that, although the ordinary expression was "desired," he was not prepared to say that the other was a wrong one. Again, let us record the fact that the late Parliament had sat six years and one month, and that during its course the changes in the Upper House were 137, viz.: 108 by death, 6 by promotion from lower grade, and 23 by fresh creation. In the House of Commons 149 changes had occurred—60 by death, and the rest by retirement or promotion.

In the summer, the newspapers noted the arrival of Mr. Parnell from the United States, and his reception by deputations from various Irish bodies. The address of the Land League concluded by expressing a hope that Mr. Parnell had fled across the water like another Perseus to save the Andromeda of nations from the political monster now threatening her with national destruction. It was not long before Mr. Parnell was made the recipient of further honours. At a Conference of the Irish Home Rule members, held at the City Hall, Dublin, in May, Mr. Parnell was elected Sessional Chairman, in the place of Mr. Shaw, M.P., by 23 votes against 18.

In looking over some old papers, I am reminded that, in 1857, Mr. Gladstone was twitted by an opponent with having deserted his post in an hour of national peril and perplexity, and this was Mr. Gladstone's defence:—"The gentleman," he said,

"spoke of one matter, which is not a matter of argument or inference, and does not involve any matter of opinion. He says that I and my party deserted the Government of the country at a period of difficulty. Now, I never left the Government of the country of my own free will. I left the Government in 1855 because I was obliged to leave it—because Lord Palmerston had changed his mind on an important matter of public policy. In January, 1855, there was a proposal for a committee to inquire into the state of the army before Sebastopol. The Government of which Lord Palmerston was a member believed that the Committee could not lead to any satisfactory result. Lord Palmerston was so strongly of that opinion, that we all resigned our offices, in the end of January, 1855, rather than consent to that Committee. Three weeks after, the subject of that Committee was renewed. I continued of the same opinion; Lord Palmerston changed his opinion. Lord Palmerston consented to the Committee, and as I continued unchanged, he would not permit me to remain, and I was compelled to quit office. I defy any man to contradict what I now state. I do not like to trouble the meeting thus, but as you have chosen to open the subject, I must pursue it for a moment longer. The Sebastopol Committee was appointed; the Sebastopol Committee reported a most severe censure upon the whole of the government of Lord Aberdeen, to which Lord Palmerston and I belonged; the report of the Committee was proposed to the House of Commons. Mr. Roebuck proposed a resolution upon it. There was a division in the House. Lord Palmerston voted to give the go-by to that Committee in parliamentary language, by moving the previous question. I voted for a consideration of the report, for I wanted to have the judgment of Parliament upon the question. Lord Palmerston stopped the judgment of Parliament at the time, but Lord Palmerston sent a commission to the Crimea; the commission came home and made a report;

that report received the approval of the country, but I need not tell you, for you all know how the commissioners, Sir John McNeil and Colonel Tulloch, were treated by the Government."

Let us now turn to Mr. Gladstone as he appears in the correspondence of the late Prince Consort; which has been laid before the public in the recently published volumes of Mr. Theodore Martin. In one of his diaries, Mr. Wilberforce tells us that when he and Pitt were in France, one of the questions asked the latter was relating to the continuance of the present system of Government by Kings, Lords, and Commons. "The part which will go first," said Pitt, "will be the prerogative of the Crown, and the power of the House of Lords." Her Majesty, as is very natural, has all her reign kept an eye to this question. We read in the "Life of the Prince Consort" that as regards the new Indian Bill of 1858, as with most measures subjected to considerable alteration during their progress, clauses were admitted in the House of Commons which, on further consideration, the Ministry found to be objectionable. One of these, we are told in a note, was a clause proposed by Mr. Gladstone, which, in its original form, would have deprived the Crown of the power to use the Indian forces in war "except for repelling actual invasion of her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, without the consent of Parliament:" thus depriving the Crown of one of its undoubted prerogatives. The objection to this clause on this ground was, curiously enough, urged by several speakers among the advanced Liberals, but without effect. On having his attention called to it by the Queen, Lord Derby felt the gravity of the oversight, and the clause (the 55th of the Indian Bill, 21 and 22 Vic., cap. 106), was amended, by providing that except for the purposes above mentioned, the revenues of India should not be applied without the consent of Parliament to defray the expense of military operations beyond the external

frontier of our Indian possessions. By this the prerogative of the Crown and the control of Parliament were both saved. Her Majesty, it is well known, had the most entire confidence in Mr. Disraeli. Was it at this time she began to feel a distaste for Mr. Gladstone? If she did, it is not much to be wondered at. Kings and queens, however liberally inclined, are naturally but little inclined to part with one iota of royal prerogative.

On more than one occasion Mr. Gladstone may be said to have clashed with royal opinions. In 1858 we find him advocating the union of the Danubian Principalities, an idea inconsistent, writes the courtly biographer of the Prince Consort, with the arrangement come to at Osborne in 1857, and our Government were startled to find that the terms of that arrangement, as understood by Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, and reduced by them to writing at the time, were ignored by Count Walewski and the Emperor. That arrangement was that the union of the Principalities should not be political, but should be administrative merely, the avowed object being to prevent the formation of a great independent state under the government of a prince, who would, on the first opportunity, throw off his allegiance to the Porte, and would yet not be powerful enough to resist the dictation of Russia. Had the question been free of all secondary considerations; had Russia been content to remain within the frontier assigned to her by the Treaty of Paris; and had the welfare of the Principalities been the only issue at stake, the arguments in support of the French emperor's views of consolidation were inestimable. But the Court thought otherwise; and, to their displeasure, after the Principalities had declared in favour of union, but before the plenipotentiaries had resumed their sittings in the conference at Paris, Mr. Gladstone had raised a discussion upon the question in the House of Commons, and advocated complete union with his accustomed eloquence. If it did not take place, he said, "the Principalities

would be a constant source of anxiety to European policy; whereas if they were united, a living barrier would be interposed between Russia and Turkey; neither would the union have the slightest effect injurious to the Ottoman Empire." Subsequent events have certainly not confirmed this view, adds the courtly Mr. Martin. "Rather may they be said to have shown how truly both Austria and the Porte divined what might be expected to ensue when they contended that the union would be a great blow to the power of Turkey to maintain herself in Europe, and that the Principalities would prove no barrier to Russia when at some future time she believed herself strong enough to make an inroad upon the Danubian provinces." From the animus of this passage we may infer that her Majesty has her doubts as to the foreign policy of her popular and powerful minister.

The Prince makes a reference to Mr. Gladstone, in one of his letters to Stockmar, as follows:—"The next party conflict in the House of Commons will be upon finance. Gladstone wants to pay for the war out of current revenue, so long as he does not require more than ten millions sterling above the ordinary expenditure, and to increase the taxes for the purpose. The Opposition are for borrowing—that is, increasing the debt—and do not wish to impose, in the meantime, any further burdens on themselves. The former course is manly, statesmanlike, and honest; the latter is convenient, cowardly, perhaps popular." "*Nous verrons*," Mr. Martin writes, "Mr. Gladstone brought forward his War Budget on the 8th of May, by which he proposed to double the income tax, and by the returns from this source, and an increased duty on spirits and malt, to bring up the revenue to the level of what was required to meet the increased expenditure for the year. The country was prosperous, and manufacturers busy." "Such is the vigour, and such the elasticity of our trade," said Mr. Gladstone, at the close of the masterly speech with which he introduced the Budget, "that even under the disadvan-

tage of a bad harvest, and under the pressure of war, the imports from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, are increasing, and the very last papers laid on the table show that within the last three months of the year there was £250,000 increase in your exports." To have shrunk in such prosperous circumstances from charging upon the revenues of the year the abnormal expenditure caused by the war would have been indeed cowardly, and the result proved that Mr. Gladstone had rightly understood the feeling of the country in appealing to them not to adopt this course. In a little while after Prince Albert went to Boulogne to pay the French emperor a visit. "I explained to him that we had not borrowed a shilling, nor, as he supposed, emitted paper, but had raised additional taxation to pay the expenses of the war. He seemed to have been quite ignorant of this, and expressed great astonishment. I then went cursorily through Mr. Gladstone's speech on the Budget."

It was in 1855 that Mr. Martin has to record conduct on the part of Mr. Gladstone, of which the Court could not approve. It was on the 21st of May there stood for discussion in the House of Commons a motion by Mr. Milner Gibson, then member for Manchester, for an address to the Crown, expressing regret that the opportunity offered by the Vienna conferences for bringing the negotiations to a pacific issue had not been improved, and asserting that the interpretations of the third point conceded by Russia furnished the elements for renewed conferences, and a good basis for a just and satisfactory peace. It was understood that this motion was to be supported by Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sydney Herbert. Writing on the subject to Baron Stockmar, the Prince says:—"Here a combination of the delegates of Layard, and of his friends, and of Lord Ellenborough, which had for its object to overturn the Ministry, has fallen to pieces; on the other hand, the peace party, Bright, &c., bring forward a motion this evening for peace *à tout prix*, to which

the Peelites (with Gladstone and Graham at their head) will give their adherence! and which Lord Grey is to follow up by a motion to the same effect in the Upper House—a motion which has been concocted with Aberdeen! Thus these people will present a public confirmation of all the charges which have been made against them within the last two years, and embitter the nation permanently against them in a way that will make the reconstruction of a Conservative party impossible." In one respect, the Prince was right. Mr. Gladstone's defection rendered the reconstruction of the Conservative party impossible. In another respect the Prince was mistaken. So far from Mr. Gladstone embittering the nation permanently against himself, he is now the one man whom the nation delights to honour.

A little while after the Prince and his biographer are equally severe on the conduct of Mr. Gladstone and his friends. "After Lord John's embarrassing escapade, the Peelites got into a fresh scrape by suddenly combining with all the factions of the opposition in an attempt to upset the Turkish Loan. The Ministry scraped through with a majority of three! otherwise the treaty which had been concluded and already ratified with Turkey and France would have been broken and flung overboard."

In 1860, the Commercial Treaty with France led to not a little correspondence on the Prince's part, and we have to thank Mr. Martin for his preservation of a noble utterance on the part of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. In a speech on the Reform Bill, speaking of Mr. Gladstone's wonderful effort when he introduced his celebrated Budget, he observed:—"Whatever we may think of the Budget it introduced, the speech will remain among the monuments of eloquence as long as the language lasts." On this the Prince's biographer remarks:—"No skill in the handling of figures less consummate, no rhetoric less persuasive than those of Mr. Gladstone; no confidence less robust than that entertained by the

country in his sagacity as a financier could have carried a budget so startling and so bold with success through the storm of opposition it had to encounter. The treaty with France on which it had so largely rested had fallen out of favour with many who at first had been well disposed to it from the moment their trust in the sincerity of the Emperor had been shaken. Such advantage as it offered seemed too like a lure to conciliate objections to the annexation of Savoy, an imputation freely launched against it by the French Protectionists. And even these advantages seemed to be more than counterbalanced by those which under the treaty France had secured for herself. What she most wanted, our coal and our iron, we bound ourselves to give her for ten years free of duty, while we were also pledged to abolish all duty on French manufactured goods, and to reduce the duty on brandy from 15s. to 8s. 2d., and on wine from 5s. to 3s. These changes were to take immediate effect, while on the other hand, France retained all her prohibitory duties on English productions unaltered until the first of October, 1861, when she engaged not to abolish them as we had done, but only to reduce them to a maximum *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent., to be lowered to 25 per cent. after the lapse of three years." Alas! Mr. Gladstone lived to see this modified step on the part of the French rescinded, and to find France as opposed to free trade with England as ever. In 1881 we have now more hostile tariffs to fight than ever, and hence a great deal of our declining prosperity and increasing poverty as a nation. It is often said, we can buy gold too dear. Now the truth of the very reverse is becoming apparent, and people begin to ask, Are not foreign goods imported wholesale into this country to the displacing of our own in the market too cheap? Our whole scale of living, of paying wages, gives the foreign producer an advantage against which English manufacturers must find it increasingly difficult to fight.

In 1860 the Prince writes to Baron

Stockmar :—"Our Fortifications Bill is at last in the House of Commons. Gladstone continues in the Ministry, but on the condition that he shall be free next year to attack and denounce the fortifications, to the construction of which this year he gives his assent and the money. Palmerston laughingly yielded this condition to him." The Fortifications Bill had been introduced by Lord Palmerston himself in a vigorous speech on the 23rd of July. Writing to the Queen the next day, he said :—"Mr. Gladstone told Viscount Palmerston this evening that he wished it to be understood that though now acquiescing in the steps now taken about the fortifications, he kept himself free to take such steps as he may think fit upon that subject next year, to which Viscount Palmerston entirely assented. That course will probably be the same which Mr. Gladstone has taken this year, namely, ineffectual opposition and ultimate acquiescence." By the light of history it seems that the nation would have lost little and saved much as regards cash had Mr. Gladstone's opposition been more effectual. But even a man like Mr. Gladstone cannot succeed in always having his own way. Mr. Gladstone was justified in indicating next year, as he did in very decided terms his own opinion, that the country had been led by unfounded apprehensions into an extravagant expenditure for the purpose of providing against contingencies of danger from abroad, which he regarded as improbable. "If," said he, "there be any one danger which has recently, in any special manner, beset us, I confess that, though it may be owing to some peculiarity in my position, or to some weakness in my vision, danger has seemed to me to lie, during recent years, chiefly in an increased susceptibility to excitement, in our proneness to constant and apparent boundless augmentation of expenditure." The courtly biographer continues :—"There was no gain-saying the truism by which this statement was followed that all excess in public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a great pecuniary

waste, but a great political, and, above all, a great moral evil." But as parsimony in public no less than in private affairs is ever the truest economy, so it was obvious that unless it could be shown that the legitimate wants of the country had been exceeded the natural presumption was that what was here condemned as waste was only legitimate outlay. "It did not, therefore, escape notice," continues Mr. Martin, "that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's suggestion was echoed neither by the Prime Minister nor by the Foreign Secretary, either of whom from his position and special responsibilities was more likely to know what were and what were not the legitimate wants of the country, having regard to the state of affairs in Europe. On the contrary, they gave no sign that the efforts to bring up our natural defences to a higher standard could with safety be relaxed. And when silence became no longer possible in the face of reiterated appeals to them from the so-called Peace party to set the example to Europe of disarming, Lord John Russell showed that nothing could be further from their thoughts than any change of policy which had been spoken of by their own Chancellor of the Exchequer as prompted by undue susceptibility to excitement." At the close of an incidental discussion on the Italian question (10th July), Lord John Russell used the following decisive language :—"It is a great misfortune for England, and it is a great misfortune for Europe, that such costly armaments should be kept up in time of peace; but we should not remedy that if we were to disarm and to leave other nations to increase their preparations. I trust that no short-sighted view of our interests, no narrow saving with regard to any particular tax, will induce this country in the present state of Europe and the world to maintain a navy and army which are not adequate in all respects to the position which we ought to occupy. Not merely the greatness, but the very safety of this country is concerned in her state of preparation. So far from increasing the probability of war, as some have thought, I believe that the coun-

try's being strong, is not only advantageous for her own interests, but is a weapon in the hands of every other power that seeks for independence and liberty. The knowledge that this country is able, and in a just cause is ready to assume the offensive, at the same time that she prizes the blessings which result from peace and the prosperity of her own commerce and manufactures, is, I believe, a guarantee for the independence of nations, and at the same time a security for the peace of Europe." These words, continues Mr. Martin, "inspired confidence in the country, and removed the misgivings of the Opposition. It was obvious that possible causes of European strife were present to the mind of the speaker of which those who had not access to official information were of necessity ignorant, and as to which he was bound to maintain that wary silence which a generous opposition will never seek to force a responsible minister to break or to embarrass him for maintaining. And when the time shall arrive for a full revelation of the precarious tenure by which peace in Europe was sustained at this period, the soundness of the principles advanced by Lord John Russell will be amply vindicated." Apparently the difficulty at that time was the Schleswig-Holstein question. In the spring of 1861, Denmark had agreed to submit the budget for that state to the Local Diet, but refused to allow them a voice in discussing or disputing its details. She was thus brought into direct conflict with the German Diet, which saw in the assertion of royal prerogative a step towards the ultimate incorporation of Schleswig with the Kingdom of Denmark. Federal execution was threatened; the dispute was taken up keenly by Prussia, and a collision between Germany had become imminent. A temporary arrangement of the dispute between the Diet and the Duchies was effected, mainly through the intervention of England. But where the ulterior objects of Denmark on the one hand, and of Germany on the other, were manifestly irreconcilable, it was only a question of time

when the arbitrament of the sword should be appealed to. The accession of King Christian IX. upon the death of King Frederick VII. of Denmark afforded a pretence for reopening the question of his right to the Duchies. After fruitless efforts on the part of the European powers to effect an amicable adjustment, the German Diet, early in 1869, voted for immediate war. Austria and Prussia immediately concentrated a large force on the frontier of Schleswig. Success speedily declared itself upon their side, and showed the superiority of the Prussian arms—and into what formidable proportions the military strength of that country had grown within the last few years. France and Russia, equally bound with England to maintain the Danish Kingdom, as settled by the convention of the Great Powers in 1852, having refused to interfere by force, England could only follow their example. Denmark, as the result of the campaign, was forced to surrender Schleswig-Holstein and Luneburg, and to pay a portion of the expenses of her adversaries. What is the moral of all this?—that the only war-cloud in the horizon was this question of Schleswig-Holstein—that in it we did not fire a shot, or receive one—and that it was Mr. Gladstone rather than Lord John Russell who took the truest view of the matter. We can gather, however, from Mr. Martin, on which side the sympathies of the Court were, and can understand, consequently, the unpopularity in high quarters of a Chancellor of Exchequer or a Prime Minister of an economical and pacific turn. "There was," writes Mr. Martin, "no topic in connection with the national defences on which the Prince did not take means to keep himself thoroughly informed. The improvements in all kinds of firearms were the subject of his most careful study and observation. His knowledge and judgment on these topics were constantly appealed to. To Lord Ellenborough he wrote as to our volunteers:—"They will require a great deal of organising, and this, if left to the last moment of danger, may lead to

inextricable confusion." A few days after we find him writing to Lord Palmerston, giving his experiences of the advantages of the breech-loading rifle, which had not then obtained general recognition :—"Balmoral, 12th October, 1861. My dear Lord Palmerston,—I am glad to see from your letter of the 7th inst., that you keep up the steam about our defences. Shorncliffe wants sadly a drill-ground, and I am happy to hear that three hundred acres of land adjoining the camp are to be had. The purchase would be most useful for that camp." Of Lord Ellenborough's speech at Gloucester on the Volunteer Movement we are told that it was exactly after the Prince's own heart. War and warriors seem to have a natural affinity with courts and princes.

The Peelites themselves do not appear to have been very popular at Court. For instance, when Sir James Graham died, Mr. Martin tells us :—"In politics the Prince regarded him as too much of a partisan, and too covetous of popularity to be entitled to take a leading rank as a statesman ; but he was very sensible of the loss to the country, and to his party, of a man whose ability and experience in administration and in parliamentary tactics gave him great weight in council, and whose vigorous eloquence was often most serviceable in debate." The death of so old an acquaintance as Sir James Graham, writes Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar, in October, 1861, "will have distressed you not a little. Politically, he was used up, especially as he had not the courage to undertake the part which, from his experience, devolved on him of moderator and arbitrator, amid the complications of everyday policy. . . . His loss, important as he was, will therefore be felt in this country as a loss."

Looking further into the life of the Prince Consort, we find utterances which may help us to understand how the suspicions may have come into existence that Mr. Gladstone is not, and never was, much of a favourite at Court. Prince Albert writes in

1861 :—"The Ministry have agreed to ask for Alice £30,000 as a dower, and £6,000 as an annuity. This is three-fourths of what was granted to the eldest sister, and will, therefore, no doubt, because it embodies a principle, be carried ; she will not, however, be able to cut a great figure upon it. We proposed that the Bill should once for all settle the same sums upon the other sisters in the event of a marriage. *Gladstone, however, sees the greatest difficulties, which are probably imaginary.*" It is to be feared, in 1861, that Mr. Gladstone had not learnt much of the art of the courtier, an art which his distinguished rival Lord Beaconsfield seems to have studied to perfection. Lord Palmerston was also, as we all know, wise in his generation. "As to the Queen," his lordship wrote, "her steady adherence to and studious observance of the principles and practice of the Constitution, having during the whole of her reign been appreciated and admired by men of all political parties." No such graceful testimony from Mr. Gladstone finds a place in Mr. Martin's biography.

The Prince, seated on a mount, as it were, did not hold the statesmen with whom he came in contact very highly. In November, 1860, he wrote to Baron Stockmar : "You, too, will have been annoyed at Lord John's note. A country like this ought not to help to increase the general confusion of what is legal and right, but should uphold the moral law. The craving of individual statesmen to thrust themselves into the van in the general movement, and to make themselves conspicuous, is a constant temptation to mischief. Sir George Lewis said to me lately, 'I find that the Cabinet is an institution intended to prevent individual Ministers from immortalising themselves at the expense of the country.'" This, adds the Prince, would be a valuable institution if it ever fulfilled its destiny.

One paragraph which occurs in Vol. V. of the Prince's Life deserves recording, and it is one of the truth of which it is to be presumed Mr. Gladstone will heartily testify.

On the 13th of August, 1860, Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen:—"Members are leaving town, but the tiresome ones who have no occupation of their own, and no chance of seeing their names in the newspapers when Parliament is up, remain to obstruct and delay by talking. The Speaker, who has not been quite well, grows as impatient as an official who has hired a grouching moor and cannot get to it, and a few nights ago, when a tiresome orator got up to speak just as an end to the debate had been expected, the Speaker cried 'Oh, oh,' in chorus with the rest of the House."

Mr. Gladstone has, at all times, been ready to do battle with his peers. The Prince writes:—"In politics we have been in accord on all points, and even our Cabinet is beginning to see things rightly. So much the worse, should it be wrecked upon certain rocks which be ahead of it. The Reform Bill is happily withdrawn, and the union of the Indian with the Queen's army has been resolved on, but there still remains a resolution against the Upper House demanding its rejection of the abolition of the Paper Duty as unconstitutional, for which Lord John and Gladstone will vote." The contingency was averted by the resolutions submitted to the House by Lord Palmerston, which, while admitting that the House of Lords had acted within their right, reasserted the exclusive power of the Commons to grant aids and supplies to the Crown, and so to impose and remit taxes, and to frame bills of supply that their right as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, may be maintained inviolate. These resolutions were condemned by several of the extreme Liberals as inadequate. But their opposition came to nothing, when even Mr. Gladstone, while denouncing the vote of the House of Lords as a gigantic innovation, and reserving to himself freedom to vindicate the privileges of the Commons by action, concluded by admitting that he could not refuse his assent to the resolutions because they contained a mild and temperate, but a firm declaration of the rights of the

House of Commons. A further attempt by Lord Fermoy to renew the agitation was defeated by a majority of 177 to 138. The Prince continues that Lord Palmerston and the rest of the Cabinet would vote against the proposal, and he also states that Mr. Gladstone will not vote for the resolution to put our harbours and coasts into a proper state of protection, because in common with Bright and Cobden he looks to the recent Commercial Treaty for England's real and only defence. Such seems to have been the opinion of Mr. Pitt about a hundred years previously. At the time, be it remembered, the report on the state of our national defences had indicated many weak points in our armour. Mr. Martin quotes, with satisfaction, the following anecdote from Thiers' "History of the Consulate and the Empire," to the effect that when at the Congress of Vienna the Emperor Alexander urged upon his Imperial brother, Francis Joseph, that the well-known and tried sincerity of his character ought to be a sufficient security for the Austrian people, the Emperor Francis replied: "Yes, the sincerity of a Prince is an excellent guarantee, but a good frontier is still better."

In connection with this subject, a further statement of Lord Palmerston's views in a letter to Mr. Cobden, 8th January, 1862, may be given. A memorandum by that gentleman on mutual disarmament by France and England had been sent to him, and in acknowledging its receipt, Lord Palmerston wrote:—"It would be very delightful if your Utopia could be realised, and if the nations of the earth would think of nothing but peace and commerce, and would give up quarrelling and fighting altogether. But, unfortunately, man is a fighting and quarrelling animal, and that this is human nature is proved by the fact that republics, where the masses govern, are far more quarrelsome, and are far more addicted to fighting than monarchies which are governed by comparatively few persons. But so long as other nations are animated by these human

passions, a country like England, wealthy and exposed to attack, must, of necessity, be provided with the means of defence, and, however expensive these means may be, they are infinitely cheaper than the war which they tend to keep off."

In the spring of the year 1860, perhaps we get the most flattering notice of Gladstone in the whole five volumes of the Prince's biography. In a letter to Stockmar, the Prince writes:—"The Commercial Treaty is concluded. Gladstone's budget has also passed, and he has sent the Emperor Napoleon a copy of his great speech, by which he excited the admiration of the House of Commons and the Press.

. . . . Gladstone is now the real leader of the House of Commons, and works with an energy and vigour altogether incredible." We further are told that the French Emperor wrote to Lord Cowley begging him to convey to Mr. Gladstone his thanks for a copy which that gentleman had sent him of his budget speech, in terms studiously framed to allay the irritation and distrust which the Emperor was conscious that by this time he had aroused. After saying that he will preserve the speech as a precious reminder of a man who has his thorough esteem, and whose eloquence is of a lofty character, commensurate with the grandeur of his views, the Emperor continued:—"I am glad of the success which the English Ministry have obtained, for the approval of the Commercial Treaty must of necessity restore to their normal state the political relations of the two countries."

It is easy to perceive that when we come to the period of the Crimean War—a war which all parties now confess was productive of no satisfactory results—the conduct of Mr. Gladstone was anything but satisfactory to the Court. On one occasion, for instance, we are told "the debate was remarkable chiefly for a powerful speech by Mr. Gladstone, strongly marked by Russian sympathies, in support of the Austrian proposals, and in which the position of the allies was depicted in the most unfavourable colours, and the continuance

of the war urgently deprecated." And then comes a quotation from Lord Palmerston's speech, in reply, as follows:—"No man could have been a party to entering into this great contest in which we are engaged; no man, at least, ought to have been a party to such a policy without having deeply weighed the gravity of the struggle into which he was about to plunge the country, and without having satisfied his mind that the cause was just, that the motives were sufficient, and that the sacrifices which he was calling upon the country to make, were such as a statesman considered it ought to endure. Sir, there must, indeed, be grave reasons which could induce a man who had been a party with her Majesty's Government to that line of policy, who had assisted in conducting that war; who had, after a full, and perhaps unexampled deliberation, agreed to enter into that war; who, having concurred, after that full and mature deliberation, in the commencement of the war, had also joined in calling upon the country for great sacrifices in order to continue it, and who had, up to a very recent period, assented to all the measures proposed for its continuance; I say there must be, indeed, grave reasons which could induce a man who had been, so far, a party to the measures of his government, utterly to change his opinions; to declare the war unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic; to set before the country all the imaginary disasters with which his fancy could supply him, and to magnify and exaggerate the force of the enemy, and the difficulties of our position." "In this part of Lord Palmerston's speech," remarks Mr. Martin, "he struck a note which awakened a lively response both in the House and in the country. Nor was he less sure of their sympathy," the same writer adds, "when in referring to the argument used by some of the Peace party, that Turkey had herself been satisfied with the Austrian proposals, he said that the objects for which the war was undertaken were far too wide and important to depend upon the decision solely of the Turkish Government. The protec-

tion of Turkey was one of these objects but only one, and not for the sake of Turkey merely, but as means to an end. Beyond the mere question of the defence of Turkey was the larger object of repressing the grasping ambition of Russia; an ambition," he continued, "which aims at the moral and physical subjugation of the Continent of Europe and the extinction of those principles of political and commercial liberty upon which the independent existence of the kingdoms of Europe must mainly depend. The governments of England and France, therefore, had in view as great, and perhaps a greater interest in the question what the terms of peace should be, than the Government of Turkey itself. The advisers of the Emperor Nicholas, and such advisers, it has been confidently stated, there were who told him that the fighting days of England were over, and that her sons cared too much for money and their own ease to risk either in a European quarrel, must by this time have been dismayed to see how greatly they had mistaken the character of the English people, whom a peace of forty years had left as ready as of yore to confront the hazards of war at any sacrifice of blood and treasure. Lord Palmerston was right in believing that the part which Russia had played in helping the despotic sovereigns of the Continent to crush the recent struggles of their subjects for constitutional freedom, had predisposed the British people to look with extreme distrust on any aggressive advance which she might make in Europe. They were, moreover, impatient at the idea of the world being held in awe by a gigantic power which they had seen imposing its will upon countries of a higher civilisation than its own, and which they believed to be the great barrier to the advancement of free opinion and of human progress. Little as Englishmen loved the Turks, and deeply as they detested the oppression which the Porte practised towards its subjects, both Mussulmen and Christians, they remembered too well what Russia had done and was doing elsewhere to hear without im-

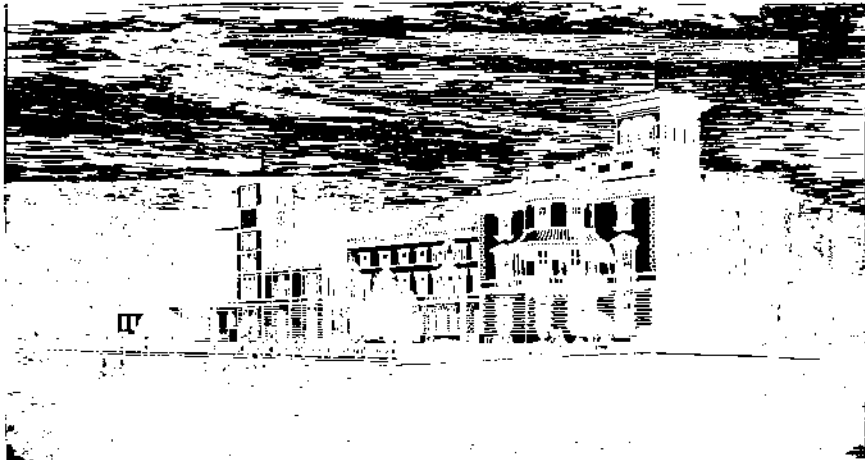
patience of her being put forward as the champion of humanity and of Christian independence. It cannot be denied that Mr. Gladstone in particular and the Peelites in general were regarded with distrust by the great body of their countrymen, on account of their supposed Russian proclivities. So prevalent was this feeling that the remonstrances of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, who represented the small Peace party in the country at that time, were listened to with impatience, not unmixed with indignation."

"Turkey," said Mr. Cobden, speaking in Manchester in January, "is a decaying country, and the Turks cannot be permanently retained as a ruling power in Europe." "So far," adds Mr. Martin, "he commanded a general assent; but when he went on to contemplate with complacency the possession of Constantinople by the Russians, he cut himself adrift from the sympathies of the mass of his fellow countrymen." "If Russia," he continued, "obtained Constantinople, she must cease to be barbarous before she could become formidable; and if she made a great navy it must be by doing as the Venetians, the Dutch, the English, and the Americans did, by the accumulation of wealth, the exercise of industry, and the superior skill and intelligence of her artisans." Mr. Bright, we are told, at the same meeting adopted a similar line of argument:—"Turkey is a decaying nation: Russia an advancing one. Russia, though a despotism now, will not be a despotism always. We had a despotism once, and it gave us trouble to get rid of it. Russia is in its natural progress from a bad to a better state. If we had not interfered, the difference between Turkey and Russia would have been settled long before this: settled by the concessions of Turkey." "No eloquence, however," adds Mr. Martin, "could disguise the hollowness of arguments like these."

In no way was the feeling of the country, with which Mr. Gladstone had little sympathy, more clearly expressed than in a letter written to King Leopold by Prince

Albert —“ We supported Russia,” he writes, “ in her demands at Constantinople, until it became clear that she was bent on annihilating the independence of the Porte. It was not from mere selfishness, and with a view to making catspaws of other powers, but in order to avert the possibility of war, that England pressed for the *Concert European*. Austria’s and Prussia’s faint-heartedness and regard for the Russians, made our attempts in this direction fruitless. Thereupon England and France alone took upon themselves the burden of protecting

whereas if one man has to do it, he does so at the risk of a struggle for life and death. All Europe, Belgium, and Germany included, have the greatest interest in the integrity and independence of the Porte being secure for the future, but a still greater in Russia being defeated and chastised, for it is to weak states above all others of importance, as a precedent, that if a strong neighbour seeks to oppress them all Europe should come to their aid and repel the oppressor. This is the true state of the case, and the politicians should not



OSBORNE HOUSE, ISLE OF WIGHT.

the Porte. It is quite true that our stupid club-house politicians and journalists underrated Russia's strength. But every statesman knew how heavy was the task we had undertaken. A military European concert [this was written in July, 1854] might even now bring the war to a speedy close, restore peace, and put the Porte under proper conditions. But if England and France have to carry on the war single-handed with Russia, it must become a war of extermination; just as if twenty men have to arrest a criminal, it is a simple affair to seize and bind him and carry him off to prison ;

be misled by their soreness of feeling at the rough and unmeasured terms in which it has been expressed by the English journals. To be plain-spoken, perhaps not over scrupulous, is their criticism."

Again the Prince observes —“ Another mistake which people make abroad is to ascribe to England a policy based upon material interests and cold calculation. Her policy is one of pure feeling, and therefore illogical. The Government is a popular Government, and the masses upon whom it rests only feel and do not think. In the present instance, their feeling is

something of this sort: 'The Emperor of Russia is a tyrant—the enemy of all liberty on the Continent, the oppressor of Poland. He wanted to coerce the poor Turk. The Turk is a fine fellow; he has braved the rascal, let us rush to his assistance. The Emperor is no gentleman, as he has spoken a lie to our Queen. Down with the Emperor of Russia! Napoleon for ever! He is the nephew of his uncle, whom we defeated at Waterloo. We were afraid of his invading us! Quite the contrary! He has forgotten all that is past, and is ready to fight with us for the glorious cause against the oppressor of liberty. He may have played the French some tricks, but they are an unruly set and don't deserve any better. D—— all the German princes who won't go forward, with us, against the Russians because they think they want him to keep down their own people. The worst of them is the King of Prussia, who ought to know better.'

It must not, however, be understood that Mr. Gladstone was singular in that he had no one to aid him but Messrs. Cobden and Bright. Loud as was the general voice for war, the Ministry were met by the Opposition with the reproach that, if they had made it clear from the first that they would regard as a *casus belli* any invasion by Russia of the Turkish provinces, that step would never have been taken. On the first night of the Session of 1854 this view was urged with great vigour by Lord Derby, who charged them with having misled the Emperor Nicholas into the belief that England would, under no circumstances, oppose with arms any encroachments by Russia upon Turkish territory. Russia, he maintained, had always recoiled from aggression when she was boldly met, and she would have done so now had she been frankly told that, on any such aggression, it was not only Turkey she would have to encounter, but the combined forces of England and France also. Appealing in support of this view to the past history of Russian policy, he said:—
"For the last 150 years it has been a policy

of gradual aggression: not a policy of conquest, but aggression. It has never proceeded by storm, but by sap and mine. The first process has invariably been that of fomenting discontent and dissatisfaction among the subjects of subordinate states—then proffering mediation—then offering assistance to the weaker party—then declaring the independence of that party—then placing that independence under the protection of Russia, and finally from protection proceeding to the incorporation, one by one, of those states into the gigantic body of the Russian Empire. I say nothing of Poland or of Livadia, but I speak of Mingrelia, and the other countries of the Caspian, even as far as the boundaries of the Araxes, and again, even the Crimea itself. This has been the one course which Russia has invariably pursued; but, although she has pursued this steady course for 150 years, she has from time to time desisted from her schemes where she has found they met with opposition, and has never carried one of these schemes into effect where she has been certain to meet the opposition of this country." Thus spoke Lord Derby, and his speech, at any rate, was plausible. In the case before us, it is not quite clear that any such declaration as Lord Derby desiderated would have been attended with any satisfactory result. It was clear that the Czar had made up his mind that Turkey was dead, and that the time had come for him to swallow it. The only obstacle in his way was England, and England estranged from France was no very formidable opponent. Russia fondly but idly dreamed that there was nothing for her to do but to mass her forces on the Turkish frontier, and thus to strike a sudden and deadly blow when the right time had come.

Let us continue our researches. In the second volume of the Prince Consort's Life we have a few additional references to Mr. Gladstone. In 1852, when Mr. Disraeli introduced his Budget in a speech of conspicuous ability, which kept alive the attention of the House for five hours and a

quarter, the debate which ensued extended over four long nights, and was concluded, we are told, at four o'clock in the morning of the 17th of December by Mr. Gladstone, in one of his most effective speeches. It was one of the few famous displays of oratory that are reported to have decided an issue that had before been doubtful.

In 1851, the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar:—"I have availed myself of the opportunities of our stay here to arrange my numerous papers; have read a pamphlet by Gladstone on Italy, which I recommend to your notice." This was Mr. Gladstone's letter to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government. At that time the relations of Mr. Gladstone with the Royal Family were cordial; when the Prince went to the opening of the New Royal Exchange in the December of 1849, Lady Lyttelton wrote to Mrs. Gladstone as follows:—"You want to know about the royal city visit? It was magnificent, and delightful to see and hear. To me, who have little experience in such scenes, it was really most impressive. The weather was Italian; not a bit of fog or cold or rain. St. Paul's seen as clearly as a country church up to the cross, and on the cupola sat many people. Every inch of ground, every bridge, roof, window, and as many vessels of all sorts as could be on the river, leaving our ample passage clear, were covered close packed with people. And the thought that all were feeling alike both for the Queen and the poor little fair-headed child they cheered was quite overpowering. He and his sister behaved very well—coolly and nicely. But they could not, of course, feel all that I felt. The Prince was perfect in taste and manner, putting the Prince of Wales forward without affectation, and very dignified and kind himself. The most striking thing to me was after landing the procession along a long covered gallery which held many people each side of the Prince and children. The cheers close to us, everyone looking so *affectionately*, quite like parents, on the two little creatures, stretching over one and

another to see and smile at them. I shall never forget. The rotunda is handsome, and was filled all over with people in full dress like the opera-house, and they made a thundering applause, clapping hands as soon as the Royal party came in. . . . What a curious thing is that loyalty, and how deep and strong in England. —'s speech was most pompous, and he is ridiculous in voice, in manner. And his immense size, and cloak and wig, and great voice addressing the Prince of Wales about his being 'the pledge and promise of a long race of kings,' looked quite absurd. Poor Princey did not seem at all to guess what he meant. . . . The Queen was wretched at being prevented from going to see the children received on the first State occasion. Everybody in full dress, liveries like the State drawing-rooms, and all sorts of old feudal city customs. The Swans' liveries *in their* barge, with their keeper; the Lord Mayor's barge quite dazzling just ahead of ours, and he and all the functionaries in *new* robes of scarlet cloth or crimson velvet. And such floods of sunshine all the time, and an incessant thundering of 'God Save the Queen' by a succession of bands and the bells, and the Tower guns enough to drive one mad." This charming graphic letter is too good to be lost, and may be taken, considering the relationship of Lady Lyttelton to Mrs. Gladstone, as an indication that there was more or less of friendly feeling existing between the Court and the Gladstone family at that time. .

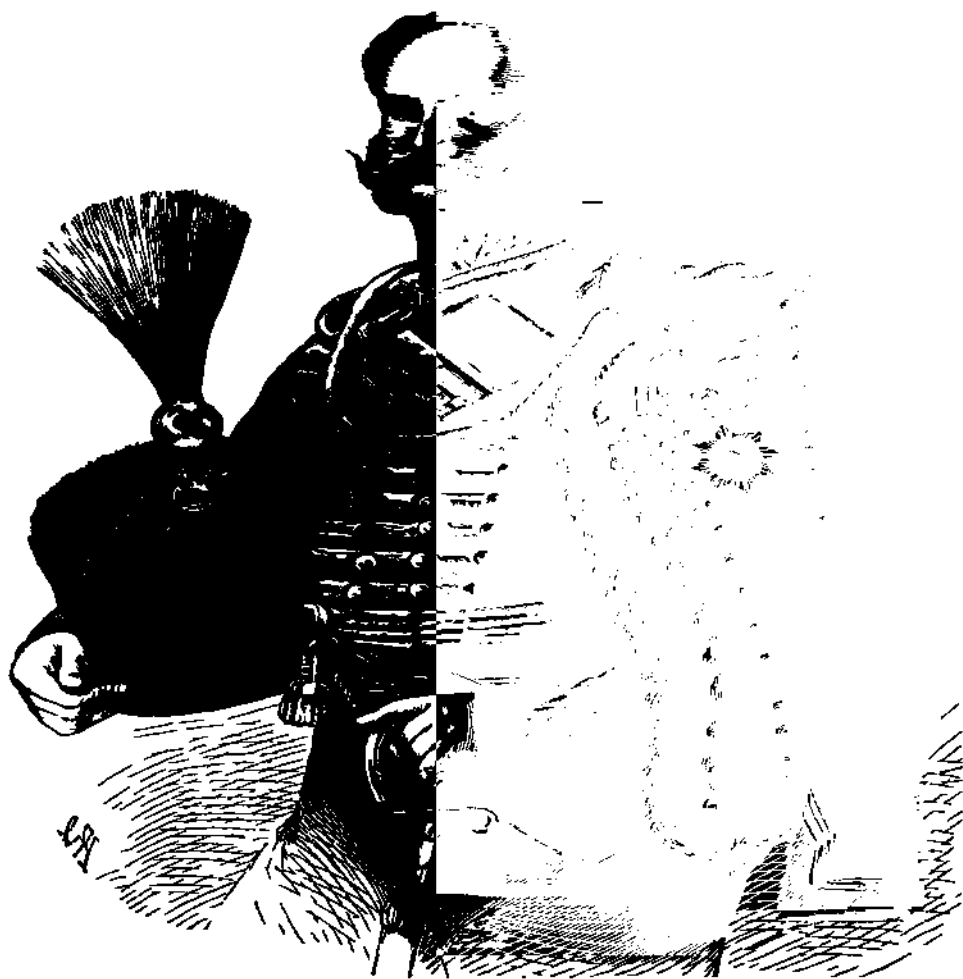
When the debate on Lord Palmerston's policy took place in 1850—a debate which Lord Palmerston regarded as a "shot fired by a foreign conspiracy, aided and abetted by a domestic intrigue"—Mr. Martin writes, after referring to Mr. Gladstone and the other illustrious men who took part in it:—"Credulous indeed must the man have been, or blinded by personal pique, who could accept the assumption that statesmen of such a stamp could be the instruments either of foreign conspiracy or domestic intrigue. It was, indeed, a memorable debate," continues Mr. Martin, "which always

rank high in parliamentary annals, for the fine display of eloquence and intellectual power by which it was distinguished. Without a note, without pause or hesitation or sign of fatigue, Lord Palmerston vindicated, through nearly five hours, the principles and proceedings of his long career as Foreign Secretary, holding even his adversaries in a spell of admiration, not unmixed with wonder, at a mental and physical effort so remarkable in a man of fifty-six." No man, Mr. Gladstone owned next day, in the course of a speech of unusual power, in which he dissected with merciless logic a large portion of Lord Palmerston's defence, "had listened with greater admiration than himself, while from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next, he defended his policy before a crowded House of Commons in that gigantic intellectual and physical effort." Prince Albert wrote to Baron Stockmar:—"In the House the debate on Greece has already lasted four nights. Palmerston spoke for five hours without a moment's pause. His speech is a masterpiece. The state of affairs, however, will not be improved by it, and we may have a resignation of the Ministry to-morrow. Peel, Graham, Gladstone, Disraeli, Molesworth, and Cobden, all go against the Ministry, and speak in strong terms. The Ministry has identified itself entirely with Palmerston." For once, however, the Prince was wrong in his anticipations. The division gave Lord Palmerston a majority, and the Ministry was safe.

We have one more reference to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Martin tells us, under the year 1853, "Early in April, Mr. Gladstone brought forward his budget in a speech which raised even higher than before the estimate of his great oratorical powers, and, at the same time, revealed financial sagacity unexampled since the days of Sir Robert Peel."

It may be interesting to note here that the first reference to Mr. Gladstone occurs in the year 1845. The Prince wrote to Stockmar:—"We have of late

been very active. Peel has had to reconstruct his whole Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone has retired upon the Catholic question. He has no objection to the measure—nay, he will support it, but thinks he has written something in a book of his, 'The State in Its Relation to the Church,' which prevents him from taking part in it as minister." "I have a strong conviction," said Mr. Gladstone, in the debate on the Address, "speaking under ordinary circumstances, and as a general rule, that those who have borne the most solemn view of a great constitutional question ought not to be parties responsible for proposals which involve a material departure from them." In April the Prince writes:—"Dear Stockmar,—We are in the midst of the most fearful agitation. Sir Robert has brought forward his Maynooth Bill, and has two-thirds of his own party against him. The Whigs are compelled to support him, but naturally they do this in such a way as to do him as much harm as possible. Of bigotry, uncharitableness, and spite there is no end. A whole torrent of petitions laden with these is poured into Parliament. A single member laid 160 two days ago upon the table of the House of Commons, and of these several were for Sir Robert's impeachment. Mr. Gladstone speaks and votes now for the Bill, although his doing so is at variance with his most cherished feelings. Sir Robert Inglis heads the Opposition—Lord Ashley, Mr. Thomas Duncombe, and Mr. Disraeli fight in the first ranks. The Opposition (the Liberals, I mean) have given notice of a motion which Mr. Ward is to bring forward against Sir R. Peel's Bill to the effect 'that the money for the increase of Maynooth should not be paid by the people, but be taken from the revenues of the Protestant Church in Ireland.' This is to be so put that the Tories can vote in favour of it, and so Peel be left in a pitiful minority. He, on the other hand, declares that he will carry through the Bill, and that goes a great way." In a note, Mr. Martin reminds us that the precise words used by Mr. Gladstone on the



THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY

occasion referred to by the Prince, in a letter we have quoted, were: "deeply cherished predilections." At any rate, such are Mr. Gladstone's words as they are given in Hansard's report of the Maynooth debate, and they drew upon him the fire of the Hon. George Smyth, one of the foremost of those brilliant skirmishers of the Young England party, who, in those days, lost no opportunity of harassing the flanks of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, even when, as in this case, they voted for his measures. Prince Albert seems much to have pitied Peel—how much more would he have to pity Gladstone, were he alive now. The Young England party, at any rate, were gentlemen. As much, alas, cannot be said of some of Mr. Gladstone's parliamentary tormentors at this present time.

A gentleman residing at Montrose lately addressed a letter to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., calling attention to the following quotation from one of the late Lord Russell's pamphlets:—"By his foreign policy he (Mr. Gladstone) has tarnished the national honour, injured the national interests, and lowered the national character." The writer, who was under the impression that the passage occurred in one of Lord Russell's speeches, stated that use was being made of it "in the public Press and otherwise, as the honest opinion of the great statesman with regard to our present Premier," at the same time adding his own opinion, and that of others who took a great interest in the subject, "that Lord Russell renounced the statement before he died and expressed himself entirely in unison with Mr. Gladstone's exposition of his foreign policy. He, however, asked for a simple statement of the facts of the case. Mr. Ashley has replied as follows:—"House of Commons, May 30th, 1881. Sir,—The words which you recall in your letter to me of the 13th inst. were never spoken by Lord Russell, but something like them was written by him after he had retired from public life. He was reterring to the settlement of the Alabama claims, which, I imagine, everybody now agrees was a wise

and honourable arrangement of a painful dispute. The present leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons took a prominent part in its accomplishment. But that on other points, and especially on the Eastern question, Lord Russell warmly approved of Mr. Gladstone's policy there can be no doubt. He was also one of the conveners of the St. James's Hall conference on the Eastern question, at which Mr. Gladstone was the principal speaker, and I have the highest authority for saying that on the last occasion on which he saw Mr. Gladstone, he expressed his eager and earnest desire to see him at the head of a Ministry. On the same authority, I am able to quote a short passage written by Lord Russell in 1876, which shows very completely, in a short compass, the opinions which he then held:—"There can be no doubt that unless we have some man, far-seeing as Mr. Gladstone, and commanding the House of Commons as Lord Castlereagh once did, we shall fail utterly in maintaining our place in Europe, and asserting the reputation and fame of England." I think this is a complete answer to the statements to which you refer.—Yours faithfully, (signed) Evelyn Ashley."—The London correspondent of the *Scotsman* has reason to believe that the authority alluded to in the above interesting letter is no other than Lady Russell.

People are never tired of making charges against Mr. Gladstone. It is the penalty he has to pay for his popularity and greatness. Very recently in the *Contemporary Review* we have seen how, in an article, Mr. MacColl replies to a recent imputation of the *Saturday Review* that he was "a bore," through whom Mr. Gladstone sometimes communicates his views to the public. He emphatically denies that there is any truth in this statement. He says:—"Whatever I may chance to be is a matter of very small consequence to anybody but myself; but it is a matter of some consequence that Mr. Gladstone should not be held responsible for what in no way concerns him. As a matter of fact, Mr. Gladstone has

literally had no more to do with anything that I have ever written than Lord Beaconsfield had." Mr. MacColl thinks that the misrepresentation is perhaps due to an incident in a controversy which under the signature of "Scrutator" he had ten years ago in the columns of the *Times* with Professor Max Müller. The subject in dispute was the responsibility of France and Germany respectively for the Franco-German War; and Mr. Max Müller having jumped to the conclusion that the anonymous writer was no other than Mr. Gladstone, the official Press of Berlin adopted the same idea. When this statement was contradicted by the real author of the letters, the German Press still insisted that they were written by Mr. Gladstone, although sent to the *Times* by Mr. MacColl, who was described as "Curate of St. Giles's Camberwell," a clerical namesake of the Rector of St. George, Botolph-lane, who is often mistaken for him. Mr. MacColl says:—"The truth is, that I was out of England when I began the controversy, and I concluded it without knowing what Mr. Gladstone's opinions on the subject were. To this day I do not know whether Mr. Gladstone has ever read a line of what I wrote. The statement of the *German Correspondent* was copied into the London papers, and is, I suppose, the origin of the *Saturday Review's* canard."

It is cheering thus to find how men who at one time did injustice to Mr. Gladstone, or are supposed to have done so, were not so much in disagreement with him as in some quarters had been made to appear. Earl Russell was a man whose opinions naturally carried, and still carry, great weight in the political world; and to damage a man like Mr. Gladstone, even his opponents are ready to quote Lord Russell as an authority—an authority to which at other times and under other circumstances they give little heed. Any stick, it is said, will do to beat a dog with, and when Mr. Gladstone is to be censured, a rabid Tory is only too happy to quote a Whig like Earl Russell.

Let us turn once more to one of Mr.

Gladstone's speeches on November 9, 1881. Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman McArthur, M.P., gave the annual banquet on November 9th, and the anxiety to hear what Mr. Gladstone would say was all the greater as he had been unusually reticent during the recess.

Mr. Gladstone, who was received with deafening and prolonged cheering, said:—"My Lord Mayor, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Without any special reference to the too glowing terms in which you, my Lord Mayor, have been pleased to speak of my own personal career, I beg to tender to your lordship, and to this company, my thanks for the cordial manner in which you have received the toast of 'Her Majesty's Ministers' on the part of my colleagues, and my own not less grateful thanks. We value highly, Sir, this testimony. We do not misunderstand the sense in which it is given by a party of mixed opinions representing, and fairly representing, the necessarily mixed sentiments of this great community. We understand, my Lord Mayor, the desire thus expressed, the inquiry thus made, about the health of Her Majesty's Ministers, and I can reply to that inquiry in terms satisfactory to their friends. I am competent to speak—it is impossible that their health could be better than it is. It is commonly believed that, after all, there is no better auxiliary towards the enjoyment of health than hard work; and that is a condition, that is an assistance, towards the preservation and improvement of their health which Her Majesty's Ministers have enjoyed, and are likely to enjoy. There was some taste of this during the Parliamentary Session, when, admirably and patriotically supported by the House of Commons, we laboured to do what we could for the removal of a long-felt religious grievance, for the improvement of the condition of the great and important class of the occupiers of the soil, who had been labouring under severe distress, and for giving greater security in important respects to that still more widely extended class, the labourers and artisans

of the country. But, my Lord Mayor, the recess, which is supposed sometimes to bring rest to a Government, even as the night following the day lulls the weary limbs of all animated nature into sleep—that recess has come to us attended with great anxiety; and on this occasion I should not do justice to the position in which you have placed me if I did not say one early word on the subject of a principal one of these anxieties—I mean the facts connected with the state of Ireland which have pressed themselves deeply on the mind of every intelligent citizen of this country. There is, indeed, one happy and blessed circumstance in the condition of Ireland with regard to which we can have but one united and harmonious sentiment of satisfaction. I mean at the bounty Providence has bestowed on that country, visited in some former years with extraordinary privations—the great blessing of an abundant harvest. We had, perhaps, my Lord Mayor, been sanguine enough to believe that that blessing would have undoubtedly mitigated in an essential degree, where it had not altogether removed, the pressure of agricultural distress, and that the bounty of Providence would have been reflected in the improved social circumstances of the country. But I am compelled to confess that on that subject we have been disappointed. And here there are two subjects on each of which I must bestow a few brief words, following the lines of my noble friend, the Lord Chancellor, in what he has said on the great subject of liberty and law. With respect to law, the Parliament of this country, too long accustomed to legislate for Ireland in a spirit of narrowness, and to leave upon the annals of the country little but the records of severity and oppression—the Parliament of this country has in late years opened its mind to larger and wider lessons, and has proceeded to deal with that question which more than any other is vital to the condition of Ireland—I mean the land of Ireland—upon principles adapted to the wants, the condition, and the history of Ireland. There appears to be in Ireland

at this moment, by no means confined to agitators or like-minded persons, a belief that the principles applied to land in Ireland in 1870 still require some development in order to complete the great improvement which unquestionably recent legislation has effected in the condition of the occupiers, who are the most numerous party in the community which it has affected, and without inflicting injury on any other class whatever. It will be the duty of Her Majesty's Government carefully to examine the condition of the law with reference to the wants of Ireland, and if they find occasion to believe that its provisions are insufficient for the great objects connected with the happiness of the people, to which they ought to be addressed, they will not scruple to call on the Legislature again to address itself to the subject in full confidence that they will deal with it in that spirit of equity and justice which has already, happily I think, for a series of years unequivocally marked its proceedings. But there is another and more painful subject. I have said we had hoped for an improvement in the social condition of the country from the diminution of the sufferings which twelve months ago went far to account for whatever might be observed of uncasiness, and even of disorder, in the state and conduct of that people. But other influences have come upon the scene—some of them, perhaps, legitimate, others, more questionable, have been pressed on our view by means that cannot for a moment pretend to be legitimate, and are incompatible with the first conditions of a well-constituted society. I allude to a party which has long sought to associate its political history with the reform and improvement of the law; but there is one thought anterior to the reform and improvement of the law, and that is the maintenance of public order. It may be argued that Ireland is visiting upon England the consequences of old and not yet thoroughly forgotten oppression; but it is not England that is being punished, it is Ireland itself—Ireland, in which not landlords only, but

occupiers of the soil who desire to fulfil their duties and perform their contracts, those who would wish to be occupiers by taking farms that have become vacant, find themselves obstructed by menace, by intimidation, and by crimes which are a disgrace to any country. Anxious as we are for the practical improvement of the land laws, I assure your lordship and all who hear me, as well as those who may become acquainted with the proceedings of this meeting, that we recognise also the priority of the duty above every other of enforcing the law for the purposes of order. And let me say one word more. We hold it our first duty to look to the law as it stands, to ascertain what its fair and just administration means. But the obligation incumbent upon us to protect every citizen in the enjoyment of his life and his property might, under certain circumstances, compel us to ask for an increase of power, and, although we will never anticipate such a contingency, nor imagine it to exist until it is proved by the clearest demonstration, yet if that contingency were realized, if the demonstration were afforded, you may rely on it we should not shrink from acting on the obligation it would entail. My Lord Mayor, our cares have not been domestic cares only. You stated that for nearly half a century it had been my privilege to serve my Sovereign and country in public life. On five previous occasions I have been called upon to join different Administrations as a confidential adviser of the Crown, but never on any one of those previous occasions was the burden of anxiety so diversified and so diffused as when in April last it pleased her Majesty to lay on me the burden and confer on me the power of considering the formation of a Government. We had to cast our eyes abroad in more than one direction. In South Africa, though the war there in which we were engaged had happily been ended, yet there had begun a struggle which I am sorry to say has not yet reached its termination—a struggle carried on by the means of the colonists, and growing out of a policy

which has been the result of their counsels in the exercise of their own independence; yet still a struggle which we cannot but watch with a close and deep anxiety. If we turned to the great Indian Empire of the Queen—that large, important, indispensable part of the obligations of the Imperial Government—we found when we came into office an Anglo-Indian force little short of 70,000 were engaged in sustaining the military operations that had been carried on in Afghanistan. We addressed ourselves to that subject with the desire I have already described in authentic language—‘to secure the independence of the people of that country, and to restore their friendly relations with the Indian Empire.’ We have not yet been able to accomplish all we could wish; yet something has been done. Some portion of that country has been restored to a more hopeful condition; and if we have been compelled to learn that we must be content in this world with gradual and regulated progress, yet we have been able to diminish by between 20,000 and 30,000 the enormous force which had been engaged in military operations in that country. Then there was what is called the Eastern Question, which it was quite impossible to overlook. We had, indeed, here a peculiar felicity; for although, as has been truly said, the differences of political opinion have been sharp in this country of late years, yet we found ourselves able to adopt the declarations, and work for a purpose which had been identically declared on the part of the Government which we had succeeded. It was, I believe, standing nearly where I now stand, that the late Prime Minister, no longer than two years ago, declared, and justly declared, that the Treaty of Berlin, which had been recently concluded, was a treaty that, if fully executed, promised to confer great benefits upon Europe. He stated, with truth and justice, that England, at least, would not be the Power that would shrink from any of the obligations connected with the execution of that treaty, and he expressed a sanguine ex-

pectation that within a very short period its several provisions would take effect. It is no wonder, my Lord Mayor, if some portion of these anticipations were over-sanguine; but undoubtedly when we came into office, we found that many of the most important portions of that treaty still remained unfulfilled, and we at once declared our intention to address ourselves to the purpose of endeavouring to secure the execution of an instrument which was due to the policy of our predecessors. We found our duty lay in that direction, and we were not in the least degree less disposed to pursue that duty because we thought there was some promise of harmony of opinion in the country when we addressed ourselves to a work which others had begun and to the execution of which they were bound. It has been supposed that we did this in the spirit of enemies to the Government of Turkey. Well, we have never admitted that we were enemies to the Government of Turkey. We believe, on the contrary, that we are its friends, because we endeavour to bring it to a policy by which alone we are convinced that it has a promise of continued existence. There were other friends of Turkey. I do not speak of persons in this country who recommended it to enter into the recent war which ended in reducing its territory in Europe by about one-half. We do not wish to be identified with friendship of that kind, but we believe that for the continued existence of the Turkish power, to give a chance to that existence and to justify that existence, two things are necessary—the one the fulfilment of international engagements, and the other that the condition of the people over whom the Ottoman power is reigning shall be rendered tolerable by good and equal laws. We believe these things to be necessary—we believe them to be reasonable. There are at this moment, though little known, portions of the Turkish Empire where, under the more lax system of former years, considerable local liberties have been left to the subjects of that Empire. Wherever

that is the case you will find the people comparatively well affected; and where, on the other hand, you find continual difficulty and disturbance, it is precisely because no local control over their affairs of a practical kind is allowed to the races that inhabit the Empire, but they are governed from Constantinople by those who, even if well disposed for the purpose, are not qualified to carry on the work. Do not let it be supposed that because these races who inhabit the Turkish Empire are not Englishmen, and many of them not Christians, they, therefore, are unfit to enjoy the benefits of civil government. Rely upon it that these races have in them much promise for the future—not the Christian races alone—and I have never spoken, and never will speak, one word of disrespect to them. What we desire is the improvement of their condition by those means which justice and reason dictate, and with an amount of change the very smallest that is necessary for the attainment of the object. The Treaty of Berlin contemplated an adjustment of territory on the Turkish frontier, and that has not yet taken place. It contemplated some changes with regard to Greece in which no progress has yet been made. It contemplated the grant of local privileges and the correction of most gross local abuses in Armenia and in other parts of Turkey, with respect to which not one practical or effective step has yet been taken. I do not mean that there has been no step taken at any point in Turkey, because there have been steps taken; but in regard to very large portions of the treaty there has been no progress whatever. With these hopes and expectations we have laboured for the fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin, and we have laboured for it by those means which are now known by a phrase which has grown familiar among us—the concert of Europe. We have not desired to establish separate action, for we did not think it was the duty of this country to take upon herself alone obligations that belong to Europe. All that we can do is



GRAND DUKE MICHAEL.

to assist, to recommend, and to promote by amicable and respectful means the formation of that European concert and the application of it to beneficial purposes. It has this recommendation—it is the most powerful of all instruments where it can be brought to act. I will not say it is the instrument which it is the easiest to command, for the freedom of opinion and perfect independence which must prevail among the Powers must render it arduous work to make progress by means of its employment. Yet we must not despair of at least effecting something by means of the concert of Europe. Within the last twelve hours we have received telegrams which were sent from Turkey by special order of the Sultan. The last of them informs us that there is good hope of hearing either to-day or to-morrow intelligence from Dulcigno which, he says, will be highly satisfactory. And in a prior telegram he has given a more marked definition of the nature of this intelligence by stating that according to his sanguine hopes it would consist of the announcement of the surrender of Dulcigno. The Sultan was pleased to pay to ourselves a compliment of which I am the honoured vehicle, for he expressed a desire that at your lordship's hospitable board this announcement should be made. The old rule that we should not dwell in too sanguine a manner on anticipations until they are actually realized has found its way into many good and homely proverbs. It is a rule which the experience of this life leads us to value highly. At the same time I hope we are very glad we have been cheered with such a message, proceeding from a source so high, and directed to the gratification of a company so worthy to receive it." The right hon. gentleman concluded by proposing "The health of the Lord Mayor."

In remarking upon the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, the *Times*, in a leader, remarks:—

"As might have been expected, Ireland was the subject which was in all men's minds last night at the Guildhall, and

every reference to Ireland—sometimes a passage that was not intended by the speaker to refer to Ireland—was seized upon and underlined by an appreciative audience. Mr. Gladstone had something to say about the East. He conveyed a message to the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and their guests, from the Sultan, expressing something like a confident expectation that Dulcigno would soon be surrendered. He referred to Greece also, and even to Armenia. There were doubtless some that listened. There was no one that gave any sign of emotion, whether of approbation or of reprobation. But when Ireland was touched upon the audience was attentive. Before the Prime Minister spoke, the Lord Chancellor had to reply to the toast of his health, in virtue of the exalted office he holds. Lord Selborne may well have been astonished at the effect he produced. He insisted upon the necessity of the interpenetrating action of law and liberty. Without the spirit of liberty, law would become an assemblage of arbitrary and possibly tyrannous rules. This maxim was received with respect, but scarcely with enthusiasm. Without the restraining influence of a sense of legal obligation the pursuit of liberty might degenerate into license and disorder—nay, might result in a dissolution of society. If protests against the law must always receive the attention of the wise statesman, the authority of the law must always be first maintained. At this there was a demonstration of approval that ran through the whole gathering. It must be doubtful whether any Lord Chancellor had ever before received such a passion of assent. It is certain that Lord Selborne, in the course of his most stainless and honourable career, had never had the same success in evoking the sympathy of a popular audience."

Mr. Gladstone is not necessarily to be blamed, the *Saturday Review* thinks, if his speech at Guildhall has disappointed public curiosity. One of the most useful accomplishments of a great orator is the faculty of saying little or nothing in sonorous lan-

guage, when it might be inconvenient to exercise the higher gift of lucid disclosure. The expectant audience need not have thronged Guildhall to learn that there has been a good harvest in Ireland, that the social and political condition of the country is nevertheless unsatisfactory or alarming, that Governments ought, if possible, to maintain order by means of the ordinary law, and that they are nevertheless bound, if their first efforts fail, to discharge their primary duty at any cost. When the reign

three notorious facts which the company and the waiters at the table knew as well as the Prime Minister himself. Any declaration about Candahar would have been transmitted to India in an hour, and to Cabul and Herat in a few days. It is extremely undesirable that, if the Government has resolved on retreat within the old frontier, native friends and enemies should be encouraged to profit by a premature communication. It was rather decorous than instructive to state that the Govern-



VIEW OF SOKOL, SERVIA.

of anarchy will be thought by the present Minister, to have culminated so as to require interference was a secret not revealed by Mr Gladstone. He was assuredly not bound to confide the policy of his Government to a miscellaneous crowd, although Lord Mayor's Day has sometimes been selected by his predecessors as a fit occasion for announcing important resolutions to the country. It was undoubtedly prudent to confine the account of transactions in Afghanistan to the statement of two or

ment regarded the war in South Africa with anxiety. The colonists will perhaps soon be anxious to learn whether they are to expect the aid of the Imperial forces.

It is clear that, as the session of 1881 rolled on, the popularity of Mr. Gladstone and his Government by no means diminished. For instance, we find in June, 1881, the Committee of the Bristol Operatives' Liberal Association, desirous to recognise the efforts of Mr. Gladstone for the welfare of the nation and the energy displayed by him

in his electoral tour in Scotland, decided to ask his acceptance of a testimonial. Messrs. Morley and Lewis Fry, the members for the city of Bristol, waited upon the right hon. gentleman at Downing-street, and presented to him a handsome silver claret service, consisting of a tankard and six goblets, manufactured by Messrs. Fuller, of Bristol. The tankard bore the following inscription :—"This claret service, of local manufacture, is presented to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone by members of the Bristol Operatives' Liberal Association as

which I receive it, certainly there is none other than such as arises from a misgiving as to my worthiness to be an object of such a presentation. On the other hand, my pleasure is enhanced when I consider of how many independent and upright minds it represents the favourable judgment. Allow me to add to my thanks best wishes for the prosperity of the Association, which I trust will continue to influence the political opinion of the City of Bristol in the manner most conducive to the welfare of the nation.—I have the honour to be, dear Sir,



EDWARD MIALL.

a slight recognition of the valuable services which he has rendered his country in the cause of freedom, trade, and civil and religious liberty." An address accompanied the service. The following is Mr. Gladstone's reply, which was sent to Bristol :—"10, Downing-street, June 16, 1881.—Dear Sir, —Allow me to convey to you the expression of my warm acknowledgments for the valuable and interesting gift which you have presented to me on behalf of the Bristol Operatives' Liberal Association. If there is any alloy to the satisfaction with

your very faithful servant, W. E. Gladstone."

Again, as regards the Nonconformists and the Government, the harmony may be said to continue unbroken. This was especially evident about the same time that the Bristol operatives were testifying in favour of the Government.

At a meeting of the Devon Association of Baptist Churches, held at Totnes, for instance, a resolution was passed, thanking the Government for the course they have taken in reference to Afghanistan and the

Transvaal, at the same time recording their continued confidence in Mr. Gladstone and his determined efforts to render justice to Ireland.

The Kent and Sussex Baptist Association unanimously adopted a resolution expressing approval of the efforts of the Government to restore peace in Afghanistan and South Africa, and appreciation of the steps which had been taken to redress the wrongs of Ireland. It was also decided to send a copy of the resolution to Mr. Gladstone.

The Primitive Methodist Conference, in session at Hull, adopted the following address to Mr. Gladstone:—

"To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.—Sir,—We, the members and delegates of the Primitive Methodist Conference, now holding its sittings in the town of Hull, and representing a connection of Protestant Christian Churches extending to almost all parts of the United Kingdom, to Canada, and many of the Colonies, and to Western and Southern Africa, beg respectfully to express to you our deep sympathy in the arduous and important parliamentary work in which you are now engaged, and the formidable difficulty you are called upon to encounter; and to inform you that we are watching with great interest the progress of the measures in connection with our foreign relationships, and especially for the pacification of Ireland, which, we regret to learn, is in such a disturbed condition. We fear that the heavy and incessant strain which, along with the other Ministers of Her Majesty's Government, you are now under, and considering the advanced stage of life at which you have arrived, may prove too much for your remaining strength. We fervently pray that it may please the Great Disposer of all affairs to preserve your life and health during the pressure of the present session of Parliament, and that in the order of Providence you may accomplish the good which, we are sure, you have sincerely in view."

Mr. Gladstone cordially acknowledged the receipt of this resolution.

At the meeting of the Methodist New Connexion at Halifax, the Rev. H. L. Thompson moved the following resolutions:

"That this Conference of the Methodist New Connexion, now assembled in Hanover Chapel, Halifax, records its high sense of the manifold and distinguished services rendered to the State during a long and active political life by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and its special satisfaction that in the present crisis of domestic politics Mr. Gladstone has been called upon to preside over the councils of the nation.

"That the Conference expresses its deep sympathy with Mr. Gladstone and his Government in the arduous tasks they have set themselves; and in the many difficulties by which they are confronted, the Conference especially deplores the disturbed condition of Ireland, and deeply regrets that a naturally loyal and generous people should be betrayed into acts of violence and outrage. The Conference, nevertheless, believing that much of the poverty and discontent in Ireland arises from the operation of the existing Land Laws, rejoices in the introduction of the Irish Land Bill, which has passed its second reading, and is now in Committee in the House of Commons. It expresses its satisfaction with the general provision of the Bill, believing it to be a statesman-like and honest attempt to reduce to a minimum, if not actually destroy, all just grounds of complaint on the part of the occupiers and cultivators of the soil. It therefore respectfully urges Mr. Gladstone to use all the powers of the Government in order that the Bill substantially as now existing may speedily become law, earnestly hoping that the message of peace thus sent to Ireland from the Imperial Legislature will assuage the distractions of that unhappy country, and in the meantime the Conference begs to assure Mr. Gladstone of its full moral support, and also of its fervent prayers to Almighty God that his health may be preserved in the midst of his exhausting labours, and that his valuable life may be spared yet many years to the empire over whose destinies he now presides.

"He said he fully believed a resolution of this sort would be very acceptable to Mr. Gladstone. During his appointment to the Hawarden Circuit, Mr. Gladstone did him the very great honour (for such he regarded it) of calling upon him at the minister's house. He was very sorry to say that he was not at home at the time, but some few days afterwards he saw Mr. Gladstone in his own park, and Mr. Gladstone entered very freely into a discussion of political questions then prominent. They were then living under the political influence of what was vulgarly called jingoism, but which was now known under the classical form *Imperiam et Libertas*. Mr. Gladstone was commencing his campaign against the policy of the Government on the Eastern Question, and he turned to him with very great vivacity and said, 'I am glad to know that your denomination stands right all along.' He believed the resolution would tend to strengthen the hands of one of the ablest Governments of the present century, and the hands more especially of the greatest statesman of the age. Mr. Robinson Ferens (Durham) seconded the resolution, which was supported by the Rev. Dr. Cocker, President of Ranmoor College; and the Rev. Dr. Cooke. The resolution was adopted unanimously."

Apparently the Conservatives and the Home Rulers, and the discontented Radicals, have made little or no impression upon the public mind. In the city and city circles, it may be that Mr. Gladstone may be a little unpopular. It is supposed that he has his eye on the city funds. It is certain that he disapproves of city waste. On more than one occasion he has hinted, and we all know that to be true, that the enormous and wealthy charities of the city might be administered in a manner better adapted to promote the ends the pious founders had in view. City people know this, and dread Mr. Gladstone accordingly. There are abuses in connection with the Corporation of London, with which, sooner or later, Parliament will have to deal, and people who profit by abuse are naturally

averse to change, and they feel that the more they abuse Mr. Gladstone, and the more they can damage him in the estimation of the public, the longer is the evil day of reckoning postponed. Thus it is in Middlesex and in the suburban districts inhabited by Londoners of late the Tory interest has been so strong at the polling booth. Middlesex once at the head of Reform now seems hopelessly lost to the good old cause, and the home counties are Conservative for a similar reason.

In one thing it is admitted that Mr. Gladstone may still be described as a master of finance. In this department his fame remains unchallenged. The *Times*, remarking in a leader upon Mr. Gladstone's great abilities as a financier, says:—

"With all his eminent gifts in other departments of policy the Prime Minister has never enjoyed so thoroughly the confidence of Parliament and of the nation as when he has been dealing with finance. Even when his opportunities have been limited his mastery of the subject and his originality of conception have made his Budgets brilliant studies. They have rarely failed to kindle the popular imagination, and to create thereby a willingness to meet the demands of the tax-gatherer, which is an element of strength that no Ministry can afford to neglect. Tax-payers, though they do not often receive compliments upon their public spirit, and though they are generally ready enough to grumble at having to pay for objects about which they do not care or which they do not clearly see, are capable of making sacrifices cheerfully in furtherance of hopeful and worthy objects. Even last year, when Mr. Gladstone had to submit, in part at least, to the restraints of Sir Stafford Northcote's arrangements, and was able only to produce a Supplementary Budget in the summer, such was the public confidence in his financial skill that no popular discontent was aroused by the increase of taxation which he unexpectedly imposed for the purpose of transforming the malt tax into a beer duty, and of admitting light wines from

abroad on more liberal terms. The latter portion of the scheme fell to the ground through the failure of the French Government to co-operate with ours, and it may be doubtful whether the great body of the community, without even excepting the

Again, writes the *Daily News* :—" Mr. Gladstone's proposal to contribute five millions from the Imperial Exchequer towards the expenses of the Afghan war was adopted by the House of Commons, after a debate most satisfactory to the Govern-



HON. E. STANHOPE.

farmers themselves, have felt as yet in any appreciable manner the difference between the new and the old methods of levying the duty on malt. But Mr. Gladstone's conception was bold and impressive, and practically it silenced criticism."

ment, and without any serious difference of opinion. The Conservative party did once maintain that the whole cost of the invasion, and the subsequent operations which it made necessary, might fairly be cast upon the revenues of India, but that was in

the days before the official estimate had exceeded the sum at which it pleased Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey to fix it. The figures they selected for this purpose were just those which the present Government have adopted as the fair share to be borne by the tax-payers of this country in a payment amounting altogether to at least thirteen millions and a-half. The burden which we have thus taken upon ourselves is certainly, all things considered, not too great, though it may perhaps, as Mr. Courtney observed the other day at Oxford, suggest caution to the future advocates of aggressive enterprise. Mr. Stanhope expressed some apprehension lest the proposed subvention should encourage the Indian Government to indulge for the future in reckless adventures. Such an argument comes very appropriately from a politician who was Under-Secretary of State for India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. Sir Stafford Northcote considers that, while the Afghan war came within what he calls the 'Indian system,' so as apparently to be properly chargeable on the revenue of the dependency, yet that there was in it a certain 'Imperial element,' which, if we follow the argument, made it incumbent on England to contribute! Most people will be disposed to admit that there was an Imperial, not to say imperious, element in Lord Lytton's policy towards the late Ameer; and no one will grudge Sir Stafford Northcote the further time which he appears to require in order to satisfy himself that the two propositions to which he inclines cannot both be true. Mr. Gladstone intends to make up the sum of five millions by a series of annual grants of half a million each, amounting to three millions in all, and by converting the loan of two millions advanced by the late Government without interest into a grant. Mr. Gladstone, in thus relieving the finances of India, is faithfully carrying out the policy which he advocated in opposition, and he will receive the general support of the country in what, as Mr. Fawcett said in his admirable

speech, is not the performance of a generous act, but the discharge of an honourable obligation."

Again we drop politics, and include a few notes of a personal character in Mr. Gladstone's career.

In 1881, it was announced that Mr. Gladstone had become a Fellow of the Royal Society. About the same time we also find him making the usual speech at the Royal Academy dinner. One curious thing with reference to Mr. Gladstone, and which may be accepted as an indication of his popularity, is the way in which his name has been used for trading purposes. We have the Gladstone Claret—which is supposed to be a peculiarly economical and refreshing beverage,—and we have the Gladstone Travelling Bag, which is presumed to be a bag adapted for the requirements of travellers of all ages and both sexes in all grades of life; and it was with no little amazement and indignation the other day, that we saw the Gladstone Registration Office for servants! In this case the name was calculated to do mischief, as weak, silly servant girls might in their ignorance possibly jump to the conclusion that the Premier himself had something to do with the institution in question. It is to be regretted if any such confusion of ideas were allowed to remain. Be that as it may, the use of Mr. Gladstone's name may be accepted as an evidence of his popularity. Lord Palmerston had the honour only of giving his name to one sauce, and Lord Beaconsfield not even that. It may well be supposed that tradesmen are wise in their generation, and know the value of a name. We have, it is true, the "Beaconsfield Arms," at Hughenden, but in that case the adoption of the name is due entirely to Lord Beaconsfield himself. When he purchased the estate, the little wayside inn known as the "Horseshoe," became the "Beaconsfield Arms."

One of the amusing incidents of the Session of 1881 is the following. The London correspondent of a provincial

paper writes :—"The House of Commons has not had such a laugh for years as it had to-day over Mr. Gladstone and his hat. Mr. Gladstone is singular among members in never bringing a hat into the assembly. He would not wear it even when his head was broken, but preferred a skull cap. But it is the rule that after a division is called nobody shall address the Speaker standing or with uncovered head. To-day Mr. Gladstone wished to say something after the division bell had rung, but no sooner did he open his mouth than the whole House yelled for him to observe the law. He sought for a hat, and could find none, the House still roaring at him. At length one of his colleagues got hold of Sir Farrer Herschell's hat and put that upon him. Now Sir Farrer is a small man among small men, and he has a small head for a small man. Mr. Gladstone, if not exactly a giant, has the head of one. Imagine him then with Sir Farrer's hat upon his head. A mountain crowned by a molehill could not have looked more ridiculous. The House laughed and roared at Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone laughed at himself, until everybody voted this the sublimest spectacle of the session."

The sensation created by this incident was immense, and it was said as much as two or three guineas was offered by admirers of the Premier to Sir Farrer Herschell for his hat. Some of the papers, such as the *World* for instance, had long leaders on the subject. Little things please little minds, and people will read columns of gossip and twaddle who cannot be got to open a good book once in the course of a twelvemonth. The incident, however, illustrates the hero worship of which Mr. Gladstone in his old age, and at the summit of power and popularity, not unnaturally receives not a little. According to a writer in *Figaro*, a Society has been formed in the House of Commons for his Protection and Preservation. Its aim is to look after the health of Mr. Gladstone, and to prevent him from running any risk. He is to live under a species of friendly surveillance.

His friends are to watch his going out and his coming in. He is not to be allowed to sit up late, to speak too often, to excite himself about Parliamentary matters. He is to be prevented from sitting in a draught or catching cold. This is the more important as news comes to us from America—which, however, it may be safely assumed to be the wild talk of braggarts and scoundrels over their cups—that the Fenians have told off four of their number who are to cross the Atlantic entirely for the purpose of assassinating the one statesman who has done more than any Englishman has ever done before to relieve Irish distress, and to remove Irish wrong.

A striking illustration of Mr. Gladstone's popularity with his old friends, took place on the occasion of the whitebait dinner at Greenwich, with which it is usual for ministers to celebrate the end of the parliamentary campaign. In 1881 the Greenwich people resolved that when it did take place, they would present their former representative with a chair. The scene is thus described by a writer in the *Daily News* :—

"The reception committee, adorned, like their brethren outside, with blue rosettes, awaited Mr. Gladstone in one of the large rooms overlooking the Thames. Here, hidden beneath a calico covering, stood the arm-chair to be presented to him; and here upon an easel rested a massively framed and gorgeously illuminated address. The Premier had been received on landing by Mr. T. J. Thomas, the chairman and treasurer of the committee, Mr. Jolly, the Rev. Brooke Lambert, Messrs. Kemp and Duncan, the joint secretaries, Dr. Bennett, and one or two other prominent Greenwich Liberals. These gentlemen ushered the ministers into the room, and the cheers were deafening when Mr. Gladstone and Earl Spencer appeared. After the general tumult had subsided somewhat, special cheers were demanded and given in succession for such ministers as were recognised. Mr. Fawcett and Sir W. Harcourt, walking arm-and-arm, were the first so

singled out. Then in their turn came Lord Granville, Mr. Forster, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Childers, Lord Carlingford, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Sydney. Lord Hartington did not seem to relish applause at such close quarters, and remained near the doorway along with Mr. Mundella, Mr. Law, Mr. Hibbert, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Rosebery, Mr. Courtney, Lord R. Grosvenor, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Lefevre, and others. The group of ministers once arranged, silence was called, and Mr. Thomas, acting as the deputed mouthpiece of the committee, explained that it was his pleasurable duty to read an address, and ask Mr. Gladstone to accept the chair as a small token of their esteem and regard for the right honourable gentleman's public and private life. The address, each paragraph of which was endorsed by cheers from the gentlemen in the body of the room, was as follows:—

"To the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., First Lord of the Treasury, etc.

"Honoured Sir,—As representatives of the Liberal electors of the Borough of Greenwich and the Liberal Clubs of the neighbourhood, we desire to convey to you, in permanent form, an expression of the gratification it affords us to welcome you once again into the constituency with whom you were formerly so long and so honourably connected. We have watched, with feelings of increasing admiration, the manner in which you have discharged the responsible duties of that high office, to which, by the Sovereign and the country, you have been elected. In the face of opposition and obstruction, seldom witnessed in the British Parliament, you have ever maintained a dignity of the highest character, reflecting the greatest glory on yourself as a British statesman, and especially in your conduct of the last great measure of peace and justice, the Land Law (Ireland) Bill, which will ever be remembered with heartfelt gratitude by the British nation. Your desire to promote the interests of peace, and to stay the progress of war, unrighteously commenced, and cruelly prosecuted,

has won the admiration of every true philanthropist; and, in the days yet to come, when the history of the country, during the years of your premiership, shall be read with a vision undimmed by party obscurity, and untouched by hostile clamour, it shall be seen that you have ever acted under the conviction that 'Righteousness exalteth a nation.' We trust your invaluable life may be prolonged for yet increasing usefulness and distinction, and, if the token of esteem and gratitude which accompanies this address shall be regarded as being worthy of your acceptance, it will unspeakably enhance the pleasure with which, on behalf of the subscribers, it is now presented.

"We remain, honoured Sir,

"With profound respect,

"Your faithful and attached admirers,

"THOS. J. THOMAS,

"Chairman and Treasurer.

"On behalf of the Committee—Cooke Baines, W. C. Bennett, T. Bookham, F. Boveington, James Cavenaugh, T. N. Cathrall, S. N. Clemmison, Robert Green, C. Russell Roberts, Geo. Smith, Joel Smith, W. Gurley Smith, A. Simner, J. E. Marshall Steele, John Teale, A. H. Trenchard.

"Joint Hon. Secretaries,

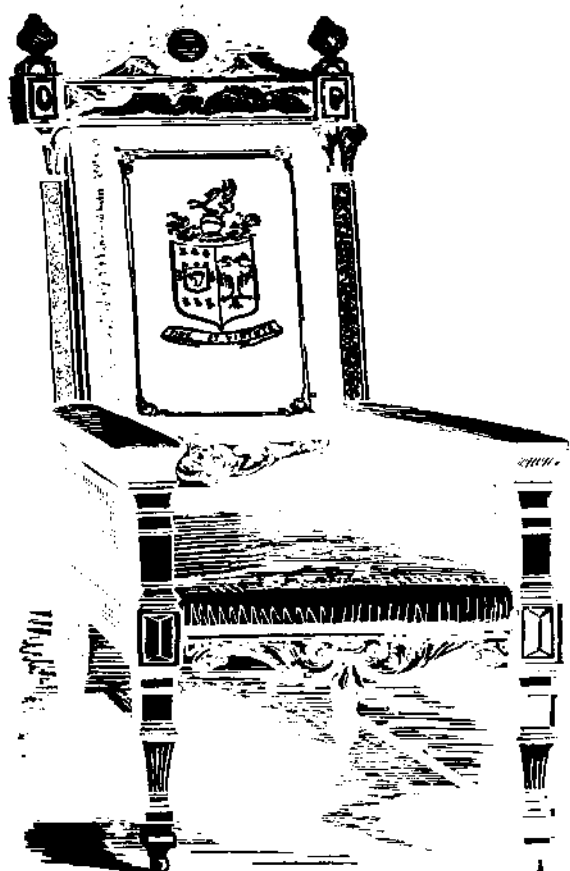
"GEORGE KEMP,

"J. HERON DUNCAN."

The drapery was now removed, at a signal, and the exceedingly handsome arm-chair was displayed and admired by all. The inscription was stated by Mr. Thomas to be:—

"Presented to the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., First Lord of the Treasury, together with an address, by the Liberals of the Borough of Greenwich and the Liberal Clubs of the neighbourhood, in testimony of their high appreciation of the priceless services rendered by him to the country at large, and in remembrance of the proud distinction he conferred upon the Borough as its representative in Parliament from 1868 to 1880. —August, 1881."

Mr. Gladstone bowed his acknowledg-



CHAIR PRESENTED TO MR. GLADSTONE BY THE ELECTORS OF GREENWICH.

ments, and after looking at the gift, said :—
 "I am sure you will think I shall best discharge my duty if upon this occasion I confine myself to the briefest expression of thanks for this newest favour that the constituency of Greenwich has conferred upon me. The former favours have not been,

and cannot be, forgotten ; and although our political connection as a constituency and representative has been dissolved, yet you may rely upon it that the interest in your welfare, which was enhanced by that connection, can never disappear. I thank you greatly for this new mark of your untiring

kindness. I accept it with peculiar joy and pleasure, because I accept it on this auspicious day in the presence of my colleagues—in the presence of Lord Granville and Lord Carlingford, and of all those colleagues to whose powerful co-operation it is I alone owe it that I am now able to appear before you as not having disgraced the function with which, in common with them, I am charged. You have alluded to the events of the session. They hardly form a fitting subject for me to dwell upon on this occasion. They have been remarkable in many respects. They have been remarkable for the difficulties, perhaps, in the midst of which our duties have been discharged; but, above all things, they have been remarkable in this, that they have brought into view a great necessity in which the people of England will feel the keenest interest,—the necessity for restoring the House of Commons, the great security for our liberties, and for our advancing legislation, to its full efficiency. That duty is one which is handed over to future years; but you may rely upon it, it is one to which we shall address ourselves when the opportunity arrives, I will not say with all the power it demands, but at any rate with all the zeal and earnestness which so great a cause can inspire. Great are the interests connected with separate subjects of legislation; but greater still, and paramount

over all, must be the interest which must be awakened in our minds by a matter which touches mightily the condition of the great organ for all our legislation—that noble representative assembly which has served as a pattern to the representative assemblies of the world, and has done more than any of them to cherish the aspirations of freedom, and maintain the conditions of law and order through the whole of civilised mankind. Again, let me offer to you the expression of my grateful thanks for this renewed token of your kindness, and to express the hope that until, and when I deliver over to other and worthier hands, the charge that is upon me, I may do nothing to forfeit your favour or disparage the confidence you have ever been pleased to repose in me."

This speech had been lustily applauded throughout, and the meeting broke up with special cheers for individual ministers, and a final round for Mrs. Gladstone. Mr. Forster's name elicited a very decided outburst. The chair and address were removed to the ministerial dining-room, and the ministers soon followed. Covers were laid for forty-seven, but Mr. Bright and the Attorney-General were not at the presentation ceremony. A large number of the Liberal representatives adjourned to the private residence of Mr. Thomas, where they dined together.



CHAPTER XL

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD—HIS BIRTH—HIS CAREER—
HIS LITERARY AND POLITICAL CHARACTER.

N the spring of 1881, the news came that the Earl of Beaconsfield was ill, and next that he was dead. No two men were ever more unlike each other than Mr. Disraeli and Gladstone; no two men, it is to be believed,

ever had less in common: the one all earnestness and fire and feeling; the other careless of everything, believing in nothing, treating politics as a game in which the prize was an Earl's coronet. The other looking upon life and office and power as trusts to be utilised not for personal aggrandisement, but with a view to the advancement of the happiness and well-being of the community at large. Nevertheless, a great charm attached, and still attaches, to the marvellous career of the late Earl of Beaconsfield. It was quite unlike that of any other statesman, and the firmness of purpose which enabled an obscure lawyer's clerk to lift himself up to place and power, and die the leader of the Tory and aristocratic party in England, forms certainly one of the most wonderful romances of our time.

He came of a strange race, did the great Earl of Beaconsfield. When the Jews were driven from Spain many of them found in England the promised land. The Disraelis seem to have thriven here. We find one of them a successful merchant, living in Enfield Chase, where he formed a garden in the Italian style; entertained visitors, amongst them Horace Mann, the friend and correspondent of Walpole. His son Isaac affected literature, did not care about money-making, and is now known as the author of the "Curiosities of Literature."

On the 10th of February, this Isaac Disraeli married Maria, daughter of Mr. George Basevi, a retired London merchant, residing at Brighton. His wife's family came from Venice. He was devoted to study, and being possessed of a comfortable income left him by his father, was enabled to give his whole time to literary pursuits. This son describes him as "a complete literary character—a man who really passed his life in his library. He detested business, and never required relaxation. He had not a single passion or prejudice; all his conviction was the result of his own studies, and very often opposed to the impressions which he had early imbibed. He not only never entered into the politics of the day, but he never could understand them." This celebrated son was born, it is supposed, on December 21, 1805, in the Upper-street, Islington, in a house nearly facing Canonbury-lane. It is equally a matter of controversy when he became a Christian. Although Benjamin and his brother were as infants subjected to the initiatory rite of Israelites, it has been stated that after the death of his father, in 1816, Isaac Disraeli had a difference with a Rabbi, and that the quarrel extended to the whole synagogue. It is believed that this circumstance may have induced him to withdraw altogether from the community to which he had been little more than nominally attached, and to take the advice of his friend Sam Rogers, the poet, who represented that the future of Isaac's son, young Benjamin, who appeared to be highly gifted, might be compromised by connection with a race labouring under political and social disabilities. At any rate, it has been ascertained that this boy, when about twelve years old, was

admitted into the Church of England by baptism, at the church of St. Andrew's, Holborn. The father's own love of literature and estimation of the value of scholarship induced him to give his son as good an education as possible. Accordingly, he was sent to a school at Walthamstow, kept by Mr. Cogan, an eminent schoolmaster and Unitarian minister. When school-days were over, and it became time to think of a profession, the father placed his son in the office of Messrs. Swain and Co., solicitors, Frederick's-place, Old Jewry.

It has been frequently stated that soon after Mr. Benjamin Disraeli attained his twentieth year he began to write for a London daily paper, the *Representative*, started by Mr. John Murray, the famous publisher, in the Tory interest. The journal lasted about six months, and entailed a heavy loss on its too enterprising proprietor, who would fain have started a rival to the *Times*. Be that as it may, we find Mr. Disraeli in 1826 started on his travels in Italy and the Levant. He had previously visited Germany, and the results of his observation appear in "Vivian Grey," a novel which made its appearance in 1828. The tale at once became popular. That the story was to a certain extent biographical is also true. Vivian Grey is represented as the son of an author who curiously enough never talks politics nor reads newspapers. Vivian Grey goes to school, but is expelled for his playfulness in roasting an usher. Accordingly he returns home and studies Plato and politics. Mankind is his game. He will humour men, and so govern them. He begins with the Marquis of Carabas, an ex-statesman, whom he fools to the top of his bent, and with whom he becomes a prime favourite. His success in society is astonishing, and no one can resist him. Even Cleveland, a brilliant politician, is induced by Vivian Grey to leave his retirement in Wales, and become the ally of the Marquis of Carabas, who, with Vivian, was to play a game against the party in power, and win it. The result, however, is disastrous. The

Marquis loses the pleasant little office he holds. Vivian is dismissed by his patron, and quarrels with Cleveland. The latter he kills in a duel, and Vivian then seeks repose and consolation and alleviation in travel. Intrigue—political intrigue—is the basis of the book, which has been called the Don Juan of Politics, and which set every one reading and wondering. Just at that time the world was rich in novels of society. Lord Normanby had just published "Matilda," and "Tremain" had just been penned by Mr. Plumer Ward. The latter, in his letters to Mrs. Austin, gives an amusing account of the sensation produced by the appearance of "Vivian Grey." "I write this from Sir Thomas Fremantle's, where are Sir G. and Lady Nugent. All are talking of 'Vivian Grey.' The opinion is entirely favourable, and the book seems regularly making its way into circulation and notice. Its wit, raciness, and boldness, are admired, and you would not have been ill-pleased with the remarks upon particular passages and characters; the dinner at Château Désir particularly. Mrs. Million's all the women, the two toadies and universally. From the Nugents' account it is much spreading in London, excites curiosity and also resentment. I observed this at Lord Maryborough's dinner on Monday, where were many public men and some fine ladies, who all admired, but a little felt the satire. In short, it will, I have no doubt, realise all your expectations of its making a considerable noise, and it is unexceptionably thought very clever. Some, however, think the assumed biting style is too flippant, and say it is evident the author can write better if he pleases; others say it affects slang, which is a fault. You see I tell you of both sides, and perhaps I am not ill-pleased with those who agree with me in hoping if the authors go on they will indulge their real powers of nature, and quit what is evidently a disguise and a masquerade, though a very showy one. It certainly frightens a great many people, who expect to be shown up, and you must really be careful of discover-

ing the author. Vivian Grey himself is abused as a hypocrite, though followed for his fascination with intense interest. If I might venture to submit anything, I would say, let the author make him more delightful by making him more readable. We cannot make out Sir T. Lorraine and some others. The Marchioness is capital; Lord Altaman is thought Lord Nugent. In short, you have set everybody a-guessing. The lighter follies are admirably well lashed." A few days later, Mr. Ward writes to the same lady:—"Since I saw you I have been at dinner at Lord Offord's and another at Sir Henry Hardinge's, at both of which there was much of the *beau monde* as well as of a graver character, both bishops and judges. 'Vivian Grey' was amply talked of. The opinions as a work were various; but all agreed that none but a very clever person could write it, and equally as to its power of amusing. The adverse judgment was that it was too impertinent, and took too many liberties, which will perhaps not very much distress the authors. It is certainly more and more read, as I have no doubt its continuation will be." A still more elaborate criticism succeeds, which may be a token of extraordinary success, and even from a literary point of view such was "Vivian Grey." There is much observation and appreciation in it, but a great deal is superficial. There is no preconceived plan; the incidents appear to occur without any settled plot, and to quote the author's own words, it is "as hot and hurried a sketch as ever was penned, but like its subject—for what is youth but a sketch, a brief hour of principles unsettled, of passions unrestrained, powers undeveloped, and purposes unexecuted?" It at any rate answered the author's purport. It took the town by storm, and he at once became famous.

Mr. Disraeli's next venture was entitled the "Adventures of Captain Popenilla," a weak imitation of "Gulliver's Travels." Popenilla, born in the Island of Fantasie, loses a lock of his mistress's hair, and while searching for it upon the beach comes upon

a sailor's chest, finding therein a book called the "Art of Dreaming in Languages." But the study and teachings of this book do not improve Popenilla's position, and he is turned out, put into a boat, and left to shift for himself. He reaches another island, Capital Hulabub, and studies the political horizon, embracing the United Kingdom. The hero is subsequently tried for high treason. There is a great deal of satire and sarcasm, and much invention displayed in this romance, which is really a political satire and a clever burlesque.

One result of the publication of "Vivian Grey" was an introduction to Edward Lytton Bulwer, who had just produced "Pelham; or, The Adventures of a Gentleman." Disraeli sent him a copy of "Vivian," and in return received an invitation to dinner. That meeting led to a firm friendship, and it is worthy of note that a third guest at the table (there were but four) was a young man who appeared to be shy and sensitive, and spoke but little, exhibiting, however, remarkable intelligence. He was a young barrister named Cockburn, who afterwards, as Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, became the most famous judge of modern times.

The following day Mr. Disraeli started on a visit to the continent and the East, which occupied two years. Switzerland, Spain, Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, were included in the tour, and in Syria his sister, to whom he was greatly attached, and whom some critics took to be the original of Myra in "Endymion," who had been his companion in his travels, died. The various places visited—rich in historical associations, and glowing with the memories of great names and great events—naturally excited his youthful imagination and influenced his mind. In nearly all his later works that influence is apparent. His wanderings in Palestine especially seem to have impressed him with a conviction of the great part the Jewish race had sustained, and were destined to sustain, in the history of the world. His political theories, crude as they were even to the last, were tinged

by the traditions of the Venice where his fathers had dwelt, and the other Italian Republics, while the far East, the cradle of his race, opened to his vivid imagination scenes of mysterious beauty and strange magnificence. He even believed, apparently, that the Jewish people have a great

whole of the Jewish religion, and believes in Calvary as well as Sinai—Christianity being the divinely-appointed development of the Judaism of the Patriarchs. While on his travels his pen was not idle, and he produced two more novels, the "Young Duke" and "Contarini Fleming." As to



LORD BEACONSFIELD.

future, in which all their sufferings and degradation and privation shall be more than compensated; and that, not as the conquering opponents, but leaders of Christianity. He did not, and will not, accept the phrase, converted Jew, but speaks of one who has accepted Christianity as a completed Jew—a Jew who professes the

the "Young Duke," little need be said. The hero is young and dissipated, and somewhat weak; in some respects he resembles Vivian Grey, inasmuch as he begins by going wrong, and finally repenting; but the "Young Duke" is not quite such a sinner as Vivian. He indulges in play and other vices, but at the same time there is nothing

to offend the reader. In this novel, as subsequently in "Lothair," we find the "Young Duke" under Roman Catholic tutelage.

"Contarini Fleming," which made its appearance in 1832, is a work of great pretensions. It was termed a Psychological Biography at the time of its first appearance, but subsequently it was termed a Psychological Romance. In the preface to the edition published in 1845, the author says he proposed to write a psychological romance which would portray the gradual development of a poet's mind, as a subject "unique in the imaginative literature of every country." Contarini is the son of a Venetian lady; his father was of Saxon blood. The hero possesses all the southern traits; his brothers were of the colder northern type. The boy was reserved, but at school his energy was stirred, and he became brilliantly sarcastic as he grew up. He finds his friendship's ideal, and is ashamed of the school friend who visits him. He tries poetry, and is dissatisfied, but he finds solace in the gorgeous ritual of the Romish Church, and in a picture of the Virgin. Subsequently he goes to Venice, but is robbed *en route*. Rescued, he goes to the university and studies hard. After a course of dissipation he goes in for Voltaire, and heads a band of somewhat reckless colleagues. They become a sort of banditti, and resolve to be pirates. Fortunately, however, Contarini's father becomes Prime Minister, and nominates his son a Secretary of State. In this office he succeeds in writing a satirical novel, which, as it introduces living characters, produces a great sensation in society. Contarini then travels, Venice being his resting-place, and there he finds his destiny in his cousin, whom he marries and carries off to Candia, but she dies in giving birth to a child within the year, and Contarini builds a palace in Naples and resolves to spend his life there. There is a great deal of fine writing in the tale, and not a little bombast. The hero has all kinds of visions, the result of animal magnetism. There are some

eloquent and poetic passages in it, and also some which are scarcely worth the undoubted literary ability of the author. It is quite certain that "Contarini Fleming" did not please the public as much as some of the works proceeding from the same pen. Perhaps the majority of novel readers do not appreciate the many problems which belong to the formation of poetic character. Some of the political reflections and suggestions are crude enough. As an instance, he says, "I wish the world consisted of a cluster of small states. There would be much more genius, and what is of more importance, much more felicity. Federal unions would preserve us from the evil consequences of local jealousy, and might combine in some general legislation of universal benefit. Italy might then revive, and even England regret that she has lost the Heptarchy." Clearly, by such novels, Mr. Disraeli had made himself a name in society before he effected his political débüt. He was talked of in society. In Moore's notes we find, under the date of 1832, the following entry:—"Went to Mrs. Lytton Bulwer's assembly, and found such a collection as is seldom brought together. There were young Disraeli and Rammo-burn Roy, and Lord Mulgrave and Mrs. Leigh (Lord Byron's sister), and Godwin." In a later entry, he records, "Dined with the Lionel Rothschilds, and sat at dinner next to the pretty Baroness herself. Young Disraeli was the only one of the guests that I knew or now remember." Such importance attached to Disraeli by this time that a sketch of him appeared in "Fraser's Magazine" for May, 1833, representing him as a tall, slender young man, standing with crossed legs, leaning his right elbow on a mantel-piece strewn with letters. His left arm rests gracefully on his hip, and he gazes with evident satisfaction at the reflection of his handsome face and abundant black ringlets, in a mirror, the frame of which is composed of Oriental scimitars. He wears a high stock, but no collar is visible, and a large breast-pin adorns the then fashionable scarf. A massive chain encircles

his neck and crosses his waistcoat; long tight trousers, straps and pumps, complete the costume. Behind him, laid on a couch, is a long and gorgeous hookah, and a pair of Eastern slippers are near his feet. The accompanying letter-press describes him as the wondrous boy who wrote "Alroy," and goes on as follows:—"The plain fact is, that Ben. Disraeli is a clever fellow who has written some striking books in which we think he has shown great indications of talent, but nothing more. The books prove that the author is a man of abilities, though they do not reach the mark at which he aims. Benjamin's politics are rather preposterous, but he is young, and may improve. There is one thing good about him, viz., that he never can be a Whig, and while that can be said of any man there is hope for him. . . . We hope that in the end he will indeed be old Isaac's son of his right hand, as his name imports in the original Hebraic. He could not follow a more honourable example in life or in letters than the old 'Curiosity of Literature,' and we trust that as there is stuff, and good stuff, in Ben., he will speedily get rid of some ridiculous ideas that pursue him, and show those who think well of his talents, that he can do what they wish to see him attempting."

One of the most famous *salons* in London at that time was that of the Countess of Blessington, a woman gifted and beautiful, but a little outside society. Mr. N. P. Willis, the American author of "Pencilings by the Way," describing a visit to Lady Blessington's, says:—"Disraeli the elder came here with his son the other night. It would have delighted you to see the old man's pride in him, and the son's respect and affection for his father. Disraeli the elder lives in the country, about twenty miles from London, and leads a life of learned leisure, each day hoarding up and dispensing forth treasures of literature. He is courtly, yet urbane, and impresses one at once with confidence in his goodness. In his manner Disraeli the younger is quite his own character of 'Vivian Grey,'

full of genius and eloquence, with extreme good nature and perfect frankness of character." Again we have from the same pen a more detailed portraiture:—"Disraeli had arrived before me at Lady Blessington's, and sat in the deep window looking out upon Hyde Park, with the last rays of daylight reflected from the gorgeous gold flowers of a splendidly embroidered waistcoat. Patent leather pumps, a white stick with a black cord and tassel, and a quantity of chain about his neck and pockets, served to make him even in the dim light rather a conspicuous object. Disraeli has one of the most remarkable faces I ever saw. He is lividly pale, and but for the energy of his actions and the strength of his lungs would seem a victim to consumption. His eye is black as Erebus, and has the most searching and lying-in-wait expression imaginable; his hair is extraordinary, as his taste in waistcoats. A thick heavy mass of jet-black ringlets falls over his left cheek almost to his collarless stock, while on the right it is parted and put away with the smooth carefulness of a girl's, and shines most unctuously with thy incomparable oil, Macassar. Disraeli was the only one at table who knew Beckford, and the style in which he gave a sketch of his habits and manners was worthy of himself. I might as well attempt to gather up the foam of the sea as to convey any idea of the extraordinary language in which he clothed his description. There were at least five words in every sentence that must have been very much astonished at the use they were put to, and yet no others could so well have expressed the idea. He talked like a race-horse approaching the winning-post, every muscle in action, and the utmost energy of expression flung out in every burst. Victor Hugo and his extraordinary novels came next under discussion, and Disraeli, who was fired with his own eloquence, started off, *apropos de bottles*, with a long story of impalement he had seen in Upper Egypt. It was as good, and perhaps as authentic, as the description of the Chou-chou-tow in

'Vivian Grey.' The circumstantiality of the account was equally horrible and amazing. Then followed the sufferer's history, with a score of murders and barbarities heaped together, like Martin's 'Feast of Belshazzar,' with a mixture of horror and splendour that was unparalleled in my experience of improvisation. No mystic priest of the Corybantes could have worked himself up into a finer frenzy of language." Unfortunately for Mr. Willis, Mr. Madden, the editor of the "Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington," was at the same party, and described it in an altogether different manner. Mr. Madden writes:—"My recollection of the scene, to which I think Mr. Willis alludes, is of a very different kind, so far as relates to the impression of horror supposed to be made by the truly extraordinary powers of description of Mr. Disraeli." He adds:—"I frequently met Mr. Disraeli at Lady Blessington's abode in Seamore-place. It needed no ghost from the grave or rapping spirit from the invisible world even then to predicate the success of the young Disraeli in public life. Though in general society he was habitually silent and reserved, he was closely observant. It required generally a subject of more than common interest to produce the fitting degree of enthusiasm to animate him and stimulate him into the exercise of his marvellous powers of conversation. When duly exalted, however, his command of language was truly wonderful, his power of sarcasm unsurpassed; the readiness of his wit, the quickness of his perception, the grasp of mind that enabled him to seize on all the parts of any subject for discussion, persons only would venture to call in question who had never been in his company at the period I refer to. I have met with few men in the country with more unmistakable marks of genius than he possesses. If strong conviction, sound principles, steadfast opinions, and settled purposes in political action were always found associated with exalted intellectual qualities like those of Mr. Disraeli, there is

no man in this country who would be more formidable to his opponents or might be more serviceable to the State." And Mr. Madden's anticipations were realised, though he did not live to see the climax of Disraeli's triumph.

It is creditable to Mr. Disraeli that when evil days came to the Countess, and she had to leave her fine house in town, and hide herself in Paris, Mr. Disraeli, who was absent from England, wrote to the Countess:—"We returned to town on the 16th, and a few days after I called at your house, but you were gone. It was a pang, for though absorbing duties of my own life have prevented me of late from passing as much time under that roof as it was once my happiness and my good fortune, through your kindness, to do, you are well assured that my heart never changed for one instant to its inmates, and that I invariably entertained for them the same interest and affection. Had I been aware of your intention, I would have come to town earlier, and specially to have said 'Adieu,' mournful as that is. I thought I should never pay another visit to Paris, but now I have an object in doing so. All the world here will miss you very much, and the charm with which you invested existence. But for your own happiness I am persuaded you have acted wisely. Every now and then, in this life, we require a great change—it wonderfully revives the sense of existence. I envy you. Pray, if possible, let me sometimes hear from you."

Such was the Disraeli of society and literature. It may be as well to correct a somewhat prevalent mistake relating to Mr. Disraeli's early career. It has been assumed that he began life in a very humble position, and struggled with poverty until his abilities were recognised. This is by no means the case: the circumstances of the family were comfortable, and it is evident that from the first Disraeli enjoyed a good social position. His father, Isaac Disraeli, a man of quiet, inexpensive habits, had inherited property, and made money by his books; and when his son returned from

Eastern travel—and Eastern travel at that time was rather an expensive affair—had settled down at Bradenham, Buckinghamshire, as a tenant of the manor-house, which had many historical associations. Bradenham House is about four miles from High Wycombe, on the road to Princes Risborough. The mansion is large, with gardens of great beauty, and not adapted for occupation by a man of very limited means. In the early part of the thirteenth century Bradenham Manor had belonged to the Earls of Warwick. At a later period, when Lord Windsor resided there, it had under its roof no less distinguished a personage than Queen Elizabeth, and in the antique little church, in a vault under the patron's chancel, is the heart of a Lord Windsor, who died at Spa, one of his last wishes being, that while his body was laid at Liege, his heart should rest at home. Undoubtedly it was this connection with Bradenham that led to Mr. Disraeli's fruitless candidature for High Wycombe. High Wycombe rejecting him, Mr. Disraeli seems next to have laid siege to Marylebone; and then again we find the disappointed politician once more resorting to literature, and the result was the wondrous tale of "Alroy."

The wondrous tale of "Alroy, the Prince of the Captivity," is, as indicated, Jewish. The tribute to be paid by the Jews to the Turks was opposed by Alroy, and an insult to his sister by a Turkish grandee brings his discontent to a climax. He kills the aggressor, and flies to the desert. His horse dies, but he proceeds and crosses a ravine by means of a chain provided with a talisman. He there finds his old tutor, a magician, and is warned to discover the sceptre of Solomon and govern Israel. After many adventures, he reaches Jerusalem, and penetrating into the tombs of the kings, the conversations of the *genii loci* give him the clue to the sceptre, which he recovers. He then joins the robbers, and vanquishes the ruler of Ramadan, whence he had originally fled by means of the sceptre of Solomon. Then he triumphs

over Persia, and secures Damascus. He marries the Sultan's daughter, and subsides into luxury and indolence. It is then his real troubles begin. The Jews even revolt at last, and he comes to an untimely end. A similarly high-flown production, which appeared at the same time, was the "Risk of Iskander."

In "Alroy," that which strikes a stranger as improbable are but the results of the author's Talmudic studies. "In this work," writes a critic, "he has laid hold of and skilfully employed the pre-existing supernatural machinery. 'Alroy' is to the 'Talmud' what 'Paradise Lost' is to 'Demonology,' a living embodiment of what was known, or what was supposed to be known, in a less interesting form before the work was written."

In 1834, appeared the "Revolutionary Epoch," a poem the idea of which he tells us flashed across his mind like the lightning that there was playing over Ida, as he stood upon the plains of Troy. It was intended, he tells us, to represent in heroic verse the spirit of my time. "Standing upon Asia and gazing upon Europe, with the broad Hellespont alone between us, and the shadow of night descending upon the mighty continents appeared to me as it were the Rival Principles of Government that at present contended for the mastery of the world. What! I exclaimed, is the Revolution in France a less important event than the siege of Troy?—Napoleon a less interesting character than Achilles? For me remains the Revolutionary Epoch." Alas! the ambitious attempt was a failure. No. 2 of the "Revolutionary Epoch" never appeared—the world had had quite enough of No. 1; and again we find Mr. Disraeli attempting a political career.

On the 6th of December, 1834, Mr. Charles F. Greville, the far-famed clerk of the Council, writes in his journal:—"The Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) called on me yesterday about getting young Disraeli into Parliament, through the means of Lord George, Bentinck, for Lynn. I told him

George wanted a good man to assist in turning out William Lennox, and he suggested the above-named gentleman, whom he called a friend of Chandos. His political principles must, however, be in abeyance, for he said that Durham was doing all he could to get him the offer of a seat, and so forth ; if, therefore, he is undecided and wavering between Chandos and Durham, he must be a mighty impartial personage. I don't think such a man will do, though, just now, such as Lyndhurst would be connected with." On the following day is another entry :—" George Bentinck sent to Sturges Bourne to know if he would come in for Lynn, but he declined ; *Disraeli he won't hear of.*" This is rather amusing when we remember that not many years after Lord George Bentinck's most faithful political friend and henchman, the most expert warrior who fought under the banner of Protection, and the most trenchant and dreaded assailant of Sir Robert Peel, was that young Disraeli who was destined to succeed Lord George as the leader of the Tory party in the Lower House, to write his biography, and to die an Earl and a Tory dictator, such as was undreamed of till his time ; yet it was but natural that a dull, stupid sportsman like Lord George Bentinck, only remarkable for the narrowness of his opinions, and the tenacity with which he clung to them, should have been not a little afraid of the talent of young Disraeli, whose political antecedents were calculated to excite suspicion. At that time Mr. Disraeli seems to have had few or no party predilections. It is reported that the beautiful Mrs. Norton introduced him to Lord Melbourne with the view to get his Lordship's aid on behalf of the young and rising novelist. Asked by the amiable and accomplished Melbourne what he intended to do when he got into Parliament, "To be Premier," was the audacious reply. The fact seems to be that so long as Mr. Disraeli could get returned, he appears little to have cared what were his nominal politics, or under which party in the State he was ranged. Like his father, to the last Disraeli

cared little for purely English politics. In spite of all his fame and success, he was to the last a stranger as it were in a strange land, using our party politics and prejudices for purposes of his own, but not dominated by them. Hence that educating his party which characterised all his political career.

In 1834, Mr. Disraeli thought the time had come to favour the world with his political views. Accordingly, at the end of that year, he made a long speech at the Town Hall, High Wycombe, which was afterwards published, with the title of "The Crisis Examined," in which he described Lord John Russell as one who, on the same principle that bad wine produces good vinegar, had, somehow, turned from a tenth-rate author into a first-rate politician ; and Lord Palmerston as "the child of corruption," born in Downing-street, a second-rate official for twenty years, under a succession of Tory Governments, but a Secretary of State under the Whigs. The political programme unfolded in the speech was, to say the least, startling. "A statesman," he said, "is the creature of his age ; the child of circumstances, the creation of his times. A statesman is essentially a practical character, and when he is called upon to take office, he is not to inquire what his opinions might or might not have been on this or that subject ; he is only to ascertain the needful, and the beneficent, and the most feasible manner in which affairs are to be carried on. The fact is, the conduct and opinions of public men, at different periods of their history, must not be too curiously contrasted in a free and aspiring country. The people have their passions, and it is ever the duty of public men occasionally to adopt sentiments with which they do not sympathise, because the people must have leaders. Thus the opinions and prejudices of the community must necessarily influence a rising statesman. I say nothing of the weight which great establishments and corporations, and the necessity of their support and patronage, must also possess with an ambitious

politician. All this, however, produces alternate benefit, and the influences tend to form that eminently practical character for which our countrymen are celebrated. I laugh, therefore, at the objections against a man that, at a former period of his career, he advocated a policy different to his present one; all I seek to ascertain is whether his present policy be just, necessary, and expedient; whether he is at the present moment prepared to serve his country according to its present necessities." In this speech he compared the Premier, the late Lord Melbourne, to Ducrow, the equestrian. His lordship is supposed to announce that he would ride on six horses—but he finds that one after the other is attacked with the staggers, and he is compelled to substitute six donkeys. Puffing, panting, and perspiring, he pats one sullen brute, he whacks another, and curses a fourth, while one brays to the audience, and another rolls in the sawdust. Behold the late Prime Minister and the Reform Ministry!

In 1835, when Lord Melbourne had formed his second administration, and had made Mr. Labouchere Master of the Mint, there was a vacancy in the representation of Taunton, where Mr. Disraeli offered himself on the Tory side. On that occasion he had to face some close questioning from the electors, who looked askance at him as a Radical from Marylebone. To that he replied, if there was anything on which he prided himself, it was his consistency. "Did not you write a novel?" asked one of the constituency, who seemed to regard the production of a work of imagination as a very terrible matter. "Did not you write a novel?" "I hope," replied the candidate, "there is no disgrace in having written that which has been read by hundreds and thousands of my fellow-countrymen, and which has been translated into every European language. I trust that one who is an author, by the gift of nature, may be as good a man as one who is Master of the Mint by the gift of Lord Melbourne." But the great feature of the election speech

was the celebrated attack on O'Connell. "I look," said Mr. Disraeli, "upon the Whigs as a weak and ambitious party, who can only obtain power by linking themselves to a traitor." The language of O'Connell was as disgraceful as was to be expected. "He calls me a traitor!" exclaimed the Irish agitator. "My answer to that is, he is a liar. He is a liar in action and words! His life is a living lie! He is a disgrace to his species! What state of society must that be which could tolerate such a creature having the audacity to come forward with one set of principles at one time, and obtain political assistance by reason of those principles, and at another time profess diametrically the reverse? He is the most degraded of his species and kind, and England is degraded in tolerating or having upon the face of her society a miscreant of his abominably foul and atrocious nature. It will not be supposed, when I speak of Mr. Disraeli as the descendant of a Jew, that I mean to taunt him on that account. The Jews were once the chosen people. There were miscreants among them, however, also, and it must certainly be from one of these that Disraeli descended. He possesses just the qualities of the impenitent thief, whose name I verily believe must have been Disraeli. For aught I know, the present Disraeli is descended from him, and with the impression that he is, I now forgive the heir-at-law of the blasphemous thief who died on the cross." The taunt went home. Disraeli was proud of his Jewish descent: of the sanctity and talents and high destiny of his race. He wrote a long letter to his assailant, beginning:—"Mr. O'Connell,—Although you have placed yourself out of the pale of civilisation, still I am one who will not be insulted even by a Yaboo without chastising it." The letter ended with the words, "I expect to be a representative of the people before the repeal of the Union. We shall meet at Philippi, and rest assured that, confident in a good cause, and in some energies which have not been altogether unimproved, I

will serve the first opportunity of inflicting upon you a castigation which will make you at the same time remember and repent the insults that you have lavished upon Benjamin Disraeli." Still more, as duelling had not gone out of fashion, Mr. Disraeli is understood to have challenged O'Connell to a duel. The latter having killed his man, had vowed that he would never again give or accept a challenge, and Mr. Disraeli therefore called upon the Liberator's son, Mr. Morgan O'Connell, to undertake the vicarious duty of yielding satisfaction for the insults his father had lavished; and the responsibility being declined, Mr. Disraeli forwarded a second letter, in which he said:—"I shall take every opportunity of holding your father's name up to public contempt, and I fervently pray that you or some one of his blood may attempt to avenge the inextinguishable hatred with which I shall pursue his existence." In the meantime, let us add, the Taunton election terminated, leaving Mr. Disraeli once more out in the cold.

Let us return to Mr. Disraeli's publications. In 1835 there appeared a political treatise, "Vindication of the English Constitution," a letter to a learned and noble lord (Lord Lyndhurst), by Disraeli the younger. The book was intended to show that the Whigs had succeeded in the reign of George the First in reducing the English monarch to the condition of a Venetian doge; that the Tory party really represented the condition of the English nation, and that Lord Bolingbroke was one of the greatest political philosophers the world had ever seen. The *Globe* was at that time the organ of the Whigs, and Mr. Disraeli commenced a quarrel with it, which ended in his writing in the *Times*—on the model of the letters of Junius—some letters which appeared under the signature of Runnymede. The letters were not remarkable for good taste; they were full of fulsome compliment to Sir Robert Peel, and of abuse of Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord William Bentinck, and other leading Whigs. In a little while we find

two more novels issued by Mr. Disraeli: one known as "Venetia," a love story; the other "Henrietta Temple." The latter at once took with the public. Its love-letters are admirable. The situation is a little mixed. Henrietta Temple is the daughter of a retired diplomatist, and the hero of the story falls in love with her, though engaged to another. When she finds this out she becomes engaged to Lord Montfort, who, however, gives her up to her true lover, while Lord Montfort marries the discarded *fiancée*. The portrait it contains of D'Orsay, under the character of Count Michael, is excellent. In "Venetia" Disraeli is supposed to have attempted to hit off the characters of Lord Byron and Shelley. The critics, however, made merry when they discovered that Disraeli had lifted a considerable portion of Macaulay's essay on "Moore's Life of Byron," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1831. "Venetia" is an unequal work. The first portion, in which the heroine's affection for an absent father is well worked out, is the best. Lord Caducis (Byron) is also well done, and the various phases of his character are excellently brought out. The novel at the time of its appearance met with some opposition: for to describe the lives of the poets, seemed to some critics unwarrantable, and to make a story out of events so recent and so melancholy, was, in the opinion of many people, an offence against good taste. It may be observed, however, that Shelley was drowned fifteen years before the appearance of the novel, and Byron had been dead thirteen years, so their deaths were not very recent occurrences. Inferior to "Henrietta Temple," "Venetia," however, met with many admirers.

However, the time came when Mr. Disraeli was to obtain the object of his hopes, and to become an M.P. When William the Fourth died, in July, 1837, a general election was the result. Mr. Disraeli contested Maidstone, and succeeded in beating Colonel Thompson, the Liberal candidate. His colleague was Mr. William Lewes, of Hughenden Manor, whose widow

he ultimately married. It must have been a proud moment for him when he learned the state of the poll that day. He had at length wandered out of the wilderness, and reached the promised land.

During the whole of these long years of party strife, there is little, writes an admirer of Mr. Disraeli, in his conduct that requires either apology or defence. That he treated his political opponents no better than they deserved is perfectly true. He thus explains his conduct as a reforming Tory, and we give it in his own words :—" I was absent from England during the discussion on the Reform Bill. The Bill was virtually, though not formally, passed when I returned to my country in the spring of 1832. Far from that scene of discord and dissension, unconnected with its parties, and untouched by its passions, viewing as a whole what all had witnessed only in the fiery passage of its intense and alarming details, events have proved—with all humility be it spoken—that the opinion I formed of that measure on my arrival was more correct than the one commonly adopted. I found the nation in terror of a rampant democracy. I saw only an impending oligarchy; I found the House of Commons packed, and the independence of the House of Lords announced as terminated; I recognised a repetition of the same oligarchical *coup d'état*, from which we had escaped by a miracle little more than a century before. Therefore I determined to the utmost of my power to oppose the Whigs. Why, then, it may be asked, did I not join the Tories? Because I found the Tories in a state of ignorant stupefaction. The Whigs had assured them that they were annihilated, and they believed them. They had not a single definite or intelligible idea as to their position or duties, or the character of their party. They were haunted with a nervous apprehension of that great bugbear—the people—that bewildering title under which a miserable minority contrives to coerce and plunder a nation. They were ignorant that the millions of that nation required to be guided

and encouraged, and that they were that nation's natural leaders, bound to marshal and enlighten them. The Tories trembled at a coming anarchy; what they had to apprehend was a rigid tyranny. They fancied themselves on the eve of a reign of terror, when they were about to sink under the sovereignty of a Council of Ten. Even that illustrious man, who, after conquering the Peninsula, ought to deem nothing impossible, announced that the King's Government could not be carried on. The Tories in 1832 were avowedly no longer a practical party; they had no system and no object; they were passive and forlorn. They took their seats in the House of Commons after the Reform Act, as the Senate in the forum when the city was entered by the Gauls, only to die." At that time, and for long after, Disraeli, as was to be expected, found little favour with the Tories. Thus did their leading journal, the *Standard*, speak of him in 1844 :—" He first saw the light in Houndsditch, obtained his education in an obscure attorney's office, and seeks to win a wretched livelihood by writing discreditable novels. But enough of this person. We hope that last night's exhibition finished him."

Perhaps, as an orator and Parliamentary leader, the following sketch of Disraeli, written by the author of this work, and published as far back as 1869, in "British Senators; or, Political Sketches, Past and Present," may not be inappropriate :—

"Towards the close of the year 1837 a young man of somewhat singular appearance and gesticulation, broke down in his maiden speech in the House of Commons. Great things had been expected from him. In most circles he had contrived to get talked about, in some to be admired. Years before, with all the confidence of genius and youth, he had told the Irish O'Connell that he would meet him at Philippi, and the hour of that meeting had at length arrived. Already the young *debutant*, had become remarkable for the facility with which he had learned to repeat the most contrary doctrines, and to

champion interests and prejudices seemingly the most opposed. Marylebone had heard his declaration that unless the ballot and triennial parliaments were conceded, he could not conceive how the Legislature could ever be in harmony with the people. At High Wycombe he had told the electors that in all financial charges the agricultural interest ought especially to be considered; and at Taunton he who had appeared at Marylebone as the friend of Joseph Hume became the representative of the Duke of Buckingham and the Carlton Club. At Maidstone, by the defeat of a Liberal almost as incomprehensible as himself, he at length succeeded in gaining a seat in St. Stephen's. With pride he took his stand in the presence of the Whig dignitaries of whom he had spoken evil, and of the puzzled country gentlemen who could not understand how their Toryism was more democratic than the politics of the Whigs, who were wont to drink to civil and religious liberty all over the world, and to toast the people as the only source of political power. Not merely also in the troubled walk of politics, or as the paradoxical commentator on the English constitution, or as in Runnymede the most keen dissector of the Whig Cabinet, was the aspirant for Parliamentary laurels known to fame. In the world of fashion and of literature he had already become notorious for the piquancy and satire of his novels. The speaker also was a dandy—there were dandies in 1837—and therefore was to be regarded with curiosity. The Conservatives mustered in considerable numbers to back their new man. On the Whig benches there was awe and expectation. Sir Robert Peel cheered the youthful orator with most stentorian tones. Alas! in vain was the cheer; the *débüt* was a failure. The exaggerated attitude and diction of the speaker excited universal ridicule. At length, losing his temper, and pausing in the midst of his harangue, Disraeli (for it is of him we write), at the top of his voice, exclaimed, as he resumed his seat, baffled, beaten, derided, but not despairing, 'Though I sit down now, the time will

come when you will hear me.' It is not always such predictions are realised. In this case it was, however, no empty boast. The man thus ridiculed and coughed at, thus rejected and despised, was he who lived to hurl at Sir Robert Peel the greatest philippics known in modern Parliamentary annals, and who, by his mere strength of brain, lifted himself up to be the leader of the renowned historic party which had been illustrated by the splendid eloquence of a Bolingbroke, and the administrative skill of a Pitt.

"Seated on the Opposition benches, half-way down, with some small-brained son of a duke by his side, night after night may be seen the leader of her Majesty's Opposition. Generally his eyes are cast down, his hands are crossed in front, and he has all the appearance of a statue. Cold, passionless, he seems of an alien race, a stranger to the hopes and fears and interests of a British House of Commons. You wonder how he got there, and how the Tyrrels, and Spooners, and Newdegates, and other rosy-checked country gentlemen, could have borne banners under such as he. However fierce the debate or heated the House, or pressing the crisis, there sits Disraeli, occasionally looking at his hands or the clock, otherwise silent, unmoved, and still. Yet an Indian scout could not keep a more vigilant watch, and immediately an opportunity occurs, he is on his legs, boiling with real or affected indignation. I say real or affected, because Disraeli has so much of the artist about him, that you never know whether he is in earnest or not.

"As an illustration, let me refer to the debate which ensued on Lord John Russell's diplomatic failure at the conference in Vienna. It was amusing to see how at such times, with an elaborate deference all the better for its transparent hollowness, Disraeli would turn to Lord John, and leaning confidently against the table, pour out against the miserable little man, now looking very angry, all the invective which his folly justified and required. Such a situation can only be shadowed forth by

simile. Lord John seemed as you can imagine the traveller in the desert overtaken, and whirled along by the fierce simoom, or as the hapless voyager caught in his frail bark in the Mediterranean in a white squall, and entombed forever beneath its un pitying waves; or, if you are not a traveller, and have ever seen him in such a plight as some poor Cockney, with his Easter Monday garments on in a heavy storm of rain and hail on Primrose Hill or Hampstead Heath. Disraeli used no sugared phrases, no mincing terms, no artifice to veil his contempt; and the noble scion of the House of Bedford was compelled for a couple of hours to sit through a bill, such as only a Danté could describe, or a Fuseli or a Martin paint. You thought of the Indian dancing on the dead body of his prostrate foe; of yourself at a respectable dinner party in tight boots and with aching corns, seated between two strong-minded females, with a purple-faced London alderman opposite; of the boa constrictor drinking the last drop of his victim's blood, and crushing his last bone; of the sufferers of Greek tragedy, with its stern, unrelenting fate, and you were not sorry when it was all over, and the mauled and mangled foe released.

"For savage sarcasm, Disraeli stands unrivalled. His self-possession, his intellectual versatility, his clear and cold voice, his plucky appearance, all aid him in a wonderful manner. In his own peculiar line it is dangerous to cope with him, Roebuck on one occasion did so, and signally failed. Somehow or other one does not speak of Disraeli as an orator like Burke or Mackintosh, uttering sentences that will form the wisdom of after ages, or even as a rhetorician as Macaulay and Sheil. We do not read that he was eloquent, argumentative, pathetic, or patriotic. You speak of him as you would of Tom Sayers. His admirers tell you that he was 'in good condition,' that 'he showed fight,' that he was 'plucky as usual,' that he 'hit right and left,' that he was 'up to the mark,' and there is a singular isolation and singu-

larity in his parliamentary conduct. Though the leader of a party, he is not its slave; and on occasions he fails even to do the proper thing. Thus, at the close of the Crimean War, on the vote of the address on peace—an opportunity which only comes once in a generation—when, according to conventional rules, Disraeli should have made a grand oration, he was actually dumb, and jumped up immediately, and left the House after Palmerston's two hours' speech, as if he were one of the somnolent members who ingloriously sleep on back benches during the very hottest of a parliamentary debate. Historians tell us how Prince Rupert was more than a match for the old-fashioned commander of the Commonwealth. From his lair at Kinsale, from his lair in the Scilly Isles, from his lair in Jersey, he would pounce upon his enemy, and was irresistible till a new system was inaugurated, and Blake, a man of greater genius and daring, raised the red cross of the Commonwealth. Lord Derby has been called the 'Rupert of debate,' but the term is more applicable to Disraeli. When you expect him to speak, he has nothing to say; when you do not expect him, he is on his legs; when you think he will go on for another hour, he sits down as rapidly and unexpectedly as he gets up. He delights in surprises, and you cannot tell which is the studied effort and which the impromptu retort. Herein, especially, is manifest his superiority over conventional speakers, a superiority especially manifest when he came to be the leader, not merely of a party, but England's Premier.

"In his own peculiar style of personal attack, Disraeli has the field entirely to himself, and no wonder is it that personality is his favourite weapon, and the one the best appreciated by the gay lordlings behind him, who cheer infinitely better than speak. At the same time it must be admitted that Toryism is always more ungentlemanly and personal than that sublimely intellectual abortion, the pure old Whig. The only personal paper attempted (it must be

remembered this was, written in 1868), in our day was the *Press*, and that soon gave up personalities. The *Satirist* was a Conservative paper, and so was the *John Bull*; so was *Blackwood*, when it charged Hazlitt with having pimples on his face; so was the *Anti-Jacobin*, when it called Charles James Fox

‘The Catiline of modern times.’

“If we go back to the days of Swift and L'Estrange and Mrs. Manley, we shall find the same characteristic of the High Church and Tory party. Dr. Arnold, in his letters, somewhere makes a similar remark.

“It is wonderful the power of oratory. The speaker from the platform or the pulpit is the only worker who gets his reward at once. You may invent what shall enrich a nation, and die a beggar; you may write, but your hair will be grey before the world is familiar with your name; you may be a poet, and fame may not own your genius till the turf on your grave is green—but possess the magic power with the living voice to reach the living heart of multitudes, and immediately you are a king amongst men. Not merely amongst a rude, untutored peasantry, or inflammable youth, or a middle-class public particularly prone to clap-trap; or an Exeter Hall audience, rather feminine than select; but amongst educated gentlemen and polished scholars—amongst men who have long mastered emotion, and to whom most oratory is as sounding brass or as a tinkling cymbal. On a grand field-night you feel this as you see Disraeli, perfectly aware that victory is beyond his grasp, standing on the floor of the House—his eye flashing defiance—his lip curled with sarcasm—his arm pointed to the object of attack, and his voice alternately expressing indignation and contempt. As I have already hinted, as an orator, Disraeli stands by himself. It is not English, that elaborately-dressed form—that pale Hebrew face shaded with curling hair, once thick and luxuriant; that style so melodramatic, yet so effective; that power of individuality

which makes you hate the object of his hate; that passion which you scarce know whether to call malignant or sublime. When he rises, it is needless for the Speaker to announce his name. A glance at the orator, with his glistening vest, tells you that the great advocate of the pure Semitic race is on his legs. You have seen that face in *Punch*. You have imagined Coningsby just as attentively listened to, or Vivian Grey looking just as cool. It is not easy to play a losing game. To speak from the Treasury benches with a whipper-in to make a House, and secure you a cordial welcome; to feel that a triumphant speech will be followed by a triumphant vote, are privileges granted but to few—to Disraeli rarely indeed. So far as the Opposition are concerned, the debate generally languishes till the Speaker announces the name of the member for Buckinghamshire. Immediately you lean forward. In his face there is a dazzling, saucy look, which at once excites your interest. You see that, if not a great man, he is an intensely clever one, and though on reflection you see more display than reality in his performance, and are not sure that he is in earnest, or means what he says, or that he is sustained and prompted and possessed by any great principle, you feel that as an orator he has few rivals. When he soars, as he occasionally does, you tremble lest he should break down, but Disraeli never attempts more than he can achieve; and when nearest to bathos he saves himself by a happy flight. But even in his highest efforts he aims at a doggedly cool and unconcerned appearance, and will stop to suck an orange, as he actually did during his great Budget speech, or actually to cut his nails. It is true, there are times when he looks more emotional. On that memorable December morning when he was ousted from his Chancellorship, when his party were ingloriously driven from the Eden in which they had hoped long

“‘To live and lie reclined

On the hills like gods together, careless of all mankind’—

back into the bleak and desert world, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came out of the House at half-past five A.M., gray and fresh as if the majority had been with him, not against him. There was an unwonted buoyancy in his walk, and a sparkle in his eye; but the excitement of the contest was hardly over, the swell of the storm was there still, still rang in his ears the thunders of applause which greeted his daring retorts and audacious personalities. Even when, as he occasionally does, he leads his party into a *cul de sac*, and listens to their murmurs and hears their threats, you cannot perceive a feeling of regret or disappointment in his impassive face. No stone could display more indifference.

"But Disraeli, I am told, has no principles. In the House of Commons men deal not with principles, but with facts. The best statesman in modern times is he who is least hampered with principles, and is free to follow the leading of public opinion; and yet it is not difficult to perceive a certain amount of consistency in Mr. Disraeli's political opinions, whether you study his novels or his speeches. It may be a grave fault—granted for the sake of argument—that the charge is true; but if other statesmen are equally remiss, why is Mr. Disraeli alone to be singled out for censure? Was Lord Palmerston so consistent that the British public are to fire with indignation at the licentiousness of Disraeli's political career? Lord John Russell's earlier speeches were against reform. The great Whig idol entered the House of Commons under Tory auspices. We have built up statues in every corner of the land to Sir Robert Peel, yet what principle did that eminent statesman start with which he did not abdicate in the course of his eventful Parliamentary existence? Genius has a creed of its own—forms of expression of its own; and if it condescends to party shibboleths it gives them a wider bearing. If this be true everywhere, especially is this true in practical politics, where at all times

"Black's not so very black, nor white so very white."

And where in these times the difference between the occupants of the Treasury Benches and those of the Opposition are so few. There is a wide difference between a Hobbes and a Milton; between a Filmer and a Locke; between a Blackstone and a Bentham; between the stump orator of the Temple Forum declaiming on the rights of man, and the leader of the House of Commons dealing with a thousand discordant interests: the growth of conflicting passions and principles and interests and prejudices of a thousand years; but between the Whig and Tory aristocracy—between, for instance, Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston—the line of separation was so obscure, the wonder was that a respectable line could be held up to the public at all. Mr. Stafford jobbed at the Admiralty, but were Mr. Gladstone's nominees immaculate? Disraeli believes that he and his party are as honest as their opponents. The Whigs and Peelites are astonished, and one of the dullest of them, in a feeble octavo, containing 700 pages, enters his protest, and begs to recall our attention to the principles of English morality which have done even more than the industrious energy and practical genius of the people in making England what she is. England, he tells us, has been a standing protest against political atheism. The Whig aristocracy, who have always been narrow in their principles, and narrow in their application of them—who snubbed Burke, ignored Sheridan, only accepted Mackintosh when he gave up the doctrines of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, and who would have made Canning a whipper-in, who deluded the nation with a Reform Bill, which was to have prolonged their political existence *in secula seculorum*, and did not even carry free trade—are quite as open to the charge of political atheism as Mr. Disraeli. Position has a great deal to do with politics. The Whigs found this out when they carried the celebrated Appropriation clause. If Lord Palmerston had been in office, he never would have defeated Lord John, and caused the latter to resign on a question of general

or local militia. Out of office no man has declaimed so energetically against the income tax as Mr. Gladstone. In office Mr. Horsman was a Whig. With the sweets of office dangling before them, as we get jackasses to move on by flourishing a bit of hay, what lofty patriots do, middle-aged barristers become. On one side of the Speaker's chair there are men specially bound to find fault with what is professed on the other. Of course, they do this unsparingly, and *con amore* because they know that if the tables were turned, their own acts would be subject to a similar unsparing criticism. The country reaps the benefit of this, for the progress thus consummated is slow—slow as public opinion. Amongst us

“ ‘Freedom broadens slowly down,
From precedent to precedent.’ ”

But to argue—on the one side of the Speaker's chair are the sheep, and the other the goats; on one side the knaves, and the other the honest men; that, for instance, a barrister speaking on the Whig side is a patriot of the first water; and a barrister speaking on the Opposition side, a dishonest partisan; to believe, for instance, that a manufacturer, with his hands red with the blood of factory children (see the evidence submitted to the House when Mr. Crook gained his victory) is an enlightened philanthropist; and that a country gentleman, with his horror of democracy and change, is a selfish ignoramus—betrays a veridancy rare in well-informed circles. It is not because Mr. Disraeli sits on the side of the House that is unpopular, and must be unpopular, that he is to be censured. In office he was civil, and eminently disinterested, and that is more than can be said of every leader. Partisan hacks may cast no stone at him. A more august tribunal there may be even than that of the House of Commons. For a man not born to rank, to be on an equality with men of rank, and come to be their leader, is a triumph; but there are grander triumphs still; if Mr. Disraeli has missed them, few there are

that have found them, and those few rarely have a chance of catching Mr. Speaker's eye.”

It is out of our power to follow in detail Mr. Disraeli's political career. It was a long step from the failure of the *début* to the House of Lords and the Premiership of England, yet Mr. Disraeli slowly and patiently travelled it all, always confident in himself, never out of temper, never in despair. Politics, however, did not interfere with Mr. Disraeli's literary efforts. In the autumn of 1839 he published a tragedy, “Count Alarcos,” founded on an old Spanish ballad. “Years have flown away,” he writes in the preface, “since rambling in the sierras of Andalusia, beneath the clear light of a Spanish moon, and freshened by the sea-breezes that had wandered up a river from the coast, I first listened to the chant of that terrible tale. It seemed to me rife with all the materials of a tragic drama, and I planned, as I rode along, the scenes and characters of which it appeared susceptible.” The tragedy was founded upon a ballad, translated by Dr. Bowring. It is an awful tale of jealousy and love and murder, and when a few years since the tragedy was placed on the stage of the Crystal Palace, it was a decided failure. A little while after we hear of the Young England party. Prominent among them were Lord John Manners, Mr. Smythe, and Lord Winchelsea, and the adherence of Mr. Disraeli to their ranks was eagerly welcomed. Young England was gentlemanly and cleanly, its leaders were of the patrician order, and it looked to the middle ages for patterns of conduct. Its chiefs wore white waistcoats, and gave red cloaks and cold meat to old women. Its great poet, Lord John Manners, sang—
“Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,
But give us back our old nobility.”

In 1844 the result of Mr. Disraeli's alliance with Young Englandism appeared in the publication of “Coningsby.” One of the principal characters is a Jew named Sidonia, and some critics have declared that this important personage is Disraeli

himself. Most of the characters were drawn from life; the notorious Marquis of Hertford is set forth as Lord Monmouth, Croker appears as Mr. Rigby. The Duke of Rutland was the Duke of Beaumanoir. Young Harry Coningsby is the protégé of Lord Monmouth, and his grandson. He is trained at Eton and Oxford, and turns out well. During the long vacation he visits at all the great houses, and falls in love with Miss Millbank, whose father and Lord Monmouth are sworn foes. Consequently he is cut off with a paltry ten thousand pounds, and the immense estate is bequeathed to a lady, who being deeply in love with Coningsby, conveniently dies and leaves him all her money. The book had an enormous sale, and achieved immense popularity. Thackeray wrote a parody of it in *Punch*, under the title of "Coddinsby," which appears to have been particularly objectionable to its author.

In 1841, Sir Robert Peel came into office, and Mr. Disraeli, then M.P. for Shrewsbury, was certainly offended at not having been installed in office. He soon let his leader understand that he distrusted him in consequence. "I think," he said on one occasion, "that the right honourable gentleman should desire to consult a little more the feelings of his party. I do not think he ought to drag them unnecessarily through the mire. . . . The right honourable gentleman came into power on the strength of our votes, but he would rely for the permanency of his ministry on his political opponents. He may be right, he may, even to a certain extent, be successful in pursuing the lines of conduct which he has adopted in menacing his friends and cringing to his opponents; but I for one am disposed to look upon it as a success tending neither to the honour of the House nor his own credit." A writer in "Blackwood," commenting on the above speech, says:—"The object of his sarcasm accepted the speech as the throwing down the gauntlet, and between them from that day forth there seemed to be not even the semblance of mutual respect and confidence."

In 1846 the rupture was complete, and Mr. Disraeli, with the Young England party at his back, left no stone unturned to drive Sir Robert Peel from office.

Occasionally Mr. Disraeli appeared elsewhere than as a Parliamentary orator. In 1844 he delivered an address to the members of the Manchester Athenæum on the Acquirement of Knowledge. "Knowledge," he said, "is like the mystic ladder in the patriarch's dream. Its base rests on the primeval earth; its crest is lost in the shadowy splendour of the Empyrean, while the great authors who for traditionary ages have held the chair of science and philosophy, of poetry and erudition, are the angels ascending and descending the sacred scale, and maintaining, as it were, the communication between man and heaven. This feeling is so universal that there is no combination of society in any age in which it has not developed itself. It may indeed be partly restrained under despotic governments, under peculiar systems of retarded civilisation, but it is a consequence as incidental to the spirit and genius of the Christian civilisation of Europe as that the day should follow night, and that the stars should shine according to their laws and order. Why, the very name of the institution that brings us together illustrates the fact. I can recall, and I think I see more than one gentleman around me who can equally recall the hours in which we wandered 'amid fields that cool Ilyssus laves.' I am sure at least that my honourable friend, the member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden), has a lively recollection of that immortal stream, for I remember one of the most effective allusions he made to it in one of the most admirable speeches I ever listened to; but, notwithstanding that allusion, I would still appeal to the poetry of his constitution, and I know it abounds in that quality. I am sure he could not have looked without emotion on that immortal scene. I can still remember that olive-crowned plain, that sunset crag, that citadel fane of ineffable beauty. That was a brilliant civi-

lisation developed by a gifted race more than two thousand years ago. At a time when the ancestors of the manufacturers of Manchester, who now clothe the world, were themselves covered with skins and tattooed like the red man of the wilderness. But influences more powerful than even the awful lapse of time, separate and distinguish you from that race. They were the children of the sun; you live in a distant, a rugged and heathenclime. They bowed before different altars; they followed different customs; they were modified by different manners, votaries of the beautiful, they sought in art the means of embodying their passionate conceptions. You have devoted your energies to utility, and by means of a power almost unknown to antiquity by its miraculous agencies, you have applied its creative force to every combination of human circumstances that could produce your objects. Yet, amid the toil and triumphs of your scientific industry—upon you there comes the indefinable, the irresistible yearning for intellectual refinement. You build an edifice consecrated to those beautiful emotions, and to those civilising studies in which they excelled, and you impress upon its front a name taken from—

“ ‘Where on *Ægean* shores a city rose,
Built nobly—clear the air and light the soil;
Athens the eye of Greece—mother of arts
And eloquence.’ ”

Mr. Disraeli followed up “*Coningsby*” with “*Sybil*; or, *The Two Nations*,” published in 1845; and with “*Tancred*; or, *The New Crusade*,” in 1847. Of “*Sybil*,” Mr. Disraeli thus writes in his preface to his works:—“In ‘*Sybil*; or, *The Two Nations*,’ I considered the condition of the people, and the whole work, generally speaking, was devoted to that portion of my scheme. At that time the Chartist agitation was still fresh in the public memory, and its repetition was far from improbable. I had mentioned it to my friend, the late Thomas Duncombe, and who was my friend before I entered the House of Commons, something of what

I was contemplating; and he offered, and obtained, for my perusal, the whole of the correspondence of Fergus O’Connor. I had visited, and observed with care, all the localities introduced, and as an accurate and never exaggerated picture of a remarkable period in our domestic history, and of a popular organisation which in its extent and completeness has never been equalled, the pages of ‘*Sybil*’ may, I venture to believe, be consulted with confidence.”

In connection with this, it may be observed that Duncombe introduced Cowper, the Chartist poet, to Disraeli. In Cowper’s autobiography the interview between the Conservative novelist and the Chartist poet is thus described:—“One sees paragraphs very often now in the papers about the expressionless and jaded look of the Conservative leader’s face as he sits in the House of Commons. Yet as I first looked upon that face twenty-six years ago I thought it one of great intellectual beauty: the eyes seemed living lights, and the intelligent yet kindly way in which Mr. Disraeli inquired about the term of my imprisonment and treatment in the prison convinced me that I was in the presence of a very shrewd as well as highly cultivated and refined man. ‘I wish I had seen you before I finished my last novel,’ said he; ‘my heroine *Sybil* is a Chartist.’ ”

Tancred is a young man of the highest rank and social position, whose first act when of age is to make an expedition to the Holy Land in the search of a new faith. His experiences are sufficiently startling. In a revelation by Divine authority he is told to preach theocratic equality. He learns to look upon the Jews as the race which gave the Saviour to the world, and to despise Christendom as an intellectual colony from Arabia. Instead of preaching theocratic equality, however, he contents himself by proposing to wed the daughter of a wealthy Jewish banker. In “*Tancred*,” Mr. Disraeli rides his Jewish proclivities to death. “I know,” says Tancred, “that the Creator only speaks

with man in this, the Holy Land, and that is why I am here." Again he asks, "Is it to be believed that there are no peculiar and eternal qualities in a land thus visited to distinguish it from others?" As usual, Mr. Disraeli attempts to show the superiority of the Jews to all other races of men. In the life of Lord George Bentinck, which appeared in 1848, he returns to the theme. He writes:—"The toiling multitude rest every seventh day by virtue of a Jewish law; they are perpetually reading for their example the records of Jewish history and singing the odes and elegies of Jewish poets, and they daily acknowledge on their knees with reverent gratitude that the only medium between the Creator and themselves is the Jewish race; yet they treat that race as the vilest of generations, and instead of logically looking upon them as the human family that have contributed most to human happiness, they extend to them every term of obloquy, and every form of persecution. There is no race, at this present, and following in this only the example of a long period, that so much delights and fascinates and elevates and ennobles Europe as the Jewish. We dwell not on the fact that the most admirable artists of the drama have been, and still are, of the Hebrew race, or that the most entrancing singers, graceful dancers, and most exquisite musicians are sons and daughters of Israel, though this were much. But these brilliant accessories are forgotten in the sublimer claim. The music of modern Europe ranks with the transcendent notions of human genius, the poetry, the statues, the temples of Greece. It produces and represents as they did whatever is most beautiful in the spirit of man, and often expresses what is most profound. And who are the great composers who hereafter will rank with Homer, with Sophocles, with Praxiteles, or with Phydias? They are the descendants of those Arabian tribes who conquered Canaan, and who by favour of the Most High have done more with this means than even the Athenians. Athens has been sacked oftener than Jerusalem,

and oftener razed to the ground; but the Athenians have escaped expatriation, which is purely an Oriental custom. The sufferings of the Jews, however, have been infinitely more prolonged and varied than those of the Athenians; the Greek, nevertheless, appears exhausted. The active genius of Israel, on the contrary, never shone so bright, and when the Russian, the Frenchman, and the Anglo-Saxon, and applauding theatres, or the choral voices of solemn temples, yield themselves to the full spirit of a Mozart, a Meyerbeer, or a Mendelssohn, it seems difficult to comprehend how these races can reconcile it to their hearts to persecute a Jew. The world has by this time discovered that it is impossible to destroy the Jews. The attempt to extirpate them has been made under the most favourable auspices and on the largest scale; the most considerable means that man could employ have been pertinaciously applied to this purpose for the longest period of recorded time. Egyptian Pharaohs, Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, Scandinavian crusaders, Gothic princes, and holy inquisitors, have alike devoted their energies to the fulfilment of this common purpose. Expatriation, exile, captivity, confiscation, torture on the most ingenious, and massacre on the most extensive scale; a curious system of degrading customs and debasing laws, which would have broken the heart of any other people, have been tried, and in vain. The Jews after all this havoc are probably more numerous at this date than they were during the reign of Solomon the Wise, are found in all lands, and unquestionably prospering in most. All which proves that it is in vain for man to attempt to baffle the inexorable law of nature, which has decreed that a superior race shall never be absorbed and destroyed by an inferior. One fact none can contest. Christians may continue to persecute Jews, and Jews may persist in disbelieving Christians; but who can deny that Jesus of Nazareth, the incarnate son of the most high God, is the eternal glory of the Jewish race?" The

man who could write in this way was sure to gratify one section of the public at any rate, and to get himself talked about by the other. The daring exaggeration of the author claims and rivets attention.

"Ixion in Heaven," and the "Infernal Marriage," spoken of as remarkably clever satires, were the next publications of Mr. Disraeli. The former is a burlesque. The "Infernal Marriage" is deeper. Politics are introduced, and the author's views are expounded by mortals in a true burlesque fashion. Now and then we come across a piece of writing which shows how uniform the writer has been in his ideas. When playing a rubber, Proserpine says to the seer Tiresias, "I was so glad to see you turn up the Queen, Tiresias," "I also, Madame," is the reply. Without doubt there are few better cards than her Royal Consort, or still more, the *Imperial Ace*. "Nevertheless I must confess I am perfectly satisfied whenever I remember that I have the Queen on my side." The Lord Chancellor of Hades is described as a juggler, leading a meek jackass, sometimes designated as "Public Opinion," sometimes as "Opinion," and occasionally saluted as the King's conscience. We find Saturn living as a deposed King, under the title of Count Ilesperus, and his conversation with Proserpine as to the necessity of conforming to the spirit of the age is very amusing and witty. Saturn thinks she may as well give up her throne as conform to this spirit. "Why so?" asks Proserpine. "Because," says Saturn, "I look upon the spirit of the age as a spirit hostile to kings and gods."

But the day was to come when Disraeli was to triumph over all his foes; when his patience was to be rewarded; when he was to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and this was in 1852. By that time he had also become M.P. for Buckinghamshire, an honour he retained till he was called to the Upper House.

When in 1859 it fell to Mr. Disraeli's lot to move a new Reform Bill, the scene is thus described:—"On Monday, the last day of February, 1859, the anxiety to be present

in the House of Commons was unprecedented. As early as eight o'clock in the morning strangers arrived with orders for the gallery. By ten o'clock there were sufficient to fill the strangers' gallery, yet from this hour till four, when the doors were opened, crowds of candidates for admission, armed with members' orders, continued to arrive in the Speaker's and Ladies' galleries. The Sergeant-at-Arms' book had been opened on the Monday previous, and by eleven o'clock on that morning every place was taken. The excitement pervaded the working classes, who assembled in New Palace Yard. The interior of the House was most inconveniently crowded. Some peers who sought admission were turned back. A prince of the blood royal, half-a-dozen foreign Ministers, and many leading members of the Upper House, were among the audience. At half-past four the Minister for whom the most distinguished assembly in the world waited, walked up the floor carrying a red despatch box. In a few minutes he was upon his legs expounding the Reform Bill of the Derby Government. It was said by one of the older Members, that he was attired at this moment of his triumph exactly as he was when, two-and-twenty years before, he sat down, overwhelmed with confusion and vexation, after hurling his famous prediction at the heads of the hilarious and incredulous audience. He certainly resembled more than usual the portraits taken just about that time, before he had schooled his romantic features into the passionless air of the party leader. A black surtout, artistically made, concealed a whitewaistcoat, dark brown trousers enveloping the nether man. The deep white collar and the black neckerchief fastened with easy, careless negligence, carried the spectator back to those days of halcyon innocence, when the fashionable novelist was writing "Young Duke," and was only imagining how easy it was for a young fellow with parts and invention to open the political world like an oyster. The time had come when not only the House

of Commons, but every European statesman, was to hear him. Every telegraph clerk, from Moorgate-street to St. Petersburg, was waiting, it is said, on that eventful night for the click of the wire that was to give him his work to do. The orator was pale, but perfectly self-possessed. His voice at first was low, calm, and unimpassioned. With a voice inferior to Gladstone's in richness and fulness, Disraeli has more than any other speaker studied those modulations of pitch which give constant pleasure and relief to the auditory nerve. He spoke for three hours and a quarter, and when he sat down he won a hearty and general cheer from each side of the House, which had nothing to do with the merits of the Reform Bill, but was a genuine acknowledgment of his ability and modest bearing. Men differ from the politician, but they honoured the post and glorified in the Minister the institutions of a country that does not withhold her highest prizes of political influence and power from men of genius, whatever their rank or descent.

The failure of the Conservative Reform Bill once more placed Mr. Disraeli on the Opposition benches. The Tories were much annoyed with him, and that feeling found vent in the *Quarterly* for April, 1860. The writer, then Lord Robert Cecil, now the Marquis of Salisbury, described his policy as one which had long misguided and discredited the Conservative Party in the House of Commons. "To crush the Whigs by combining with the Radicals was the first and last maxim of Mr. Disraeli's parliamentary tactics. He had been a successful leader to the extent that he had made any government while he was in opposition an impossibility. His tactics were so various, so flexible, so shameless; the net by which his combinations were gathered in was so wide—he had so happy a knack of enticing into the same lobby a happy family of proud old Tories and foaming Radicals; martial squires, jealous of their country's honour, and manufacturers who had written it off their books as an un-

marketable commodity—that so long as his party backed him no government was strong enough to hold its own against his attacks. It was painfully obvious, throughout the short career of the Conservative administration, that they were conscious of the tenure on which their power was held, and that the conservatism of their cause was checked and disturbed by a sort of sidelong homage to whom their transient victory was due. The English constitution is likely to feel, as long as it shall endure, the consequences of Lord Derby's resolution to produce a Conservative Reform Bill. We will not stop to describe the merits of a proposal whose term of existence was so short. It bore, impressed on every feature, the parentage of the vigorous councillor, into whose hands for these many years Lord Derby's political conscience has been confided." It is curious to note how the writer of this article was, at a later time, Mr. Disraeli's most faithful adherent, his colleague at Berlin, whence he returned with "peace with honour."

On the death of the Prince Consort, Mr. Disraeli made a speech in the House of Commons, of which the following extract gives a fair specimen:—"It has been said that there is nothing which England so much appreciates as the fulfilment of duty. The Prince, whom we lost, was notably eminent for the fulfilment of duty, but it was the fulfilment of the highest duty under the most difficult circumstances. Prince Albert was the consort of his sovereign; he was the father of one who might be his sovereign; he was the prime councillor of a realm, the political constitution of which did not even recognise his political existence. Yet under these circumstances, so difficult and so delicate, he elevated even the throne by the dignity and purity of his domestic life. He framed, and partly accomplished, a scheme of education for the heir of England, which proved how completely its august projector had contemplated the office of an English king. In the affairs of State, while his serene spirit and his elevated position

bore him above all the possible bias of our party life, he showed on every occasion all the resources, all the prudence, and all the sagacity of an experienced and responsible statesman. . . . But what avail these words? This house has been asked to-night to condole with the Queen upon this great calamity. To condole in general is the office of those who, without the pale of sorrow, still feel for the sorrowing. But, in this instance, the country is as heart-stricken as its Queen. Yet, in the mutual sensibility of a sovereign and a people, there is something ennobling; something which elevates the spirit beyond the mere level of earthly sorrow. The counties, the cities, and the corporations of this realm—those illustrious associations of learning and science, and art and skill, of which he was the brightest ornament, and the inspiring spirit, have bowed before the throne. It does not become the Parliament of the country to be silent. The expression of our feelings may be late, but even in that lateness may be observed some propriety. To-night the two houses sanction the expression of the public sorrow, and ratify as it were the record of a nation's woe."

In June, 1863, we find Mr. Disraeli figuring as the leader of the Conservative Working Man. In a banquet held in Willis's rooms, he claimed that the work of his party was to "be the champions of the rights of the multitude, to secure popular principles and popular rights." All his hearers were not prepared to follow his lead. "They cannot," as the *Saturday Review* remarked, "they cannot forget that in twelve years Mr. Disraeli has already learned the necessity of a county franchise of ten pounds, and now that as he comes out as the champion of the rights of the multitude, they have a grave apprehension that he may descend to five pounds for the country and household suffrage for the towns. Toryism, they fully admit, has made even more strides in ten years, but they have a wholesome horror of those seven-leagued boots which Mr. Disraeli has already been measured for."

Possibly, in order to keep himself in with the landed gentry, Mr. Disraeli, as the years rolled on, affected quite bucolic tastes, and took a deep interest in root crops, sheep, cows, harvests, and other agricultural matters, took his seat as a magistrate at quarter sessions, proposed toasts at agricultural dinners, and gave prizes to virtuous ploughmen and industrious peasants. In November, 1864, the degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, and he made an effective speech in reply. He spoke at length on the Constitution of the Ecclesiastical Court of Appeal, and the proposed remedies for Church grievances; on the growth of heresy, and the Darwinian theory of development, and delighted his hearers by exclaiming that he was on the side of the angels. *Punch* made merry over the matter, and drew Disraeli with large angelic wings attached to him, contemplating with ineffable delight his reflection in a looking-glass. The *Saturday Review* took up the matter, and was highly delighted that Mr. Disraeli, with his peculiar views about the Jews, and the inestimable benefits they had conferred on the human race, by bringing about the crucifixion, should have been hailed with delight by the orthodoxy of Oxford, as a leader of the Church party who listened with rapt attention to his announcement as new matters, what every one was familiar with. "When Mr. Disraeli expands his five points of the Churchman's charter into the eight conclusions developed from his own inner consciousness, we must do him the justice to say that he has read the newspapers recently, and that he has succeeded in finding out—what everybody had found out before him—that the present constitution of Convocation wants reforming, and that there exists considerable dissatisfaction in many quarters, both as to the jurisdiction of the Colonial Bishops, and as to the Constitution of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council." The writer cleverly compared Disraeli at Oxford to Saul among the prophets at Gilgal. "We shall not

insist on the fact that in both instances the original object was only to seek asses, because the result was different in the two cases. Although in each case the asses were found, Saul did not find them, but Benjamin did. It may be a great misfortune to the English Church, as we believe that it is, that its social status is falling, but there is a moral decadence which has at least equal danger. Poor livings in the diocese of Oxford are a great scandal, but Mr. Disraeli presenting the policy and dictating the doctrines of the Church of England is a greater." At that time the Tories had not learned to regard Mr. Disraeli as the greatest statesman of his age. About that time, also, another disappointment awaited him. He had been run in opposition to Mr. Carlyle as a candidate for the Rectorship of the University of Edinburgh, and the latter had gained the day.

In 1866, Mr. Disraeli was once more in office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Very little could be done in Parliament at that late period of the session, but in 1867 it was announced that the Ministry were prepared to make the attempt to settle the question of Reform. It was felt after the Hyde Park railings had been pulled down, and the trades' unions had walked in procession thirty-five thousand strong, that something must be done. When Parliament re-assembled, Mr. Disraeli introduced the subject by proposing thirteen resolutions to afford a basis for the clauses of the Bill, but withdrew them before they had been fully discussed, having on the preceding evening brought forward a crude measure popularly known as the Ten Minutes' Bill, which he withdrew directly afterwards. "The private history of the Reform Bill of 1867," wrote a leading journal, "has yet to be written, but we may be permitted to say here that all the gossip that was current at the time, and has been current since, concerning what Mr. Lowe called the unparalleled betrayal of the Tory party by its leader, was due either to an ignorance of the facts of the case which

one can scarcely conceive possible, or to an intentional perversion of the truth, which we shall be sorry to think possible."

The Reform Bill of 1867, good, bad, or indifferent, was essentially the work of the House of Commons. The Cabinet decided, in fact they had no alternative, to introduce a measure of reform. It was evident that somebody must do it; it was equally evident that Ministers with majorities had failed to do it; and Mr. Disraeli therefore wisely determined, if he could, to remove the question from the domain of party, and to make the whole House of Commons co-operative with him in his work. This was the meaning of his celebrated thirteen resolutions by which he hoped to ascertain the collective opinion of the House, so as to frame a measure which could not be assailed on purely party grounds. As the success of this proposal would have had the effect of disarming the Opposition, its leaders, of course, rejected it, and the Cabinet was compelled to bring in a Bill at once. But none the less was Mr. Disraeli's idea successful in the end, and the whole House itself made to co-operate in a measure which neither party by itself appeared capable of carrying. The scheme which subsequently received the Royal assent, and which had been the original design of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, was abandoned in the first instance in deference to the feelings of other members of the Cabinet; but few people know what it cost Mr. Disraeli to propose the measure which had been kept in reserve as a substitute instead of the bolder one which he had matured himself. Very short notice was given to him of the inability of Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel, to support the latter. Mr. Disraeli had hardly more than one day in which to prepare himself for the task, and it may not be generally known that he offered to resign office rather than break up the Cabinet or undertake a task so much to his own distaste. However, he was over-ruled. But at three o'clock in the afternoon of that day he had eaten nothing, and after taking a

single glass of wine in Downing-street, he went down to the House, there to discharge his allotted task, with an air of depression and deprecation which surprised everyone who heard him. This Bill, however, was only born to perish, and the Ministry and the Conservative party were now to consider what course they had to take. The Government, however, was not left to decide. A meeting was held at the Carlton Club, the result of which was to inform the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Tory party would now support the original scheme, and no other. Thus, so far from Mr. Disraeli having dragged an unwilling party after him, the party itself insisted on his acting as he did, and he had no sincerer supporters through the desperate struggles which ensued, than some of those very county members whose confidence he was said to have abused. Respecting the measure, and Mr. Disraeli's responsibility for it, a recent writer says:—"It is certain Mr. Disraeli's enemies might have addressed to him the taunts he had himself levelled at the illustrious convert to Free Trade, and taxed him with running away with the Liberals' clothes while the wearers were bathing. It is not so sure that he would have ventured to maintain that this fourth great democratic movement, the one of which he was the promoter, and which gave us virtual household suffrage, was altogether in keeping with the original and genuine character of Toryism. It might be so; but if it were, Mr. Disraeli, after all he had done to educate his party, they still remained hopelessly confused between old words and their new meanings. The memory of these events is still so recent that it is superfluous to dwell on them, or to recall the details of a campaign, when the army were kept to their colours, while an attempt was made to manœuvre in the dark; where the officers had their instructions in cipher, or made solemn terms with the enemy only to have them disarmed. Never did the Conservative chief show such consummate strategy, or so amazing a

fertility of resource, as in this appropriate crowning of a career whose triumphs were won by science against numbers. He took his orders from his adversaries with perfect taste, temper, and dignity, and gained one battle for himself while winning another for them. It was a triumph of the Conservative party and of Liberal principles." In the autumn of the year Mr. Disraeli visited Edinburgh and made two long speeches, in which he claimed he had educated his party, and induced them to accept principles of reform, from which a few years before it would have shrunk. In February, 1868, the Earl of Derby resigned office on account of ill health, and recommended the Queen to make Disraeli Premier, and the prize of a long and ambitious life was won. The honour he did not wear long. A general election resulted in the triumph of the Liberals, and Mr. Disraeli resigned office. Her Majesty wishing to confer on him some distinguishing mark of her regard, the ex-Premier handed the proffered honour to his wife, who became Viscountess Beaconsfield.

One result of Mr. Disraeli's retirement from office was the publication in 1876 of another political novel, "*Lothair*."

It was reported at the time that he had been offered a very large sum of money by the editor of a weekly periodical if he would write another novel for its pages similar to "*Coningsby*" and "*Tancred*." The offer was declined, but possibly it led him to write "*Lothair*." The hero, *Lothair*, derived considerable success from the fact that the young and wealthy Marquis of Bute was known to have joined the Roman Catholic Church. The portrait of a cardinal in this volume was immediately recognised as Doctor Manning, from his meagre aspect and a certain habit he had of "popping in after dinner," and there are other characters, most of whom are working for the conversion of *Lothair*. His rescue is attempted by the bride of Corinth, a Grecian goddess who particularly struck *Lothair*, and in her fascinating society he for-

gets all else. Theodora accompanies her confederates to Italy and joins Garibaldi. She is killed at the Battle of Mentana, and Lothair wounded is once more taken care of by his Roman Catholic well-wishers. He is so well looked after that the ghost of Theodora comes to warn him in the Coliseum. Lothair subsequently visits Jerusalem, and finally accepts the Roman Catholic religion. An article in the *Dublin Review* pointed out that Lothair's journey into Italy, and the future of the secret societies and Theodora, are copied from Miss Amelia Edwards's novel, but the remark is not borne out by the facts of the case. "Lothair" is as witty and clever as its predecessors. It was bright and cheerful, and helped to augment the popularity Mr. Disraeli had already attained.

We have a striking illustration of that popularity which was shown on the occasion of the State visit to St. Paul's Cathedral, to return thanks for the recovery from illness of the Prince of Wales.

Scarcely ever was the line of route more crowded, and naturally the Queen, and Prince and Princess, were the most prominent centres of attraction. Ministers and the leading statesmen of all parties took part in the demonstration, and Mr. Disraeli, who was accompanied by the Countess of Beaconsfield, might almost have escaped notice had not an enthusiastic admirer taken the opportunity of a slight stoppage near the top of Ludgate-hill on the return from the Cathedral, and, breaking through the line of police, made his way to the carriage and addressed the ex-Premier, expressing a hope that he would soon be once more in office. The crowd immediately cheered, and the cheer was taken up and continued all along the line. Seldom, it was remarked, was there a more truly spontaneous demonstration.

In 1874, Mr. Disraeli undertook to form his last Administration. In 1872 he had suffered a heavy bereavement by the death of his wife.

On the 11th of August, 1876, Mr.

Disraeli made his last speech in the House of Commons. Next morning the well-kept secret was disclosed. It was known that he was to become Earl of Beaconsfield, and the leadership of the House of Commons was to devolve on Sir Stafford Northcote. It was pleaded that physical incapacity to bear any longer the fatigue of leading the House of Commons was the only motive for the step, and four years after his political career may be said to have come to an end.

Out of office, it was evident that the end was near. After his retirement from office he occasionally spoke in the House of Lords, but his health was declining, and he left to younger and stronger men the task of carrying on the war. The last great debate in which he took part was in the discussion of the House of Lords, on Lord Lytton's motion, in March, 1881, condemnatory of the policy of the Gladstone Cabinet in the withdrawal of the British forces from Candahar. A spectator thus describes the scene:—"The debate had been adjourned from a previous evening. It was expected that the Earl would speak, and great was the public interest to hear him. The strangers' gallery was of course crowded to its utmost capacity, but the floor of the House was also thronged. The Ministerial, Opposition, and cross-benches were occupied by a numerous array of Peers; the Peeresses' galleries were well filled, and Privy Councillors from the other branch of the Legislature, and other persons of distinction, found standing room in that portion of the splendid chamber, which, though near the throne, is not technically regarded as being within the House. Lord Beaconsfield's speech was the last which was delivered on the Conservative side. Viscount Cranborne had spoken earlier in the evening, and the Duke of Argyll had replied. The House, which had become almost empty during the hour or two devoted to dinner, again filled, and formidable was the array of Peers, old and young, who sat behind the Earl and his immediate supporters. On the same bench

near him sat the Marquis of Salisbury, Earl Cairns, Earl Lytton, Viscount Cranbrook, and others. When his lordship re-entered the House, a speech was in course of delivery, but the speaker was inaudible owing to the animated conversation going on among the Peers, in view of the impending division. Looking on both sides of the House, it was clear that the overwhelming majority sat not behind, but in front of Lord Granville, the nominal leader of the august assembly. There were in fact entire empty benches on the Ministerial side, but behind the Earl of Beaconsfield there did not appear to be a vacant seat. In fact, although his place was upon the left of the throne, hot cheers, that greeted him from his numerous and well-disciplined followers, seemed to testify that, though he was no longer in office, he was still in power in that House. No sooner had he risen than all conversation was hushed, and there was marked and respectful silence. As he spoke, memory kept recalling to my mind the Mr. Disraeli of twenty-five years ago, when I had heard him in the House of Commons. The lively manner, the distinct utterance, were gone. There were, ever and anon, slight inaccuracies of speech and failure of memory. But there was the old face of the brilliant orator, unquenched by the lapse of a quarter of a century—the same patriotic ardour, and, if I mistake not, an earnestness not apparent in his younger days, but which was now the more obvious from the solemnity imparted to it by age. This declaration that the key of India is not at Herat, or Candahar, or elsewhere in Afghanistan, but in London, was applauded as it deserved. The scene, amid which this speech was delivered, was, as may be imagined, a very striking one, and in at least one mind it will remain, while memory lasts, a striking historical picture, the central figure of which is the most remarkable of all—Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield. "Yes, his lordship was growing old. At the conclusion of one of his speeches, we are told that he went towards the government benches to resume his seat—

his mind and his body were at times evidently beginning to give way.

About this time he published his last volume, "Endymion"; in many respects very tawdry, and certainly inferior to the novels of his younger years, but eminently readable. It is a tale of love and ambition, highly seasoned with politics. Endymion is ambitious, but his sister Myra is far more so. "They resembled each other, and had the same brilliant complexions—rich chestnut hair, delicately-arched brows, and dark blue eyes. Though only eight years of age, a most unchildlike self-possession distinguished them. The expression of their countenances was haughty, disdainful, and supercilious. Their beautiful features seemed quite impassioned, and they moved as if they expected everything to 'yield to them.' Of course the boy goes to Eton, while the girl is trained at home to marry a peer. Then comes a great catastrophe: the Ministry goes out of office; the family retire into the wilds of Berkshire—where Mr. Ferrars writes for the reviews, and Mrs. Ferrars attends to the education of his daughter. After awhile, Endymion gets a clerkship in Somerset House, and his mother dies. Nigel Penruddock, the handsome and accomplished son of the rector of Hurstley, returns from Oxford about this time, and falls in love with Myra, whose beauty has increased with her years; but in spite of her father, she declines his offer of marriage. Mr. Ferrars, doomed to so many disappointments, gradually succumbs to his sorrows after the death of his wife, and, finding the present too hard and the future only a chaotic nebula—"chaotic nebula" is a good phrase—commits suicide, and Endymion, with all his extraordinary talents and beauty, and the lovely Myra, are left penniless orphans. Myra now resolves to separate from her brother, notwithstanding his proposals to the contrary, and like a brave girl, she looks out for something for herself, which she finds one day in the advertisement sheet of the *Times*, wherein Mr. Adrian Neuchatel, the

wealthy banker, advertises for a companion for his only child. Myra's reply to the advertisement pleases Mr. Neuchatel. He selects it "out of hundreds," and Myra is presently established at Hainault House, companion to an accomplished heiress, who loves her immediately as a sister. Our heroine, it may be taken for granted, is

both of whom are *épris* with the beautiful Myra. Myra soon becomes Lady Roehampton, for there is none of the romantic nonsense of an ordinary heroine about her, and she does not take long in making up her mind. She is a woman of the world. Her heart, of course, does not enter into the contract, for that belongs to



ST. GILES'S CHURCH, HIGH STREET, EDINBURGH.

now on the high road to fortune. Among the distinguished company we find at Hainault House, we may mention particularly Prince Florestan, a royal exile, young, and like the generality of Lord Beaconsfield's characters, handsome (who may be taken for Louis Napoleon under a thin veil), and the elderly Lord Roehampton,

her brother, whose position has been improving wonderfully, and although he has not attained the social eminence of his titled sister, he is well looked upon by the fashionable world. Ministers smile upon him as a rising young man, and great ladies watch over him. He leaves Somerset House for the Foreign Office; he is ap-

pointed private secretary to a Cabinet Minister; he is welcomed at Hainault House. His sister, Lady Roehampton, takes chambers for him in the Albany, and an unknown friend—who turns out eventually to be the banker's daughter, who has a secret liking for him—invests twenty thousand pounds in the three per cents. in his name. At this period Endymion is disappointed in love. The one girl to whom he had given as much of his heart as he could part with, marries the Earl of Beaumaris. But Endymion does not break his heart over her; he is too busy with his pleasures to think of such a thing. Lady Montfort, another superlatively beautiful and clever woman, the wife of an eccentric old nobleman whom she cannot be expected to do more than honour and obey, is as interested in Endymion as Myra herself, and, with powerful friends about

him, it is not surprising to find him skipping up the social ladder, gifted as he is with transcendent abilities, which everybody, from Vigo, the distinguished tailor—whom she gives him the best of advice and unlimited credit—to the Speaker of the House of Commons, is ready to recognise. Lady Montfort, to be sure, is in love with Endymion, but she does nothing to offend, much less to offend, the proprieties. She takes a very ardent sisterly interest in the young man, and she and Myra do their best to fan his ambition on, and to keep the fire within him alive. They spur him on by all the means in their power, and the force of woman's influence is the moral of the story, for as the book closes we leave Endymion occupied in forming a government, at the command of his Sovereign. Towards the end, Lord Montfort, having been bored to death by life, shuffles off this mortal coil, and Lady Montfort becomes the wife of Endymion; whilst Myra, whose husband dies very suddenly, accepts her old admirer, Prince Florestan, who has won back the throne, which he now invites her to share with him. A number of characters which we have not had occasion to introduce with this short sketch of

Endymion, are more or less drawn from real life, but Lord Beaconsfield arranges very cleverly to foil any attempt to fix their identity. There are many familiar names which will occur to readers of the book as the prototypes of the leading characters, but they can be at best only rough guesses. For the rest, there is nothing peculiarly life-like in any of the characters. It is rather as a descriptive writer that Lord Beaconsfield is successful than as a delineator of character. His pictures of still life are occasionally admirably well done; his description of Hainault House, the home of the Neuchatels, for instance, is a wonderfully graphic description of Gunnersbury, the residence of the Rothschilds, and his account of the famous tournament in which Myra figures as the Queen of Beauty, attended, among others, by Adriana Neuchatel and Lady Montfort, is a fine specimen of picturesque prose writing. Lord Beaconsfield's style is eminently theatrical, and he paints his scenes in the brightest of words, but his world is literally a stage, and his men and women merely players. The stage, for all that, is arranged with such a masterly hand, that however little moved our hearts may feel towards the characters, our eye is delighted with the spectacle placed before us, and our ears are charmed with the sparkling dialogues.

"Endymion" is certainly not a work of extraordinary art merit, but it is one of more than ordinary interest, and containing as it does the impressions and recollections of one of the most distinguished Englishmen of our time, it possesses an attraction superior to its value as a literary performance. In 1873, and again in 1874, Mr. Disraeli was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University. On the second occasion a party in the University supported another candidate—Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the great American transcendentalist poet and philosopher, but Mr. Disraeli was elected by a majority of 200.

But the time had come when he was to join the majority. On the evening of the 10th of March, 1881, he dined with the Prince

of Wales at Marlborough House, and on the following day complained of illness, which rendered the attendance of his old friend and physician, Dr. Kidd, necessary. The attack, a combination of bronchitis, chronic asthma, and gout, increased in intensity, and Dr. Quain, and afterwards Dr. Bruce, were sent for. Sir William Jenner also visited the Earl by special desire of the Queen. The Earl had only recently occupied a town house in Curzon-street, Mayfair, for the convenience of attending the House of Lords, and, as the severity of the illness increased, that house soon became frequented by callers from all parts of the world, anxious to inquire as to the health of its illustrious inmate. Mr. Gladstone was a constant inquirer, and the bulletins issued several times a day were looked forward to with the most intense interest. It was hoped that the crisis was passed by the middle of April, and as the weather had become fine and spring-like, it was hoped the splendid constitution of the noble Earl would enable him to pull through. Easter Monday morning was all that could be desired, but the east wind again returned, and it shortened the life of the noble Earl. On April 19th he expired. The final bulletin was as follows :—

“19, CURZON-STREET,

“April 19, 1881.

“The debility, which was evidently increasing yesterday, progressed during the night, and Lord Beaconsfield died at half-past 4 this morning, calmly, as if in sleep.”

What had happened in the interval between 1 and half-past 4 is thus described by one of Lord Beaconsfield's medical attendants :—“The Earl's drowsiness, which had been apparent in the later part of last night, gradually deepened towards midnight into a stupor, from which his Lordship was with difficulty aroused. He still, however, took nourishment up to half-past one this morning. About two o'clock the stupor deepened into coma, or complete

insensibility, and towards the hour of three the breathing became very much embarrassed. Dr. Kidd and Dr. Bruce at once applied all the usual restoratives for the breathing, but for the first time during his illness there was no response. Seeing the approach of death, Dr. Kidd immediately despatched messengers to Lord Barrington, Sir Philip Rose, and Dr. Jenner. Lord Barrington was the first to arrive, and upon entering the sick-room he found Lord Rowton closely grasping the right hand of the distinguished patient, in which grasp Lord Barrington joined. They continued to clasp the right hand of Lord Beaconsfield until the last moment, his left being all the time held in that of Dr. Kidd. About five minutes before the breathing ceased Sir Philip Rose and Dr. Quain arrived. Then a most placid appearance came over his Lordship's face, which deeply moved all in the room. The distressing breathing ceased, and for about five minutes slow, gentle inspiration took its place, and all seemed over; but, even after the breathing had stopped for four or five minutes, the heart's action kept up, and the pulse continued perfectly perceptible at the wrist. It was a most touching scene. As Lord Rowton, Lord Barrington, the three physicians, Mr. Baum, the young servant James, and the two nurses, watched round the bed for a further period of ten minutes, perfect silence was kept, save for the weeping of some who were present, because even when the pulse ceased it was difficult to realise that he was dead. Thus, without suffering, without a struggle, Lord Beaconsfield slowly passed away.”

Another account states that the early hours of the morning had always been the most trying to the patient, and after one o'clock the difficulty of relieving the throat and chest became so great that recourse was had to an expedient which Lord Beaconsfield had before declared had given him the greatest relief, and a small quantity of powder was burned in a saucer in such a position that the fumes were inhaled by the sufferer. But this afforded no

permanent benefit now, and the patient continued to sink. Drs. Kidd and Bruce remained by the bedside throughout the night, but after that hour no further medicine was administered, although everything that skill could devise was done to soothe the dying Earl's last moments. He had no power to rally from the last spasmodic attack, and when at four o'clock Sir Philip Rose entered the sick-chamber he found the Earl lying quietly in a semi-comatose condition. A fit of coughing troubled him for a moment, but soon he was again quiet. Then, turning his head to one side, he murmured, "I am overwhelmed," closed his eyes, and appeared to fall asleep. These were his last audible words. Besides the physicians, Drs. Quain, Bruce, and Kidd, and the nurses, Lords Barrington and Rowton and Sir Philip Rose were by the deathbed at the time, and among the sorrowing group were Mr. Baum (Lord Beaconsfield's confidential servant) and another domestic. Mr. Ralph Disraeli did not arrive in time to see his brother die. Throughout his lordship's illness the physicians have had to fight against the conviction firmly entertained by him, and frequently expressed, that he would never get well. Even when those around him indulged in hopes of a permanent rally, his own opinion was always the same.

Lord Beaconsfield's death was intimated by telegram to the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and other members of the Royal Family, his political friends, to the Prime Minister, and to many of the foreign courts. A notification was also sent to the embassies in London. In the course of the day responses, expressing deep regret, and, in some cases, asking for further particulars, were received from her Majesty, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and all the other members of the Royal Family. Telegrams arrived all day from every quarter of the kingdom. Lord Barrington remained at Curzon-street to answer the various inquiries made and messages sent. The Duchess of Teck called at Curzon-

street in the afternoon and saw Lord Barrington, from whom she learned about the late Earl's last moments. "It is her Majesty's wish," says the Central News, "that every tribute of respect may be paid to the memory of the distinguished statesman, and should a public funeral be decided upon, this course will, no doubt, be in full accord with her Majesty's desires. The Premier, also, receiving the news of his great rival's death, immediately made known his desire that the interment should be a public one." The Dean of Westminster called at Curzon-street at midday, his object, as was understood, being to offer a resting-place for the remains of Lord Beaconsfield in Westminster Abbey.

It is noteworthy that Lord Beaconsfield expired on the anniversary of the day on which he had left Windsor Castle after tendering to her Majesty his resignation as Prime Minister of England. The following history of Lord Beaconsfield's illness is supplied by one of the physicians who was in constant attendance upon him. The Earl had for several years past suffered more or less from attacks of gout, complicated with bronchitis. While in office his health was very far from strong, and people little suspected how ill and weak he really was, and how frequently he worked under the most trying circumstances in consequence of his weakly condition. No previous attack from which he suffered was, however, anything like so severe and so prolonged as the one which has now proved fatal. The present illness began in the form of general bad health, and some months ago he was exceedingly feeble. Exactly thirty days ago he felt so ill that he sent for his regular physician, Dr. Kidd, who continued to attend him throughout the late trying time. Dr. Quain was also early called in for consultation, and subsequently Dr. Bruce was summoned as physician in constant personal attendance during the period the other medical men were away. Dr. Bruce was with his lordship for a fortnight and until the end of his illness. The

nature of this illness was the same as that from which Lord Beaconsfield had previously suffered. There was an attack of gout in several of the joints, complicated with severe bronchitis. During the early part of the illness there were daily and almost hourly exacerbations and periods of relief, the disease, however, as a whole,

ing last the east wind returned, and therewith came a visible arrest of the improvement which had been manifested in Lord Beaconsfield's condition. There was no favourable change on the Sunday, and on Monday it became too evident that the symptoms were increasing in severity. The weakness which had naturally increased



THE RETURN FROM THE BERLIN CONGRESS, JUNE, 1872.

still retaining its hold on the patient. About the end of the fourth week there were symptoms of decided improvement; the gout disappeared almost entirely from the joints, and the bronchitis somewhat abated, though the attacks of spasm were never quite absent; but on Saturday morn-

ing last the east wind returned, and therewith came a visible arrest of the improvement which had been manifested in Lord Beaconsfield's condition. There was no favourable change on the Sunday, and on Monday it became too evident that the symptoms were increasing in severity. The weakness which had naturally increased

the desired direction ; but after that hour there was a rapid loss of strength, and the system did not respond to the methods of treatment employed. At two o'clock the condition of his lordship became so alarming that the doctors hastily summoned his intimate friends, and when he expired there were at his bedside Lord Rowton, Viscount Barrington, Sir Philip Rose, Dr. Quain, Dr. Kidd, and Dr. Bruce. He died calmly and peacefully, the failure of strength being gradual. The severe state of the weather and the noble Earl's advanced age were the chief of the adverse features in the case against which the physicians had to contend. Throughout his illness Lord Beaconsfield was treated in spacious apartments kept well ventilated. For change of scene and for purity of air, Lord Beaconsfield was wheeled from one room to another, the apartment he left being thoroughly ventilated ere his return to it. This operation was conducted without the slightest exertion on the part of the patient. At the earlier stages of his illness he was able to take nourishment freely, and to enter into his ordinary political and business arrangements. In the absence of Lord Rowton, who had accompanied his sister, who was seriously ill, to the south of France, Lord Barrington took charge of the noble Earl's affairs, and during their walks the ex-Premier exhibited evident signs of exhaustion—in fact, his lordship often stated that he felt too unwell to travel further, and but for the assistance of Lord Barrington's arm would have been unable to reach his home. Having once taken to his bed, he was seldom able to leave it. He expressed a strong desire to see Lord Rowton during his illness, but even after his lordship arrived the doctors, fearing the effects of excitement, peremptorily forbade an interview for several days. Before leaving Buckingham Palace for Osborne her Majesty communicated with Lord Barrington her particular desire to visit the patient, but the reply of the physicians was that only quietude was likely to restore the noble Earl, and they begged

the Queen, under the circumstances, not to carry out her desire. For a long time Lord Beaconsfield was unable to take nourishment, but during last week solid food was administered, and at times he took it with apparent relish ; at other times he turned from it. He bore the fatigue of his removal from room to room well, frequently thanking those who had assisted him. Not many days since he not only conversed freely with Lord Rowton, Lord Barrington, and Sir Philip Rose, but actually had read to him a copy of a bulletin as to his health which was about to be issued. He, however, from the first never entertained the slightest idea that he should recover, and that opinion he expressed to his attendants more than once. He was conscious almost to the last. He saw Mr. Ralph Disraeli, his brother, during Monday afternoon, and after that slept calmly. During the evening he was restless, but was able at midnight to recognise Lord Rowton, but after that his utterances were at times incoherent. Numerous calls were made in Curzon-street throughout the day. Sympathy is expressed by endorsements upon the cards left. The Prince of Wales sent a special equerry in the afternoon from Sandringham with letters of condolence to Lord Rowton and Lord Barrington.

During the day Mr. Boehm, the sculptor, took an excellent cast of Lord Beaconsfield's features, which bore a calm and peaceful expression. The preliminary arrangements for the funeral were entrusted to Messrs. Caswell, of King's-road, Chelsea, who superintended the interment of Lady Beaconsfield. Lord Rowton and Sir Philip Rose went to Hughenden with a view of searching the late Earl's memoranda, and of ascertaining if he had expressed any wish or desire as to his place of burial. The Central News stated that on their return it was understood that the result of their search had added little or nothing to that already made known to them as to the late Earl's instructions about his funeral.

It was thought that the matter might have been left to a certain extent in the hands of his executors, Sir Philip Rose and Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild; but as this has not been pointedly done, in all likelihood, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the deceased, the funeral would be a private one. "Only," it is said, "the strongest public pressure, coupled with a request from the highest quarter, will induce the trustees to consent to a public funeral."

The Press Association said:—"The inhabitants of High Wycombe district—about two miles from Hughenden Manor, the favourite residence of the late Earl of Beaconsfield—have been deeply moved by the announcement of the death of his lordship. The first intelligence, which was posted outside the Postal Telegraph Office, was as follows:—'Sir Philip Rose to Mayor of High Wycombe.—With inexpressible grief I announce that Lord Beaconsfield passed away at 4.30, without suffering, quite calmly, as if in sleep, in the presence of Lords Rowton and Barrington and myself.' No arrangements as to the funeral will be made until to-day (Wednesday), the duties of the executors being at present confined to sealing the various depositories containing valuable political and other deeds. At Wycombe Abbey, the seat of Lord Carrington, the news of the deceased Earl's death was received with profound sorrow. In fact, throughout the whole of Bucks the feeling among Liberals and Conservatives is one of deep regret."

On the subject of the funeral arrangements, the Press Association was informed that it was understood by the intimate friends of the deceased Earl that his personal desire was that on his death he should be interred at Hughenden beside his deceased wife, but during his illness no explicit request was made by the Earl on the subject. Dean Stanley, who had made arrangements to leave town for about ten days, called at Curzon-street to ascertain what were the wishes of those most intimately connected with the late leader of the Conservative party as to the interment.

Immediately on the receipt of the news of Lord Beaconsfield's death, Mr. Gladstone, from Hawarden, expressed his desire that the honours of a national funeral and interment in Westminster Abbey should be accorded to the remains of Lord Beaconsfield. Dean Stanley remains in town awaiting the arrangements that may be made. Mr. Creswell, of Queen's-road, Chelsea, was called to Curzon-street at six o'clock yesterday morning, and about nine o'clock in the evening the body was encased in a leaden coffin, with an elm interior, lined with white satin. Should it be found that in his will the deceased statesman has directed that he should be interred at Hughenden, the funeral will probably take place on Tuesday next. Should no specific direction be found, the Press Association says, the remains of Lord Beaconsfield will be placed in Westminster Abbey, and in that case the funeral will not take place before Thursday. Mr. Algernon Turnour, one of the late Earl's secretaries, called in Curzon-street during the afternoon, and, having been admitted to see the remains of the deceased, left much affected. A number of choice wreaths have already been sent to the house.

At several London clubs the blinds were drawn. The great bell at the church of St. Clement Danes was tolled at intervals during the day, and the rector has ordered a muffled peal to be rung on the day of the funeral.

In a leader the next day, the *Daily News* wrote:—"England was startled yesterday morning with the news of Lord Beaconsfield's death. For a day or two, at least, there had been little hope among his friends that he might yet recover; but come when it would, such an event as the death of such a man must come with a sudden shock to the public mind. Very calmly and easily Lord Beaconsfield's life ebbed away. Two or three faithful friends were with him when he died. The fading out of existence was so gradual and gentle that it might rather be said he ceased to live than that he died, in the early dawn of the morn-

ing of a spring which, as Carlyle says of Mirabeau, 'was never to be summer for him.' The sudden change of weather, the quick return from soft, warm air to winds of cruel chilliness, blighted any faint hope that had lately been growing up in the minds of his friends. The few genial days that came lately had brought him some relief from the malady that oppressed him, and it seemed at one time not impossible that his great strength of will might still prove itself indomitable, and that he might do battle successfully with his enemy. Perhaps there was never any real ground for such a hope. Perhaps the few days of warmer temperature only softened the harshness of each attack without much lessening its power to wear life out. Perhaps no continuance of mild weather could have saved an invalid so far exhausted, and oppressed with the weight of seventy-six years. At all events, when the bitter chilly winds returned, they brought death on their wings, and Lord Beaconsfield's friends soon knew that the end was near. It came even more quickly than was expected. It is needless to say that the event has created a profound sensation. Already telegrams are pouring in from all parts of the civilised world, telling us how the nations of the earth have received the news that Lord Beaconsfield is no more. In our days the dying bed of a great man may almost literally be said to be watched over by all peoples. Scarcely had the last moment of yesterday morning's struggle come and passed when the telegraph wires made it known across Europe and Asia and America, that Lord Beaconsfield was dead. Yet a few hours and the same wires brought back the regretful words of foreign statesmen and journalists, and the expressions of sympathy of far foreign nations with the friends and political associates who most deeply lament him. He had filled, as Burke said of Chatham, so large a space in the public mind, that his sudden withdrawal from the political field in which he had been busy so long, and so lately, seems for the hour to change the whole condition of

things. - Only a few weeks have passed since he made his speech on Candahar in the House of Lords, and there were friends and admirers of his listening to that speech who talked with something almost like confidence of the possibility of his returning to power once more.

"It is needless to say that the observations made by foreign journals on the great career now closed are not all panegyric. A stranger in a far country reviewing Lord Beaconsfield's political life is not under the same principle of restraint which at such a moment must govern Englishmen whose party Lord Beaconsfield, in his lifetime, had always opposed. But his career was far too energetic and important to be summed up even by his most devoted followers in the language of mere eulogy. Like one of Mr. Browning's earlier heroes, he had been 'ever a fighter,' and there are men and political parties, and even peoples, who now do honour to his memory in the spirit of one who lays a leaf of laurel on the grave of a gallant fallen enemy. Nowhere is there any inclination to deny to Lord Beaconsfield the full meed of praise due to his genius, his undaunted spirit, his proud patience, his unconquerable will. To the political party which he led, his loss is irreparable. Not twice in the same century could any party expect to find a leader of such capacity, such temper, and such resource. Like some of the early poets, who had to organise a language before they could give their poetic spirit an adequate voice, he had to organise a political party before he could attempt any practical political work. Perhaps history will say that his greatest achievement was the manner in which he kept that party together through all conditions of adversity and disaster, even as military critics say that Napoleon's genius never shone out so splendidly as in his retreat upon Paris before the pressing force of the allied armies. Lord Beaconsfield had lived long enough in one sense. It is not likely that he could have added to his fame even if his life had been spared for a few years

longer. Those who heard him make the Candahar speech of a few weeks ago must have observed the failing physical power of the orator. It was a very remarkable speech for a man of seventy-six; but it was not such a speech as Lord Beaconsfield would have delivered even a year ago. It did not give promise of an endurance of physical power like that which belonged to Lord Lyndhurst or even to Lord Palmerston. Fortunate in most things, therefore, it would seem that Lord Beaconsfield was fortunate also in having accomplished his full career. No impression of incompleteness can be brought to the mind of any one who contemplates that career and its close. But it may well be that, although Lord Beaconsfield lived long enough for his own fame, and could have added nothing more to it by living longer, even a few months more of life would have enabled him to render material service to his party. His would probably have been a moderating influence in the great struggle which is about to open—which will open probably before his grave is closed.

"The house in Curzon-street, in front of which anxious crowds were always watching for so many days, will henceforth have historic interest for all men. The most unstinted and generous sympathy was shown by Lord Beaconsfield's political opponents. Men of all ways of thinking, as well as men of all ranks and classes, were found in that crowd, watching as the crowd watched round the house of Canning, or, later still, round the house of Cavour. Men who had publicly opposed Lord Beaconsfield and his policy all their lives, and have not one word to retract or to soften which they ever spoke in condemnation of it, were yet as constant in their attendance and their inquiries as if they had been his political followers and friends. It is said that almost to the very last Lord Beaconsfield took an interest in hearing the names of those who had called to inquire as to his condition, and that although from the first he did not himself expect to recover, he remained

always cheerful, and even if he would have wished to live, accepted quietly the conviction that he was to die. If it be a satisfaction to a man at such a moment to know that he has accomplished all his purposes and realised all his dreams, such satisfaction surely was given to Lord Beaconsfield. He had made himself one of the very foremost of European statesmen. Indeed, if we take out three names, the names of Prince Bismarck, M. Gambetta, and Mr. Gladstone, what name is there in the world's living politics that could by any possibility be classed with his? We are not now speaking of his policy or his political principles. We are not considering whether he is entitled to as high a place as this man or that in the enduring gratitude of a country. We are only speaking of the place he had won for himself, and the light which contemporary fame threw around him. Perhaps even the least generous critic may say of him that—

" 'A rarer spirit never
Did steer humanity, but you, gods, do give
Some faults to make us men.'

Lord Beaconsfield's was undoubtedly the rare spirit which is capable of steering humanity. The gift of leadership, which may be found in conjunction with great eloquence and high statesmanship or without them, was his in especial. He would have been a famous party leader even if he had been as deficient in eloquence as Althorp or as Wellington. His political career is peculiar, is even unique in our history. Perhaps that of Bolingbroke most nearly resembles it; but Bolingbroke started with advantages which were not at Mr. Disraeli's command, and Bolingbroke ended in failure, while Lord Beaconsfield, even when fallen from office, continued to be an influence, a power, and a success. The close of such a career could not but be watched with breathless emotion wherever civilised men are found."

For days, the papers were filled with extracts from foreign papers on the melancholy event. Here are a few of them :—

The *New York Herald* says that Beaconsfield's career was as 'extraordinary as it was brilliant. His qualities were not solid, and solidity is the one quality the world looks for in a real ruler of modern England.

The *N.Y. Sun* says that a political force has disappeared, for which no substitute can be found in the ranks of his own party. What he did for England will be better appreciated ten years hence, the *Sun* thinks, than it is now.

All the Berlin papers, both Liberal and Conservative, published long articles on the late Lord Beaconsfield. These articles for the most part hardly touch on the politics of the present day, but simply refer to the life and acts of the late Earl.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which has always been most friendly to the Conservative Government in England, says:—"The loss which England has sustained by the death of Lord Beaconsfield will be felt not only in Great Britain, but throughout the entire civilised world."

The *National Zeitung*, remarking on the career of the late Premier, says that the Conservatives may wait a long time before they find such another leader.

The *Boersen Courier* says that Benjamin Disraeli owed his success to his tenacity, and not to his political strength. His desire was always to surprise the world, and that in a theatrical manner.

The Progressist organ, the *Vossische Zeitung*, says it believes that Lord Beaconsfield has always done what he believed to be the best for the interests of England, and acted throughout in a patriotic way; but his foreign policy especially was fantastic, and sometimes lost itself in Imperialism, even to the disregard of home interests.

The Conservative *Post*, in an exceedingly eulogistic article on Lord Beaconsfield, says that he not only showed himself a great leader in the political world, but also in literature. His works of fiction says the *Post*, are a great inheritance for future generations.

The news of Lord Beaconsfield's death caused a very painful sensation in Vienna, as the deceased was considered a friend of Austria. His literary works, too, have many admirers. All the newspapers were ringing with his praises. The *Neue Freie Presse* says that one of the most eminent men of the century, whose name is all-important, not in English history alone, but in the history of all Europe, has died with Lord Beaconsfield. His death must, it says, be a severe blow to the Conservative party, whose brilliant leader he was. Hopes were entertained lately that he would soon rise from his sick-bed and take his place at the head of the Opposition again, serving it with the irresistible power of his eloquence. The general sympathy with him in his last illness shows, the paper thinks, that he will be regretted even by the followers of the present Government.

The evening papers of Pesth unanimously eulogise Lord Beaconsfield, and proclaim him one of Europe's greatest statesmen, the friend of the Hapsburg Monarchy and Hungary, and the representative of a policy evidencing interest in their welfare. We quote a few telegrams indicating how universal was the sensation created by Lord Beaconsfield's decease.

The news of Lord Beaconsfield's death was received at St. Petersburg on the Tuesday afternoon. No evening papers are published. The notices in the Russian Press appeared the day after. In journalistic circles full appreciation is expressed of the ability and patient, indomitable will of the deceased. It is, however, difficult for Russians to forget his determined opposition to Russia's external policy.

The Madrid Press was full of biographical notices of Lord Beaconsfield. They are generally more favourable to his literary works than to his political achievements, especially in connection with the Eastern Question.

The *Diritto* thus concludes a masterly biographical sketch of Lord Beaconsfield:—"The result of so many efforts patiently

renewed after each failure, of such pertinacity, such ambition, was not in excess of his expectations, for those were always unbounded. He thirsted for power, and power almost uncontrolled was his. He dreamed of seating himself among the statesmen of Europe, and the dream became a reality; and in Berlin he had the gratification of hearing Prince Bismarck, from deference to him, open the discussion in the Congress in English. But perhaps his most cherished wish was to be popular in that England to which, as an alien, he had so long been the object of aversion and scorn. This, too, was fulfilled. His return from Berlin was a triumphal progress, and the acclamations that hailed his famous phrase, 'Peace with honour,' must have contrasted strangely to his ears with the laughter that greeted his maiden speech forty years before." Withal, however, the *Diritto* thinks that Lord Beaconsfield's career was that of a man seeking his own fortune more than his country's welfare.

All over the country the feeling of regret was universal. In the *Christian World*, the writer of this work thus describes the burial of Lord Beaconsfield:—"It is quite a country lane which leads you to Hughenden manor-house. Directly you get out of High Wycombe, with its broad streets of ancient, well-kept houses, with its grand gateway in the middle, leading to Lord Carrington's park, you seem to have left the world behind. On our right is a quaint and picturesque wayside inn, bearing the name of the 'Beaconsfield Arms,' known as the 'Horse Shoe,' till Lord Beaconsfield added it to the estate. On our left rise in graceful undulations the Chiltern Hills. Half way up, peeping from between the trees—now bare, for this spring's vegetation is backward—is the residence which the pictorial papers of Saturday have already made familiar to the world. As we proceed, we come to a pair of ornamental iron gates, with a lodge, by which, however, there is no access to the public, but which will nevertheless be viewed with interest when I state that the path beyond

was the favourite walk of Lord Beaconsfield in his old age. * A little further on is the lodge through which the public crowded on Tuesday to pay their last tribute of respect to one who, if not as a Buckinghamshire farmer informed me, the 'greatest man in the world,' was at any rate the foremost man of his party and his race. On Monday night the scene was one of unrivalled interest. Stately swans glided on the stream which runs through the park. A little way up the slope was the double-gable church, with its tiny steeple, apparently new, but in reality of an ancient date. A little behind are some almshouses, quite a modern innovation, for they were erected by a Countess Conyngham, who died in 1816, at the age of ninety-two, and was buried in the church. From a grassy terrace a little higher up, a charming vicarage looks down across the park, or where a cleft in the hills to the right reveals, if not the red tiles of the busy town, at any rate its smoke. On Monday evening as I stood there, a Sabbath stillness reigned, broken only by the harsh cry of the peacocks at the manor-house beyond; while a flash or two from the sinking sun crimsoned the fleecy clouds for a moment, and then leaves the landscape dark and dull, as if the glory of the earth had passed away. As I passed through the churchyard on my return, the grave-diggers were still at work, but in vain, for they tell me that it is quite impossible for the vault to contain the wreaths of flowers sent as a farewell homage from every quarter of the land. 'They make a good deal more of him in London than they did down here,' observes my landlord to me; by which I gather that Lord Beaconsfield did not deal so much with the town as with the local tradesmen, though desirable. The fact was, the brown liveries and the black horses of the noble Earl were rarely seen in the High-street, the road from the station to the manor-house being a little to the left, and so desirous was his lordship to avoid fuss, that no one knew when he was coming from town; and actually when he did take

his holiday, he was often at home before his servants had arrived from town, and thus was the first to note his own arrival. However, Wycombe, on Tuesday, was equal to the occasion, and at the special request of the Mayor put up its shutters and ceased to do business after two o'clock. From its fine old church drooped the Royal Standard, half-mast high; while from the belfry there came every now and then a muffled peal. At the great hotel of the town—the hotel which has done a roaring trade these last few days, and where on Monday night were booked orders for as many as fifty pairs of carriage horses—all the visitors not being of so economical a turn as the Common Serjeant of the City of London, who was seated on the knife-board of an omnibus, which was marked 'The Bank and Charing-cross;' or as Alderman Whetham, ex-Lord Mayor, who preferred to save his eighteen-pence, and do the two miles between the station and the manor-house on foot,—at this fine old country hotel, to cut short my digression, over the porch a bold lion keeps watch and ward. On Tuesday actually this lion had a band of crape, and bore aloft a funeral wreath.

"The wet and unpleasant morning seemed to have but little effect on the attendance, as hour by hour the crowd, mostly dressed in sober black, came trooping in from all the country round. One of the first to arrive was a poet from the Surrey side, with a black bag full of cards, which contained a poem of his own composing, which he retailed for the small charge of twopence. He was followed by vendors of oranges, and other cards with portrait and verses beneath, or with a portrait plainly but neatly embossed; another had some hideous lithographs for sale for sixpence, and which, if quantity be considered, were not dear at the money. Outside the park railings stood an individual who gave you a printed paper, from which you were to learn that at Madame Tussaud's you had the privilege of seeing the great statesman and the far-famed golden wreath. As the London police came down in the middle of

the day, these humble and enterprising salesmen gradually were prevailed upon to make themselves scarce. About half-past two, when the churchyard was opened to the privileged holders of tickets, there must have been many thousands, while chaises and broughams and omnibuses, and vehicles of all kinds, emptied of their occupants, occupied a considerable space lower down the slope. Higher up—that is, between the church and the private grounds of the mansion—the way was cleared and kept clear by the Bucks First Regiment of Volunteers, and there the pressure was very great, as nowhere could the spectators have a better view of the procession. The drawback to the quiet and solemnity of the scene was the conduct of the boys, who climbed the trees overlooking the churchyard, and did a good deal of damage besides. One of the first to enter the church was Mr. Raikes, M.P., one of the last was Mr. Levi Lawson, who shook hands with Sir Hardinge Giffard, who early had taken up a position with a small cluster of M.P.'s in the grounds just opposite myself. In time the tolling of the bell announced the appearance of the funeral *cortège*, which was preceded by the Vicar, the Rev. Mr. Blagden, reading, as he passed where I stood, that wondrous Scripture about the resurrection and the life to come. All heads, of course, were bowed, as slowly and reverently the coffin, covered with a purple pall, and bearing wreaths piled as far as possible, was borne along. The dazzling beauty of those wreaths were vain to tell; the finest one on my side bore the inscription, 'From the Duchess of Connaught,' while that of her Majesty was just in front. Before the coffin walked the confidential valet of the Earl, Mr. Baum, with difficulty retaining his tears as he carried, on a velvet cushion, the late Earl's sparkling coronet and the insignia of the Order of the Garter. Then came the Earl's brother, with the youthful heir, Coningsby Disraeli, by his side. The little lad has a bright, though slightly Jewish cast of countenance, and a bearing that at once

wins on the spectator. Lord Rowton and Viscount Barrington came next, and then followed Sir Anthony Rothschild and Sir Philip Rose. The Prince of Wales, looking a little worn, was close behind, with the Duke of Connaught on one side and Prince Leopold on the other. Onward they came in sombre black, the late Earl's companions in many a political victory and in many a political defeat—the Marquis of Salisbury, wearing a skull cap, and presenting quite a venerable appearance; Lord John Manners, aged and shadowy, and seemingly weighed down with grief; Lord Henry Lennox, much graver than when years ago I used to watch him handing a glass of water to his illustrious chief; Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Cairns, and many more, including the pleasant face of the Speaker, and the stately figure of the Marquis of Hartington. Soon the service in the church was over, and the coffin was wheeled down into the vault at the end of the church outside. It is a tiny vault: on one side you could see the coffin of the Viscountess, with the wreaths all dry and sere, as soon shall be those on the coffin placed in its small niche on Tuesday. The spectacle was sad and suggestive, as the squalls came racing across those Chiltern Hills, and sweeping athwart the valley filled with the sight-seers below, who lingered both to look at the vault where the Earl was buried, and at the church where he had worshipped so many years. As the day waned the clouds cleared, and the sun of April seemed to sink slowly into the West with healing in his wings, and to aid and woo the advance of tardy Spring. As sorrowfully I turned away, I could not but ask myself—

“ ‘Oh, when shall spring visit *that* mouldering urn?

Oh, when shall day dawn on the night of *that* grave?’ ”

Perhaps altogether the scene on the outside of the park was not much unlike a country fair, but that is the inseparable accompaniment of such occasions. As the day of the funeral was intensely cold, Mr.

Gladstone was not present. It would have been very imprudent for him had he put in an appearance. But his absence at the time led to a great deal of uncharitable—unjustly so—remark. People are hard to please. A great deal of fault was found with him that he did not immediately propose the erection of a public monument to the deceased Earl. In some extreme quarters, it was hinted that he was purposely absent from the funeral, and that he purposely delayed the vote—a vote to which many respectable radicals took exception—for the erection of the proposed memorial. Early in May, however, he took occasion to move the resolution of which he had given notice. We extract from contemporary papers the account of a speech which was considered highly admirable, and made a great impression at the time. Mr. Gladstone moved the address to the Crown, of which he had given notice, praying her Majesty to direct a monument to be erected to Lord Beaconsfield. At the outset he said that though it might be too sanguine to expect the motion to be received with unanimous assent, he earnestly appealed to the House not to enter into a lengthened and contentious argument. As a keen personal opponent of Lord Beaconsfield, nothing would pain him more, except its rejection, than that the grace of the vote should be marred by angry disputation. Adverting to the criticisms of his own action in the matter, he said it had been directed to what he conceived to be the fulfilment of his duty, by the examination of the precedents with a desire liberally to interpret them, but with a proper jealousy of adding to them. This was not the occasion for drawing an historical portrait of Lord Beaconsfield, nor for attempting a political eulogy, but it was an occasion on which a majority ought to be guarded against giving way to its own narrow views, and which certainly ought not to be used for issuing a political manifesto. Mr. Gladstone proceeded:—“I say that in my judgment we have to look to two questions,

and to two questions. only, and they are, whether the tribute that it is proposed to pay is proposed to be paid to one who, in the first place, has sustained a great historic part, and done great deeds written on the page of parliamentary and national history; and, next, whether those deeds have been done with the full authority of the constituted organs of the nation, and of the nation itself; and I think that an impartial survey of what has happened will satisfy the House that upon neither of those points is there the smallest room for doubt. It may seem to be a sharp mental transition for us to make when we pass from the balance of political opinion now prevailing in this House to the balance of opinion that existed here two or three or four years ago. But it is right, it is just, it is necessary that we should recollect that what was done by the late Parliament, and what was done by the late Ministry, and, above all, by Lord Beaconsfield, as the official head, and as the guiding spirit of the late Ministry, was done under precisely the same constitutional title, and with exactly the same charter and authority as that under which we now claim to act. I cast behind me for a moment the question what I approve and what I disapprove: what I rejoice in and what I regret. We are here to act on the part of the nation, and to maintain that description of action which is suitable to, and which is required by, the nation's continuous policy. The career of Lord Beaconsfield is in many respects the most remarkable in our Parliamentary history. For my own part, I know but one that can fairly be compared to it in regard to the emotional surprise—the emotion of wonder, which, when viewed as a whole, it is calculated to excite, and that is the career, the early career, of Mr. Pitt. Lord Beaconsfield's name is associated at least with one great constitutional change, in regard to which, I think, it will ever be admitted—at least, I never can scruple to admit it—that its arrival was accelerated by his personal act. I will not dwell upon that, but upon the close association of his

name with the important change in the principle of the Parliamentary franchise. It is also associated with great European transactions, great European arrangements. I put myself in the position, not necessarily of a friend and admirer who looks with sympathy at the character of the action of Lord Beaconsfield, but in the position of one who looks at the magnitude of the part which he played on behalf of this country, and I say that one who was his political friend might fairly have said of him—

*'Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes.'*

My duty is to look at these things in the magnitude of their national and historical character, and it is when so looking at them that I have not a doubt that the man who, for seven years, sustained the office of Prime Minister, the man who, for nearly thirty years, led either in one House or in both, a great party in this country, is a man for whom the House may well do what I now call upon it to do. I have said that, in my opinion, the magnitude of the part played by Lord Beaconsfield, and the authority with which it was played, are the only matters to which we ought to look; and I press this point specially as one that many of us might perhaps forget—namely, that he acted with the same authority that we claim ourselves; that the same Constitution, the same popular liberties, the same principle of reverence for authority, placed him in a position, first in this House, and then in the House of Lords, to give effect to the policy that he believed to be for the good of his country. This somewhat dry portion of my duty, which has led me to direct the attention of the House to these points, is now, I think, concluded, and, as I have said, I will not attempt anything like an historical retrospect. It would not be fair, and it would not be just, even if it were appropriate, that I, who have been separated from Lord Beaconsfield by longer and larger differences than, perhaps, ever separated two persons, should endeavour to draw a picture which must be too faintly

coloured if executed by my hand. But yet I will allow myself some satisfaction in dwelling upon topics that are both pleasant to myself and useful to us all. The deceased statesman had certain great qualities on which it would be idle for me to enlarge; his extraordinary intellectual powers, for instance, were as well known to others as to me. But other qualities there were in him, not merely intellectual or immediately connected with the conduct of affairs, but with regard to which I should wish, were I younger, to stamp the recollection of them on my mind for my own future guidance, and which I strongly recommend to those who are younger, for notice and imitation. These characteristics were not only written in a marked manner on his career, but were possessed by him in a degree undoubtedly extraordinary. I speak, for example, of his strength of will, his long-sighted persistency of purpose, reaching from his first entrance on the avenue of life to its very close, his remarkable power of self-government, and last, not least, his great Parliamentary courage, which I, who have been associated in the course of my life with some scores of Ministers, have never seen surpassed."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to allude to Lord Beaconsfield's strong sympathies for his own race, his readiness to help struggling men of genius, and the tenderness and devotion of his domestic affections; and concluded his speech as follows:—"In expressing a hope that this debate may not be unduly lengthened, I wish that my contribution to it may be confined within the limits of necessity, and I have now set before the House all that it is necessary, perhaps all that is warrantable, for me to say; but there is one slighter matter to which I wish to have the satisfaction of referring. There is much misapprehension abroad as to the personal sentiments between public men who are divided in policy. Their words may necessarily from time to time be sharp, their judgments may necessarily be severe; but the general idea of persons less informed than those within the Parliamentary circle is that they are ac-

tuated by sentiments of intense antipathy or hatred for one another. I wish to take this occasion, if with the permission of the House I may for a moment degenerate into egotism, of recording my firm conviction that in all the judgments ever delivered by Lord Beaconsfield upon myself, he never was actuated by sentiments of personal antipathy. It is a pleasure to me to make that acknowledgment. The feeling on my part is not a new one, but the acknowledgment of it could hardly have been made with propriety on an earlier occasion, and hon. members must excuse me for having thus obtruded it upon them. I have now called attention to the fact that that to which we have to look is the greatness of the man himself, and of the transactions with which he was associated, and the full, undisputed, constitutional authority that he possessed to sanction his policy. Those are the essential considerations that ought to guide us, and I feel convinced that, unless it is my grievous fault, I have said enough to show that the Committee will do well and wisely to accept, and to accept in a kindly spirit, the motion I have the honour to submit for a public monument to Lord Beaconsfield." The right hon. gentleman then moved:—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will give directions that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the late right hon. Earl of Beaconsfield, with an inscription expressive of the high sense entertained by the House of his rare and splendid gifts, and of his devoted labours in Parliament and in great offices of State; and to assure her Majesty that this House will make good the expenses attending the same."

Sir S. Northcote, in seconding the motion, said that, whatever might be its fate, one monument more enduring than any which could be carved in stone had already been erected to Lord Beaconsfield in Mr. Gladstone's speech just delivered, nobly expressed and nobly conceived, which was

an honour not merely to the orator and its object, but to the British House of Commons. Sir Stafford proceeded to say:—"Speaking as one who has had the great pleasure of political intimacy with our distinguished friend, and who has also been admitted to his confidence in quiet moments, I can entirely confirm the statement of the Prime Minister that in all those contests, ready as he always was to enter into the battle, and sharp as sometimes his words were, there was nothing in his spirit unworthy of a generous antagonist. No personal feeling, I believe, was ever allowed by him to warp his sentiments of admiration for his chief political rival. I feel that this is not a moment at which I could properly address the Committee, as I should wish to do. This is not a moment for the indulgence of private feelings. We have, indeed, been connected together on occasions of contest and of public debate, but yet there is so much beside that and behind that to those who were intimate with Lord Beaconsfield, that it would be painful to ourselves to attempt to parade the feelings that exist among us. There was much in his sympathy and his readiness at all times to give advice, to enter into every difficulty, however trifling it might seem, to encourage where encouragement was needed, and to utter words of warning when he thought them necessary, that greatly endeared him to us. It would be still less appropriate, indeed it would be an outrage, were I at such a moment to attempt to draw anything like a political character of Lord Beaconsfield which should be in the nature of a political eulogium. I distinguish such occasions as the present, characteristic as they are of the British House of Commons and of the British nation, from those eulogiums which are sometimes passed in foreign countries at the funerals of men who have borne a distinguished part in party warfare, when the opportunity is seized for glorifying political differences and political parties. We have nothing of the sort here. We are engaged here for a moment, pausing in the midst of our political strife,

in placing a wreath on the bier of a champion who has fallen among us, and whom all on both sides are prepared to honour. If there was anything in this proposal that seemed to pledge the country or the House to any approval of any political policy of Lord Beaconsfield, I can quite understand that there would be difficulties raised in many quarters to paying a tribute which might be misunderstood. That, however, is not the case. We are now doing honour to a man whose rare gifts we all admire, and which have been acknowledged by all who have had any opportunity of witnessing their display. We are doing honour to a man who never quailed before danger, who never allowed himself to be disheartened by defeat or discouraged by difficulty, but who always kept a high standard before him—whether it approved itself to all men or not I will not say—and who never under any difficulties or under any circumstances lost sight of or shrank from the standard he so displayed. He was one who, when he came to the post of dignity, to which he had so fairly fought his way over the greatest obstacles and under the greatest discouragements, commanded the respect not only of the people of his own country, but the respect of those among whom he took his place as the representative of Great Britain in the affairs of foreign countries. Sir, we have been reminded that the public honours which it was desired should be done to him at his funeral were exchanged for a funeral of a more private character, in accordance not only with his written instructions, but with the whole spirit of his life. He was one who, among all things, rejoiced in that retirement of which he was allowed to enjoy so small a portion, and his heart was in the home and the sepulchre in which his body is now placed. But we know that although his funeral was private, and there was nothing in the nature of an invitation to the nation to attend it, yet all England was there, and that the hearts of the people, whatever may be their ranks or distinctions, were turned to Hughenden on that day.

I venture to say that whether or not a monument is erected to him, either in this or any other place of public notoriety, the name and fame of him whom we have lost is secure in the memories of Englishmen, and will never perish."

Mr. Labouchere, who was received with cries of "Agreed," and a few cheers from below the gangway, moved that the Chairman leave the chair. While expressing his admiration for Lord Beaconsfield's gifts, and disclaiming all intention to offend his party, he contended that it was impossible to separate the man from the politician, and asserted that there was no precedent of a memorial being erected to a Prime Minister unless his policy was at the time supported and approved by a majority of the House and of the country. But Lord Beaconsfield's policy had been decisively condemned by the country, and the Liberal party would be stultifying itself if it agreed to this vote.

Mr. A. O'Connor made some remarks in support of the amendment to an impatient House, and a division being taken, it was negatived by 380 to 54. The Address was then agreed to.

In the House of Lords, May 9th, the motion for an Address to the Queen, praying her Majesty to give directions for the erection of a monument to Lord Beaconsfield in Westminster Abbey, caused an unusually large attendance of Peers. There was a considerable number of Peeresses in the side galleries, and the strangers' gallery was completely filled.

Earl Granville, in moving the address, said:—"I rise to move the address of which I have given notice. It requires no long argument to recommend it to your lordships, and for this and for other reasons I will confine my observations within narrow limits. This is not the time and I am not the person to give a biographical sketch of one so well known as Lord Beaconsfield; still less is it for me to analyse his policy and his political actions. Approval from me of these would give a stamp of insincerity to my remarks, which would be displeasing to your lordships and

discreditable to myself. My lords, our long experience of constitutional practice has convinced nearly all Englishmen that party government is necessary for the good working of representative institutions, and that party organisation can alone constitute strong and efficient governments in such circumstances. But, owing to the same experience, together with other favouring circumstances, there is no country where the relations of political opponents are more free from personal bitterness; none where the readiness is greater at the proper moment to drop party feelings and exclusively to consider that which is for the national dignity. I believe it is for the dignity of the nation that from time to time, and on exceptional occasions, Parliament should recognise the public services of statesmen, not as a proof of universal approval of the particular policy which they may have pursued, for that would be impossible, but as an acknowledgment of unusual abilities devoted in eminent positions to the service of the State. That Lord Beaconsfield has played his part in English history, that he had rare and splendid gifts and great force of character, that his labours in serving the Crown and the Parliament were long and continuous, no one can deny. I doubt whether to many public men can the quality of genius be more fitly attributed. It was by his strong individuality, unaided by adventitious circumstances, that he owed his great personal success. Assisted by those social circumstances which Mr. Disraeli was without, I came into the House of Commons at an early age, and six months before he took his seat in that assembly. I thus heard him make that speech famous for its failure, a speech which I am convinced, if it had been made when he was better known to the House of Commons, would have been received with cheers and sympathy, instead of derisive laughter, but which, owing to the prejudices of his audience, he was obliged to close with a sentence which, like a somewhat similar ejaculation of Mr. Sheridan, showed

the unconquerable confidence which strong men have in their own power. A few weeks ago Lord Beaconsfield made his last argumentative speech in this House. At ten o'clock on the second evening of the Afghan debate Lord Beaconsfield sent me word that he must speak at once. I sent back a strong remonstrance. Two noble lords who formerly held office, and

another in quantities nicely calculated to free him from suffering during the time required for his speech. These are incidents, one at the beginning of his Parliamentary career, one forty-four years later, at the end of it, which show the power of will and the contempt of obstacles which were his strong characteristics. A slight circumstance connected with this House always appeared



AFGHAN SHEPHERD.

a third with remarkable power of speaking, wished to take part in the debate. Lord Beaconsfield, however, persisted, and in following him I complained to your lordships of what he had done. I thought at the time I was justified in that complaint, but it is with regret that I have since learnt that just before my remonstrance Lord Beaconsfield had swallowed one drug and inhaled

to me indicative of his patience and self-control. Almost any man coming into this assembly as Prime Minister, and with a great oratorical reputation, would have been impatient for an opportunity of display. Your lordships will remember how silent and reticent he was at first, until an unfounded accusation gave him an opportunity of making a speech, which at

once established the hold on this House which he had so long maintained in another place. Some may exercise influence over others by possessing in a strong degree the qualities and the defects of those whom they influence. Others produce the same effect from exactly contrary causes. It is probable that Lord Beaconsfield, with few prejudices of his own, and more or less

popular mind, and attached praise or blame to actions of the contending parties in the State. Lord Beaconsfield had certainly the power of appearing in his policy, in his character, and in his career, to the imagination of his countrymen and of foreigners, a power which was not extinguished even by death. With certain exceptions, Lord Beaconsfield was very tolerant to political



AFGHAN NATIVE POSTMAN

tolerable of those of others, belonged to the latter class. I never knew a greater master, in writing, in speaking, and in conversation, of censure and of eulogy. His habit of sparkling literary composition, his facility in dealing with epigram, metaphor, antithesis, and even alliteration, gave him a singular power of coining and applying phrases which at once laid hold of the

adversaries, and showed great appreciation of their merits. No happier compliments were paid to Lord Palmerston and to Lord Russell than by Mr. Disraeli, and I have heard Mr. Cobden's dearest friend quote as the most touching speech he ever heard the tribute paid by Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons to the memory of his great and victorious free-trade opponent.

I have been treated with uniform fairness and courtesy by successive leaders of the Conservative party in this House, but by none more so than by Lord Beaconsfield during the time which I have had the honour to sit opposite him in this House, as I had previously been upon some important questions of foreign policy. The noble duke on Thursday spoke with the authority of an intimate friend, of Lord Beaconsfield's good nature in private life. I have no doubt of the truth of it, though combined with singular powers of destructiveness when he chose to exercise them. I remember being told by one, to whom the devotion of Lord Beaconsfield was one of the main characteristics of his life, that not only was he good-natured himself, but that he was especially sensitive to good-nature from others. There is one reason, my lords, why this House should pay respect to the memory of Lord Beaconsfield, which is not altogether of a disinterested character. It has been said of the British aristocracy, sometimes as a matter of praise, sometimes of blame, that they are proud, wealthy, and powerful. There is an element, however, of a democratic character mixed with this aristocratic constitution of the House of Lords, which has certainly added to its wealth and strength, possibly to its pride. It is the unexclusiveness which is peculiar to that institution. Of the smoothness with which the portals of this assembly roll back before distinguished men, without reference to caste or to blood, of the welcome which is given to such, of the distinguished place which is assigned to them in our ranks, I know no brighter or more brilliant example than that of Lord Beaconsfield." His lordship concluded by moving,—“That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will give directions that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the late Right Honourable the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., with an inscription expressive of the high sense entertained by the House of his rare and splendid gifts, and of his devoted

labours in Parliament and in great offices of State; and assuring her Majesty that this House will concur in giving effect to her Majesty's most gracious Message.”

The Marquis of Salisbury, who was loudly cheered, said:—“My lords, the noble Earl in the graceful language with which he has moved the erection of this last and melancholy tribute to a political opponent justly said not only that contested questions were in no degree affected by the action that he or your lordships might take, or by the language that he used, but also that not many words were needed to commend this motion to the acceptance of Parliament. My lords, in this case not many words are needed, because one of the most striking phenomena attending on Lord Beaconsfield's brilliant and remarkable career has been the deep interest with which through his illness and after his death his fate was followed not only by his own friends and adherents, but by men of every class and degree in this country, and by distinguished men of great influence in other countries also. Whatever else may be said of the deceased statesman, this at least can never be gainsaid—his memory will ever be associated with many a controverted issue, but the historian must always add that when the fierce struggle was over and the great career was closed, there was no doubt what the verdict was of his countrymen upon the service that he had done. This unanimity of opinion with respect to one whose measures were necessarily much contested will suggest various explanations. That his friends and colleagues should mourn his loss and regard his memory is only too natural. I have not the same title to speak that many of those beside me have, because my close political connection with him was comparatively recent, but it lasted through anxious and difficult times, when the character of men is plainly seen by those who work with them, and upon me, as I believe upon all others who have worked with him, his patience, his gentleness, his unswerving and unselfish loyalty to his colleagues and

his fellow-labourers, have made an impression which will never leave me as long as life endures. But these feelings could only affect the limited circle of his immediate adherents. The impression made on the vast mass of his countrymen must be sought elsewhere. To some extent, to a great extent, no doubt, it is due to the peculiar character of his genius—to its varied nature, to the wonderful combination of the qualities he possessed, and which resided in the same brain. To some extent it is also due to the circumstances to which the noble Earl has gracefully and eloquently alluded—the social difficulties of his early life, and the steadfast perseverance by which they were overcome. These facts were impressed on his countrymen, who love to see exemplified that open career to all persons, whatever their difficulties may be, which is one of the characteristics of their institutions of which they are most proud. They saw in Lord Beaconsfield, too, that whatever difficulties may attend the beginning of a man's fame, whatever he may have to struggle against, if his genius and perseverance be equal to the occasion, he must succeed. But there was another cause. Lord Beaconsfield's leading principles with respect to the greatness of his country, more and more as life went on, made an impression on our country. Zeal for the greatness of England was the passion of his life. Opinions might differ, and did differ deeply, as to the measures and steps by which expression was given to that dominant feeling; but more and more as his life went on and drew near to its close, as the heat and turmoil of controversy were left behind, as the gratification of every possible ambition negatived the suggestion of any inferior motive, and brought out into greater prominence the sacredness and strength of this one intense feeling, the people of this country recognised the force with which this desire dominated his actions and drew towards him the affection and reverence of those who did not depend upon and had no connection with the policy he pursued. This was his great

title to their attachment—that above all things he wished to see England united, powerful, and great. The questions of interior policy which divided classes, he had to consider them—he had to form his judgment upon them, and take his course accordingly; but it seems to me he treated them always as of secondary interest, compared with this one great question—how the country to which he belonged might be made united and strong. The feeling which he showed was repaid to him abundantly; and it is because this conviction spread itself to all classes, both among those who were his friends and those who were his opponents, that this vote which has been moved by the noble Earl, and which I have risen to second, is no expression of any party or sectional feeling, or upon any controverted question, but is the homage and recognition by an united people of the splendid genius which was devoted to their services.

“Lord Malmesbury, as an intimate friend from early life, expressed his opinion that Lord Beaconsfield had possessed every domestic virtue a man need have. He mentioned that his domestic life while Lady Beaconsfield lived was of the happiest, but that after her death Lord Beaconsfield said, ‘I have no home.’”

The motion was then agreed to.

The *Contemporary Review* for June contained two articles on Lord Beaconsfield. One written by a gentleman whose *nom de plume* is Shirley, was a panegyric: the other from the pen of Mr. Malcolm M'Coll gives the opposite point of view. The first writer quotes an unpublished letter which the deceased statesman wrote July 31, 1865. In it Mr. Disraeli says:—“I need not remind you that Parliamentary Reform was a living question with the Tories for the quarter of a century at least that followed the revolution of 1688. Not only Sir William Wyndham and his friends were in favour of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, but Sir John Hinde Cotton even advocated the ballot. These were desperate remedies against Whig supre-

macy. It appeared to me in 1832 that the Reform Act was another 1688, and that influenced my conduct when I entered public life. I don't say this to vindicate my course, but to explain it. So also I looked then—as I look now—to a reconciliation between the Tory party and the Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen. This led thirty years ago and more to the O'Connell affair; but I have never relinquished my purpose, and have now, I hope, nearly accomplished it. If the Tory-party is not a national party, it is nothing." In his article Mr. McColl gives the following anecdote:—"An accomplished peer still living, who was a member of the House of Commons when Mr. Disraeli was delivering his philippics against Sir Robert Peel, remonstrated with him after one of his fiercest attacks. 'You are overdoing it,' he said; 'you spoil the effect by showing your animosity so openly.' 'My animosity!' exclaimed Mr. Disraeli. 'I admire Peel more than any man living, but he slighted me, and it is necessary to my position to prove that I cannot be slighted with impunity! I have no influential connection; I am fighting against great odds, and I am obliged to use such weapons as I find most serviceable.'" Both anecdotes, it must be admitted, are eminently characteristic. In both of them we see the adventurer of boundless talent and resources, and confident in himself, eager to rise, and determining that no one shall stand in his way; equally determined that he will be equally untrammelled by party or personal considerations when they stood as a barrier to the attainment of the great objects on which he had set his heart. People first laughed, then wondered, and finally admired. In this world nothing succeeds like success.

Royalty did all it could to invest the memory of the late leader of the Tories with interest and popularity. The Queen and the Prince of Wales were amongst the earliest subscribers to what is called the National Testimonial. The late Earl's peacocks were placed under the care of her Majesty, and the youthful Coningsby-

the adopted heir—was sent for to Court. As soon as the funeral was over, her Majesty and the Princess Beatrice drove to Hughenden. The visit was timed so as to attract as little of a crowd as possible. The entrance to the vault at the lower end of the graded approach was opened by the bricklayers, and through the small cemented archway the coffin of the late Earl, covered with the royal and other wreaths, was revealed, and it was found that many of the floral decorations were nearly as fresh as when originally deposited. At the wicket gate the Queen and Princess were received by Lord Rowton, with whom they walked to the south porch of the church, where they were shown through the sacred building by the Vicar and Mrs. Blagden, who had been desired to be in attendance for the purpose. Various objects of interest, including the seat formerly occupied by Lord Beaconsfield, were pointed out, and then the royal party proceeded to the grave. They were followed by Mr. Brown, the Queen's personal attendant, who carried a very beautiful wreath and cross formed of white camelias and other flowers brought in the royal carriage from Windsor Castle. In a few seconds her Majesty stood upon the turf, at the head of the incline, and looked down the sloping path at the open vault, and then, followed by the Princess Beatrice, Lord Rowton, the Lady-in-Waiting, and Lord Charles Fitzroy, walked to the tomb and placed the cross and wreath upon the heap of floral offerings which completely obscured the lid of Lord Beaconsfield's coffin. When at last the sad visit was concluded, the Queen, Princess Beatrice and suite emerged slowly from the excavation, and, walking to the carriage, drove up the steep and winding plateau on which the residence of the late Earl is situated. Entering into the private grounds of the mansion-house, where the Queen's arrival was heralded by the startled cry of Lord Beaconsfield's peacocks, as they gaily strutted on the lawn, her Majesty and the Princess Beatrice alighted at the glass-sheltered piazza, the

interior of which is adorned with statuary and choice plants, and passed into it to take tea with Lord Rowton. Later on the royal visitors inspected the Earl of Beaconsfield's favourite study, and the other principal apartments, and after a short stay at the house, left Hughenden on their return home. The entrance leading to the vault in which the remains of the late Earl rest has now been filled in, and the turf has been restored to its former condition. The executors are considering the inscription to be placed above the grave, and as there is little space on the present monument for the addition of a fresh inscription, it is probable that the whole memorial will have to be rearranged.

"Hughenden Manor is now to be let:" such is the latest announcement. The Earl was not a rich man; at no time does he seem to have saved money, and he was very much in debt in spite of his pension of £2,000 a year and his literary earnings. The library and MSS. were sold by auction, and fetched high prices. In the same way the furniture and effects of the town mansion in Curzon-street, Mayfair, were disposed of, and with equally satisfactory results. The executors have turned everything they could into cash. They had no alternative. Such were the necessities of the case soon after the funeral.

During a sermon from the text, Judges xvi., 30, "The dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life," preached on Sunday afternoon in Westminster Abbey to a crowded congregation, Dean Stanley, himself soon to follow his lordship to the house appointed for all living, referred to the late Lord Beaconsfield. He said he had several times from that place spoken of the hollowness of what were called "popular judgments." They were at all times worthless in themselves, and they had over and over again been found to shift with every gust of feeling or passion. Such, in a great measure, were the varying opinions respecting the great statesman who had gone. There was the expression of strong ap-

proval three years ago; there was the expression of no less strong disapproval a year ago; there was now this strong expression of sympathy which seemed almost universal. Those who lamented over the departed Earl, and those also, if such there were, who did not, should nerve themselves to do what in them lay on one side or other of political life to supply the qualities which they imagined they had lost in him. There was beyond all question a great gulf and void created whenever we lost from among us any one who filled a vast space in the eyes of the people, of this and of other countries. It disturbed the balance of power and of parties, changed the hopes and fears of almost every class. It was not only in the camp to which the departed statesman belonged that this sense of vacancy was felt. Great statesmen, the acknowledged leaders of parties, were by the very fact of their greatness raised above those parties themselves; they were, in fact, much more nearly allied to each other in purpose and in principle than the rank and file of their supporters would suffer us to believe. The Dean went on to describe Mr. Gladstone and the late Lord Beaconsfield as the "great twin brethren of our day," each supplying what the other needed for the public weal. Though they differed so widely in opinion, it was to be hoped posterity would acknowledge that each fought for what he deemed right in the cause of England's empire and of England's commonwealth. Moderation, where moderation was possible and necessary; the genius that knew when to give way and when to resist; the unconquerable strength of will and the passionate love of the honour and greatness of England—these were virtues which belonged to no party, and were in themselves wholly independent of whatever lines divided one party from another. The name of Lord Beaconsfield would be remembered by posterity as that of one who had an extraordinary career which led the alien in race, the despised in debate, the eccentric in demeanour, the romantic adventurer, the fierce assailant,

by unflagging perseverance, unflinching sagacity, unshaken fidelity, constantly increasing dignity, and larger and larger breadth of view, to reach the highest summits of fame and splendour.

Soon after came the old, old story—the election of another leader of the great Conservative party in his stead. The King is dead. Long live the King! The vacant place has to be filled, and filled at once. Let Death rage and riot as he will, the fight has still to be fought, and the victory still to be won. For a time there were many opinions on the subject. Some were for the Duke of Richmond, some for Lord Cairns (who made a very telling speech or two at the time), and some for Lord Salisbury, in spite of his recklessness of assertion and his tendency to get his party into mischief. In May, we read one day:—"The members of the Conservative party in the House of Peers held a meeting at the residence of the Marquis of Abergavenny, 34, Dover-street, Piccadilly, for the consideration of the question of the leadership of the Opposition in the Upper House. The first to arrive was the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, who reached the house at about ten minutes to three. He was closely followed by Lord Norton, the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Hardinge, the Earl of Lathom, the Bishop of St. David's, Earl Stanhope, Earl Waldegrave, Viscount Barrington, Viscount Middleton, the Duke of Marlborough, Earl Powis, and Viscount Bury. The Marquis of Salisbury and Earl Cairns walked up together exactly at three o'clock. By this time there was a very full assembly, amongst those present, in addition to the peers already mentioned, being Lord Belmore, Lord Denman, Lord Colchester, Earl De la Warr, General Lord Airy, Lord Gerard, the Earl of Onslow, the Earl of Malmesbury, and Earl Nelson. The Marquis of Abergavenny presided over the meeting, which was formed immediately on the arrival of the Marquis of Salisbury. The proceedings were briefly opened by the noble Chairman, after which the Duke of

Richmond, in a few well-chosen and highly eulogistic words, proposed that the Marquis of Salisbury should be elected to the leadership of the Opposition in the House of Lords. His Grace referred to the manner in which the Marquis had conducted the many onerous tasks that had fallen upon him, and the great assistance he had rendered to their late leader, to whom he paid a graceful tribute of respect and admiration.

"Earl Cairns seconded the motion, and spoke of the well-known zeal and ability of the Marquis, in whom they all had the greatest confidence.

"The resolution was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

"The Marquis of Salisbury briefly replied, thanking the Peers for the honour they had conferred on him, and the meeting, which had lasted about half an hour, was then brought to a close with the customary compliments."

And thus ends the story.

Thus Earl Beaconsfield disappears from the ranks of fighters, and the Marquis of Salisbury comes forward in his stead.

The Marquis is thus described by an admirer, writing when he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs:—"In discussing the probable outcome of the Eastern question, both Russophile and Turkophile have lost sight of the real motive which has urged Lord Beaconsfield to demand from Russia the right to discuss the full text of the San Stephano treaty at the proposed conference. If England is to retain her old supremacy and be foremost in the councils of the nations of the world, it behooves her to respect treaty obligations and compel her co-signatories equally to respect them, and this is the present position taken and maintained by Lord Beaconsfield in spite of cruel opposition and crueler words; a position which will be greatly strengthened by the appointment of Lord Salisbury to the office of Foreign Secretary. While acknowledging the undoubted ability and bulldog like tenacity of purpose which actuated Lord Derby in the discharge of



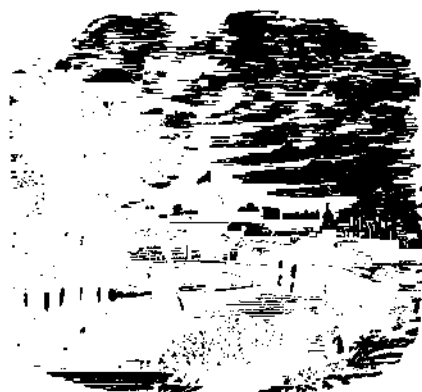
his difficult functions, it cannot but be admitted that his hatred of the Moslem misrule made him blind to the avarice of the Muscovite. On the other hand, Lord Salisbury comes to his task with clearly expressed opinions on both subjects. His conduct at the recent conference must make the announcement of his acceptance of the seals of office satisfactory to men of all shades of political feeling. The fact stands out clearly that the amelioration of the Christian subjects of the Porte was never lost sight of by Lord Salisbury during the discussion of the whole of the complex questions which were brought before the Conference of which he was a member. In addition to this fact Lord Salisbury brings to the consideration of his duties an intellect of no mean capacity, matured and trained to diplomacy through the lower to the higher grades of office, while his conduct as Indian Secretary fully shows his capacity for work. Added to these facts it must not be forgotten that the personal influences are altered by the changes in the office of Foreign Secretary, for while a friendly feeling existed between the Earl of Derby and Count Schouvaloff, it is no secret that Lord Salisbury hates General Ignatieff, if only for his duplicity when our representative was in Constantinople, it having been boasted at all social gatherings by the Russian general that he had wound important state matters out of the English marquis by means of the conversational powers and fascinating manners of Madame Ignatieff—a boast which the new Foreign Secretary has never forgiven. It is a well known fact that family characteristics reproduce themselves through many generations, and the present head of the Salisbury family is a strong example of this. Descended from Secretary Sir Robert Cecil, younger son of the celebrated Lord Burghley, who was a man of considerable ability, possessing great knowledge of affairs and immense powers of application, at the same time cantankerous and cynical in his disposition, Lord Salisbury inherits most of these personal qualifica-

tions; but in one important particular he differs materially from his ancestor. Sir Robert Cecil had the reputation of being a self-seeker, who never sacrificed his personal interests to a sense of duty, or did a service without a hope of an adequate return, whereas the present Marquis of Salisbury has undertaken numerous duties from no other motive than a desire to be useful, and has shown that he knows how to subordinate interest to principle. The first he exemplified a few years ago by assuming the thankless post of Chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, the affairs of which were then in a hopeless state of confusion, and the second he illustrated by retiring from Lord Derby's Ministry in 1867, in company with Lord Carnarvon and General Peel, when he found he could not support the Reform Bill brought in by his chief and Lord Beaconsfield (then Mr Disraeli). Lord Cranborne, the title the Marquis bore, was at that time a comparatively poor man, and the salary attaching to the office of Upper Secretary of State for India was believed to be a consideration. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate, but promptly abandoned office and emolument at the dictate of conviction. The Circular Note which Lord Salisbury, as Foreign Secretary, has addressed to various Powers, wherein the course pursued by the Government with regard to the Treaty of San Stefano, and the proposed Conference, is explained with a grip and mastery that at once fully proves the intelligence brought to its consideration, is a fitting commencement for the career of a Foreign Secretary, and will make its mark in the history of our country, and future generations will endorse the verdict now given, that the document is as statesmanlike in its production as it is truthful in composition. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil is the third marquis, having succeeded his father in 1868. He was born in 1830, and educated at Eton and Christchurch, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1850, and M.A. and Fellow of All Souls three years later. He was Secretary for

India 1866-7, and again in 1874-8, and was elected Chancellor of Oxford University on the death of the late Earl of Derby in 1868. First as Lord Robert Cecil, and afterwards as Viscount Cranborne, the marquis represented Stamford from 1853 until his accession to the peerage already mentioned.

"In addition, the marquis is Deputy-Lieutenant for Middlesex and Chairman of

the Quarter Sessions for that county, to which latter office he was elected in 1874. The marquis is the honorary colonel of the South Hants Yeomanry Cavalry, a D.C.L. for Oxford University, and a Privy Counsellor. He married in 1857 Georgina, daughter of the late Hon. Sir Edward Hal Alderson, a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and has issue five sons and three daughters."



WINDSOR FROM THE RIVER.

CHAPTER XLI.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, AND THE EAST.



N an old caricature, dated as far back as our eighth Henry, we have a representation of "Foreign Affairs," in which England appears in a light more complimentary to her intelligence than her wealth. France and Spain are represented as dancing, while England pays the piper. Under the sway of the bastard Imperialism of the last Beaconsfield administration, it seemed as if a similar caricature were to be again enacted. The South African colonists were to carry on wars of extermination and aggression, and we were to pay the piper. India was to have a scientific frontier, which was still further to exhaust the resources of that unhappy and much-to-be-pitied land; and Cyprus, a white elephant as it were, was to be the last straw to break the back of the unfortunate British tax-payer. The Turk also was to be backed against the Muscovite, no matter how great the cost. But then glory was to be gained, and we were to have the consolation of feeling that such a policy of brag and ostentation would make England the envy of surrounding nations. After all the excitement of the elections, and the repeated speeches of all kinds on the subject, it was not to be expected that in the session of 1880 much time would be devoted in Parliament to the discussion of foreign affairs; as it was, the public had of them more than enough. It is true Mr. Gladstone's policy in the East was closely watched, and Sir Charles Dilke was plied with questions; but his answers were compact and complete, and there was little occasion for Parliamentary debate. The challenges that the action of

the Government received, were, in the language of an impartial critic, fitful, sporadic, and unauthoritative; and the statement contained in the Queen's Speech, at the close of the session, might have been stereotyped as the defence of the Government in the undetermined position of affairs. Unfortunate delays had taken place in the settlement of the Eastern question, but for the attainment of the objects then in view the Government continued to place reliance on the fact that the Concert of Europe had been steadily maintained in regard to the Eastern question, and that the Powers who signed the Treaty of Berlin were pressing on the Sublime Porte, with all the authority which belonged to their united action, the measures which in their belief were best calculated to insure tranquillity in the East. One of the first things done by the new Government was to send out the honourable Mr. Goschen to Constantinople to try to infuse a little docility and common-sense into the brain of the Sublime Porte, and with such satisfaction to his friends did Mr. Goschen perform his task, that a banquet was held in his honour on his return to London in the summer of 1881.

But for a long time after Mr. Gladstone was installed in office, there was a great reluctance in the House to discuss Foreign Affairs, though the opponents of the Ministry in the Press continued to denounce the Concert of Europe as a hollow sham, and to deride the attempt to extort the complete fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin by such an instrument as impracticable. There was no heart even in the discussion of Indian policy, though there were not wanting events to give it considerable

India 1866-7, and again in 1874-8, and was elected Chancellor of Oxford University on the death of the late Earl of Derby in 1868. First as Lord Robert Cecil, and afterwards as Viscount Cranborne, the marquis represented Stamford from 1853 until his accession to the peerage already mentioned.

"In addition, the marquis is Deputy-Lieutenant for Middlesex and Chairman of

the Quarter Sessions for that county, to which latter office he was elected in 1874. The marquis is the honorary colonel of the South Hants Yeomanry Cavalry, a D.C.L. for Oxford University, and a Privy Councillor. He married in 1857 Georgina, daughter of the late Hon. Sir Edward Hall Alderson, a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and has issue five sons and three daughters."



WINDSOR FROM THE RIVER.

CHAPTER XLI.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, AND THE EAST.



IN an old caricature, dated as far back as our eighth Henry, we have a representation of "Foreign Affairs," in which England appears in a light more complimentary to her intelligence than her wealth. France and Spain are represented as dancing, while England pays the piper. Under the sway of the bastard Imperialism of the last Beaconsfield administration, it seemed as if a similar caricature were to be again enacted. The South African colonists were to carry on wars of extermination and aggression, and we were to pay the piper. India was to have a scientific frontier, which was still further to exhaust the resources of that unhappy and much-to-be-pitied land; and Cyprus, a white elephant as it were, was to be the last straw to break the back of the unfortunate British tax-payer. The Turk also was to be backed against the Muscovite, no matter how great the cost. But then glory was to be gained, and we were to have the consolation of feeling that such a policy of brag and ostentation would make England the envy of surrounding nations. After all the excitement of the elections, and the repeated speeches of all kinds on the subject, it was not to be expected that in the session of 1880 much time would be devoted in Parliament to the discussion of foreign affairs; as it was, the public had of them more than enough. It is true Mr. Gladstone's policy in the East was closely watched, and Sir Charles Dilke was plied with questions; but his answers were compact and complete, and there was little occasion for Parliamentary debate. The challenges that the action of

the Government received, were, in the language of an impartial critic, fitful, sporadic, and unauthoritative; and the statement contained in the Queen's Speech, at the close of the session, might have been stereotyped as the defence of the Government in the undetermined position of affairs. Unfortunate delays had taken place in the settlement of the Eastern question, but for the attainment of the objects then in view the Government continued to place reliance on the fact that the Concert of Europe had been steadily maintained in regard to the Eastern question, and that the Powers who signed the Treaty of Berlin were pressing on the Sublime Porte, with all the authority which belonged to their united action, the measures which in their belief were best calculated to insure tranquillity in the East. One of the first things done by the new Government was to send out the honourable Mr. Goschen to Constantinople to try to infuse a little docility and common-sense into the brain of the Sublime Porte, and with such satisfaction to his friends did Mr. Goschen perform his task, that a banquet was held in his honour on his return to London in the summer of 1881.

But for a long time after Mr. Gladstone was installed in office, there was a great reluctance in the House to discuss Foreign Affairs, though the opponents of the Ministry in the Press continued to denounce the Concert of Europe as a hollow sham, and to deride the attempt to extort the complete fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin by such an instrument as impracticable. There was no heart even in the discussion of Indian policy, though there were not wanting events to give it considerable

importance. Upon the great question of Afghanistan the general public had settled down into an attitude of indifference as regarded details, and a conviction that we ought to withdraw as much and as speedily as possible had taken possession of the public mind; nor was that confidence shaken or disturbed when in 1881 Lord Lytton delivered an eloquent speech in the House of Lords in vindication of his viceregal career, or when at a later period Sir Bartle Frere, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone, explained and vindicated his conduct with respect to India and South Africa alike. The frightful disaster to General Burrows's force at Krooski-Nahud, news of which reached England in August, banished indifference as to facts, and reawakened for a little while energetic discussions of policy. News from Candahar was for some time eagerly looked for till Sir Frederick Roberts's rapid March from Cabul, and dispersion of Ayoob Khan's beleaguering force, removed all anxiety; but the first result of our reverse was to strengthen the conviction that Candahar ought not to be retained; though the contrary opinion was argued in many leading articles and in many letters to the *Times*. In August, Lord Hartington made a statement on the subject of Indian finance, and now another fiction by which the late government had imposed upon the people was effectually exposed. It appeared that the expense of the whole expedition had been understated by several millions, and naturally the public were irritated when the real state of matters was discovered. They wanted to know how the blunder originated, and what was the portion of the Afghan expedition expenses that was to be borne by the Imperial Exchequer.

South Africa also gave rise to discussion at intervals. It was evident that the Confederation scheme had completely broken down; and that the war with the Basutos was, to say the least, an untoward occurrence. Sir Garnet Wolseley had intimated at the close of the war with Cetewayo, when we had crushed and made a prisoner of the Zulu king, that if Mr. Sprigg, the

Cape Minister, attempted to disarm the natives, we should have another African war on our hands, and in a little while the prophecy was fulfilled. Nothing could be fairer or more moderate than the petition of the Basuto chiefs addressed to the Queen. They stated that for twelve years they had lived peacefully under the Queen's government as loyal subjects, paying all taxes, and using arms in defence of her Majesty. They appealed to a petition from Letsea, their late paramount chief, to Sir Bartle Frere, making the same declaration of loyalty. They complained that the Cape Government was confiscating their land for the benefit of Europeans, which was believed to be the beginning of the confiscation of the whole of Basutoland, and the extermination of the rightful owners. Next came the order to disarm, although the only arms they had used were purchased under permits from Government officers, and had been employed, and would again be employed, in defence of the Queen's sovereignty. Mr. Sprigg himself had said that the Basutos should not be disarmed until the surrounding tribes had been disarmed, and a strong protective force established in Basutoland. This protective force had never been established, though promised. The Basuto people, the petition went on to state, "will willingly and cheerfully obey the laws and orders of her Majesty the Queen, but we pray you to beseech her Majesty to allow us to retain our arms and our country. We pray you also to beseech her Majesty to cause war and bloodshed to be stopped in our country. Our fields are being devastated, and our homes destroyed, our wives and children have to flee to the mountains for shelter, where many perish of hunger and disease. Her Majesty, too, is a woman. We know we are unable to fight the white man. We do not want war. We want peace. Give us peace. We have always been told that her Majesty is powerful, but just also. Therefore we believe she will hear *thas* our prayer." At one time it seemed as if the war would be carried on to the bitter

end. It was suggested that Sir Hercules Robinson, whom Mr. Gladstone sent out to succeed Sir Bartle Frere as ruler of South Africa, should put a pressure on his

At one time, as regards the Boers, things looked very black indeed. In the Queen's speech it was intimated that they must be brought to recognise the sovereignty of



SIR GEORGE COLLEY.

ministers to put a stop to the war. However, the Cape people themselves, as the war dragged its slow length along, grew tired of it, and there was peace at last.

XXII.—VOL. II.

England. At length matters came to such a pass that the Boers had to rise and revolt against British rapacity and injustice. They had never consented to give up their free-

dom. The convention which Sir Theophilus had pleaded as his excuse for the annexation of the Transvaal was a fraud, and they let England learn they were prepared to fight. A scornful laugh was the reply of England to their mild protest. Who were the Boers, and how could they fight? asked the gentlemen of the press, and all sections of what is called society. Well, the Boers pretty well answered that question. At Laing's Neck and at Majuba Hill, where Sir G. Colley was slain, and his forces ignominiously compelled to retreat, they showed us what they could do. Better still, they showed us what they were by their kindness and humanity to our people on the field of battle. Then came a wild cry for revenge. We sent out immediately to the Cape some fourteen or fifteen thousand of our finest soldiers, armed in the costliest and most effective manner, and even then, though we were in the proportion of two to one, the cry was still forward to reap a glorious revenge. The Boers were to be taught who were their masters. It was too late, we were told, to negotiate. It was too late now to listen to the voice of reason. It was too late now to quit ourselves like men. Our savage instincts were to be gratified at whatever cost; the Boers, with their wives and little ones, were to be shot down. Their pleasant farms and smiling homesteads were to be laid waste. The British flag, which has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze, would, we were told, float proudly, as of yore, and under its shadow the British trader would open store and sit happy and serene. If we had beaten the Boers we might have listened to them as they came on bended knees to sue for peace. Now that they had beaten us we could not sheathe the sword till we had reduced them to a state of despair, and had shown them that England was as merciful as she was unjust.

Happily for England's true greatness and glory, Mr. Gladstone was not led away by such reasoning, and had strength of mind to despise such unrighteous clamour. Sir Evelyn Wood was sent out to treat for

peace, and peace was made. The terms are such as to lead us to hope that Englishmen and Boers may once more live together as friends. The publication of the full text of the Transvaal Convention in August, 1881, enables us to judge of the ministerial policy as a whole, and especially to arrive at a definite opinion as to whether the stipulation made on behalf of the natives has any practical value. At the Lord Mayor's banquet, on Saturday, August 6th, Mr. Gladstone spoke with great confidence on this subject. He saw "No reason why, if a sense of justice and right feeling prevail on the one side and the other, they (the Boers) should not grow up under the shadow and external protection of this great empire, but with the enjoyment of the most perfect freedom in the management of their own affairs—which, under another name, but with no greater limitation, we practically accord to the people of every colony of this Empire." This is very satisfactory, as a general expression of opinion on the part of a statesman who has excellent means of judging of the probable effect of the settlement to which he has been a party; but we are more disposed to attach importance to the testimony he bears, to the good faith with which the leaders of the Boer party have acted during the recent negotiations, and their desire to knit closely, if they can, the bonds of amity and goodwill between those whom they represent and the Queen to whom they still desire to adhere. Hitherto the controversy on the Transvaal Question has been carried on chiefly between those who were in favour of giving the Boers complete independence, and those who were anxious to uphold the annexation policy in its integrity. The fact is, that the Government have steered clear of both extreme views, and have steadily pursued a middle course. Whatever the position of the Transvaal may be, it certainly is not that of an independent State. The right of the Boers to manage their own affairs is subject to conditions and qualifications which practically give the British Government

a greater power of interference in the country than they possess in the Dominion of Canada, or even in the Cape Colony. The British Resident is entrusted with the arduous task of protecting the rights both of British residents and of native subjects. The suzerain power will absolutely control the external relations of the State, and the Convention also authorises it to move troops into the country either in time of war or if hostilities are apprehended. We need not occupy much space with the details of this arrangement. A machinery is provided for making compensation to persons on both sides who have suffered during the recent hostilities. Provision also, not very favourable to this country, is made for the settlement of the debt; for preventing the authorities from imposing higher duties on British goods than they levy upon articles imported from foreign countries, and for securing full personal liberty and the enjoyment of the complete rights of property to "all persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State." Religious freedom is maintained, and immunity secured to the missionaries who, in past times, have rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to the Boers by their efforts to ameliorate the condition and to promote the moral and intellectual well-being of the native race. The Boers will elect their own chief magistrate; but it appears to us that the British Resident is invested with far more arbitrary functions than those which are ordinarily exercised by the Governor of any British colony in which responsible government exists.

The truth of this becomes more apparent when we examine the duties of the British Resident in connection with the freedom of the 700,000 or 800,000 native inhabitants. He is required to report to the High Commissioner as to the manner in which the Boers discharge the obligations towards the native race which they have contracted under the Convention; to bring before the Transvaal authorities cases of ill-treatment of natives; to exert his influence among the

latter in support of law and order; to prevent encroachments on their lands by the Boers; and to act as arbitrator in all border or extra-territorial disputes between the two races. It would be difficult to imagine more difficult or more responsible functions than those that will devolve upon him. If he is a man of exceptional ability, he may, of course, prove equal to the grave task which has devolved upon him; and if also his prudence and tact are equal to his ability, he may perhaps succeed in obtaining that moral ascendancy over the Boers which alone can reconcile them to his presence.

The name of Mr. Hudson, who has been appointed to this arduous office, is unfamiliar to English readers, but we are glad to have the assurance of so competent an authority as Dr. Moffat that he possesses the necessary qualifications in a high degree. Work of a very important character will be entrusted to the Native Location Commission, in which body the British Resident is to enjoy an equal amount of authority with the Boers. This Commission will make reserves of land for the native tribes, and it will also act as trustee for natives who desire to acquire individual holdings. No part of the Convention exhibits greater wisdom than Article 13, which enables coloured men to acquire land through the agency of the Commission. The chief reason why in the more settled districts of the country, the original owners of the soil have been reduced to a condition of slavery is that, under the old law of the Transvaal, they were unable to own or to hold a single rood of land. They were, therefore, compelled to live on the Boer farms on such terms as the Boers themselves thought fit to impose. These terms involved, in innumerable instances, the giving of their labour without wages, and the apprenticeship of their children to men who regarded them as born to be a servile race. It is very likely that Article 13 will not become immediately operative; but the fact that the Convention recognises the right of the natives to share the ownership of the soil which they help

to cultivate, cannot fail to prepare the way for their complete enfranchisement; and we shall hope ultimately to see among the Basutos of the Transvaal many small farmers and graziers corresponding to the similar class that exists among their countrymen who live on the mountains and in the fertile valleys of Basutoland. The Convention re-affirms the 4th Article of the Sand River Convention, and expressly declares that not only slavery, but any form of apprenticeship which partakes of that system, shall be excluded from the Transvaal. It remains to be seen whether this unqualified assertion of the principle of freedom can be reconciled with the laws by which the natives are allowed to move from one place to another without a pass. It is manifest that pass-laws may be so framed as merely to check vagrancy, or they may be made the means of tying down the native to the farmer, whilst he is compelled to give his labours without remuneration.

That the Government are in earnest in endeavouring to give adequate protection to the native inhabitants of the Transvaal, is further shown by the stipulation they have made on behalf of Sekukuni, whose tribe was destroyed, and whose territory annexed under circumstances anything but creditable to the English name. Sekukuni has long been a prisoner at Pretoria, and it appears that Sir Owen Lanyon and Sir George Colley both urged the Home Government to deport to the Seychelles, a kind of criminal settlement, this poor old chief, whose only fault was that he had bravely and to the best of his ability defended his country when invaded. Sekukuni fortunately, however, found a friend in Sir Napier Browne, the lieutenant-governor of the Mauritius, who pointed out to Lord Kimberley the great cruelty of sending him beyond the seas, and locating him in a country in which both the climate and food were unsuited to the constitution of a South African native. Lord Kimberley appears at once to have recognised the force of this argument.

After three years of military despotism the Transvaal was in a worse state than ever. In addressing the Legislative Assembly, Sir Owen Lanyon stated that the province was utterly destitute of the public institutions essential to a civilised community; that there was not a civil hospital within its confines; that no provision existed for medical assistance in the out districts; that the gaols as a rule would be a shame to any community; that the aged and the paupers were inadequately provided for; that the only asylums for lunatics were the gaols; that the public buildings were wholly inadequate for the objects required of them; that the whole territory was unsurveyed, the maps of it being mere guess-work; that there were absolutely no public works of any sort—the rivers being unbridged, and the roads mere tracks, formed by ox-wagons. The system of education was acknowledged to be unsatisfactory, and the results far from commensurate with the expenditure. This was the Administrator's description of the state of the country after three years of military despotism, without even the excuse of Parliamentary obstruction. In this state of affairs, when almost without hope, there came to the Boers, assembled at Wonderfontein, the words addressed to the Scotch electors of Midlothian by William Ewart Gladstone in unqualified condemnation of the invasion of the Transvaal. A letter was sent to him, thanking him for the great sympathy shown in their fate, and expressing the hope that, if there was a change of government, the injustice done to the Transvaal might find redress. It was further determined to send Messrs. Kruger and Joubert as a deputation to the Cape, and the necessary expenses were forthwith subscribed.

The hopes of the Dutch population at the Cape also turned at the same moment in enthusiastic affection and hope to Mr. Gladstone, and signatures came from Dutch Boers in all parts of the colony, to an address dated the 8th of March. They claimed to address him in right of the

splendid services he had rendered in the cause of human liberty, without distinction of race or creed; of his undeviating loyalty to conscience, whether in affairs public or private; and of his decided condemnation of the treatment to which their brethren of the Transvaal had been subjected. They informed him how, even then, the Boers of the Transvaal could, with great difficulty, be restrained from taking up arms, however hopeless such a proceeding might be. They reminded him on two occasions already they had drawn

of Transvaal Independence. The importance of the burning words spoken in the Midlothian campaign was not unheeded by Sir Garnet Wolseley, who telegraphed to England for authority to contradict the rumours being circulated by designing persons, and was directed to fully confirm explicit statements, made from time to time, as to the inability of her Majesty's Government to entertain any proposal for the withdrawal of the Queen's sovereignty.

It is not difficult, writes Captain Verney, to imagine the joy and hope with which



EARL OF KIMBERLEY.

the attention of her Majesty's Government to the sad state of affairs, but had on neither occasion been favoured with a single word of acknowledgment or reply; they told him that their only hope was now in himself, and those of his compatriots who never hesitate to come forward as the champions of the injured and oppressed. Finally, they thanked him for the noble words uttered at Edinburgh, and on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, and prayed him to bring to bear his powerful influence on the cause of the restoration

the Boers received the news of the change of Government in England, when they heard, moreover, that Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, and had included in his Government almost every illustrious statesman who had won his spurs in the cause of human liberty. It was with no little assurance of a welcome and sympathetic bearing that Messrs. Kruger and Joubert penned from Cape Town a letter in May to remind him that heretofore every effort of the committee of the people had been in vain, and that at the close of the previous year

they had resolved not to send any more petitions to England, but themselves to restore, at the proper time, their own government. They said:—"Nothing has happened to alter these resolutions of the people. The people are waiting for the proper time. The people are at rest, not because they are satisfied, but because, knowing what is resolved upon, they can wait. There was, and still is, among the people, a firm belief that truth prevails. They were confident that one day or another, by the mercy of the Lord, the reins of the Imperial Government would again be entrusted to men who work for the honour and glory of England—not by acts of injustice and crushing force, but by the way of justice and good faith. And, indeed, their belief has proved to be a good belief. We trust that, after due consideration, you will feel at liberty to rescind the annexation of our poor country, and to reinstate in its full vigour the Sand River Treaty of 1832, a real treaty of peace, made between the representatives of her Majesty the Queen of England and those of the Boer emigrants, founders of the South African Republic."

The answer to the question why Mr. Gladstone did not at once grant independence to the Boers is to be found in the misleading information as to the state of the Transvaal, embedded in the Colonial Office. On the 2nd of March Sir Garnet Wolseley had reported a growing desire among the Boers of the Transvaal for the conclusion of the agitation against the British Government. He said there was every reason to be satisfied with the effect produced upon the political condition of the Transvaal by the arrest of Messrs. Pretorius and Boh on the 3rd of January—that, as a consequence of the conviction thus established of the unyielding resolution of the British Government, there was a growing desire for the conclusion of the agitation, which now began to seem to the malcontents a fruitless and a dangerous trouble. On the 10th of April he wrote that the opinion he had then formed was

fully corroborated by the state of affairs; that after the meeting at Wonderfontein had broken up, indefinitely postponed, feelings of relief and gratification had begun very evidently to manifest themselves in the country; that the telegram from England, emphatically affirming the resolution of the Government to retain the Transvaal, contributed largely to the withdrawal of general confidence from the designs of the agitators. Further, Sir Garnet Wolseley stated that reports from all quarters of the Transvaal sustained the opinion that the people were thoroughly weary of opposition to the Government, and had determined to renounce all further disquieting action; that the taxes were being paid, and that the revenue of the country, so long disturbed, and in part suspended, was flowing steadily in the natural course.

On the 12th of April, Sir Owen Lanyon reported on the peaceful state of the district of Standerton, which, he said, had hitherto been one of the most disaffected against British rule. The Landhost of Standerton reported that his district reposed in a state of tranquillity, not experienced since April, 1879.

This seems to have been the latest information as to the state of public feeling in the Transvaal laid before the Government by the Colonial Office when Mr. Gladstone had to consider what reply he should send to the letter of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert. There was among the responsible men, high in authority, whose advice he was bound to regard, but one opinion—namely, that the reopening of the question of the annexation might lead to disastrous consequences, not only to the Transvaal, but to the whole of South Africa. He might have contented himself with a simple acknowledgment, and a reference to the Queen's Speech of the 26th of May, but he replied courteously, and at length. Still, he felt it his duty, whatever may have been his own wishes and sympathies, to adopt the views held by the responsible official of the Colonial Office, and on the 8th of June he wrote a despatch containing these

words:—"Our judgment is, that the Queen cannot be advised to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal."

Meanwhile, the agitation amongst the Boers still continued. On the 29th of November, Mr. White moved, in the Legislative Assembly at Pretoria, that the government, as at present constituted, had failed to secure the confidence or the support of the inhabitants, and that a representative form of government had become necessary. Mr. White was one of six gentlemen nominated by Sir O. Lanyon to the Legislative Council on the 5th of March, as men who, from their position and character, would fully represent the general interests and classes of the Province, and command the confidence of their fellow-countrymen. He made a gallant speech, describing the existing form of government as the closest form of government that could possibly exist—pointing out that the so-called Legislative Assembly was powerful for harm and powerless for good. He said that since the annexation the country had gradually, but surely, got into a worse state; he urged that the country never would be prosperous until those who were capable had some voice in the government.

As time wore on, the outlook became darker. On the 9th of December, a deputation from a public meeting, held at Paarl, waited on Sir George Strahan, the Administrator at Cape Town. Their object was to consider what steps could be taken to prevent bloodshed in the Transvaal. They maintained that the Transvaal Boers were not rebels, but were a wronged community, who had acted in a constitutional manner to obtain their rights. They said it would be an evil day for South Africa, if what Sir Bartle Frere said about the soldier going to the police-constable's assistance should be realised in the Transvaal. In the Transvaal it would be destruction—ruin; in the Cape Colony it would cause exasperation and mischief; they were closely connected with the Transvaal. Their suggestion was, that a

Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Transvaal, and that one, if not the principal, question to reopen and discuss, would be that of the annexation; but when the deputation left Government House they had received no assurance from the Administrator that he would act in any single respect in accordance with the views they had urged upon him—although at that time he had in his possession an alarming telegram from President Brand, of the Orange Free State, as to the mischief brewing in the Transvaal. And so, while every one else was alarmed at the prospect of civil war, the responsible officers of the Crown lived in a happy dreamland. On the 10th of April, Sir Garnet Wolseley had reported, in strong terms, that the agitation amongst the Boers in the Transvaal was dying out. On the 28th of November, Sir Owen Lanyon did not feel much anxiety regarding the result; and, on the 13th of December, Sir George Colley still trusted he would be able to avoid any collision.

At the opening of the Legislative Council at Natal, on the 19th of October, Sir George Colley declared that the movement in the Transvaal was apparently settling—that everywhere law and order reigned, and the taxes were paid by natives as well as the white inhabitants. Immediately the people gathered, and from all sides declarations were signed by the burghers, that they should either pay no longer taxes or alone under protest, exercising thereby their rights as an independent people that may be silent for a time, but reserves its rights. On the 8th of December, sixty-nine burghers gave notice that they would no longer pay taxes, unless they were received under protest. The first open defiance of the law occurred near Potchefstroom on the 11th of November, when an attempt to levy execution on a wagon for taxes alleged to be due, was successfully resisted. A subsequent judgment proved this claim for taxes to have been unfounded. The incident aroused the whole country; hearing that matters were serious, Mr.

Kruger hurried to the spot on the 25th, and found them even more serious than he had expected. The arrest of Mr. Collier, who had printed a notice from the Boer committee, exasperated the people. Mr. Kruger did all in his power to calm and control them.

The first man in a high position, who at all took in the critical and dangerous aspect of affairs, was President Brand, of the Orange Free State. On the 6th of December he telegraphed to Sir George Strahan, the Administrator at Cape Town:—"I read, with very deep concern, the account of the very serious aspect of affairs in the Transvaal. The gravity of the situation will, I hope, be accepted by your Excellency as an excuse for the liberty of asking your Excellency whether your Excellency will not devise some means by which a collision, which will have the most disastrous results, may be averted; a collision which will have the most disastrous results, and seriously imperil the prestige of the white man with the native tribes."

To this the Administrator replied:—"I much regret to learn that you regard the aspect of affairs in the Transvaal as very serious. I have not information sufficient to enable me to form an opinion of the situation. Independently, under any circumstances, although I am desirous at all times to exercise my influence in the cause of order, the powers of the Governor of this colony do not extend to the Transvaal. I shall be glad to telegraph to the Governor of Natal by first opportunity your message to me, and this my reply." These telegrams he did not consider of sufficient importance to telegraph to Lord Kimberley, so he sent them in an ordinary despatch.

The ball once set rolling, rolled on. The Republic was proclaimed at Pretoria on the 13th of December. On the 16th the first shot was fired at Potchefstroom, and the Republic was proclaimed at Heidelberg. In England, men in high places laughed the Boers to scorn. This was the reply to their respectful protests—and that laugh continued, and was strengthened when

the Boers rose in revolt against our rule. Mr. Gladstone was in power, however, and instead of taking a murderous revenge, terms were made satisfactory to the wise men of all parties. Thus history repeats itself. In the "Tragedy of the Cup," by Alfred Tennyson, the Queen of Galatea receives a message that the Roman Emperor, with his army, is at hand, and she is counselled to submit. Her reply is to this effect:—

"Sir! if a State submit at once
She may be blotted out at once,
And swallowed in the conqueror's chronicle;
Whereas, in wars of freedom and defence,
The glory and the grief of battles won or lost,
Solder a race together. Yea, though they fail
The names of those who fought and fell are
Like a banked-up fire—that flashes forth again,
From century to century, and at last
Will lead them on to victory."

The change of Government, as regards South African affairs, it is evident did not take place one day too soon. For instance, we learn that on August 14, 1881, Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of Cape Colony, arrived at Pietermaritzburg on his way to Durban to embark for Cape Town. On the same day the Bishop of Natal had an interview with him with special reference to the case of the Pondos, who have repeatedly solicited the Bishop to proceed to England to make known to the British Government the injustice with which they were treated under Sir Bartle Frere's administration. The change of Government at the Cape has rendered it unnecessary for the Bishop to comply with the request of the tribe.

Disquieting news continues to come from Zululand, where, says the Durban correspondent of the *Times*, affairs are causing much anxiety. Sir Evelyn Wood has gone there to have a meeting with the chiefs, Sir Garnet Wolseley's settlement being pronounced a failure. Discontent and disturbance are chronic, and several of the thirteen head chiefs are marching about the country with large armed followings. Satisfaction is, however, expressed at the rumour now prevailing that Natal is to

have a change in the constitution of the Executive, whereby Colonial men only would form the Executive.

The *Daily News* correspondent at Durban writes:—"That Cetewayo could ever return to Zululand to live as a private person is an impossibility. If he goes back he goes back as chief. To assign him any other position would be simply to prepare the way for endless intrigue, agitation, and suspicion. The change of feeling with regard to him is very remarkable, and I have little hesitation in saying that had as much been known about him four years ago as is known now, a Zulu war would have been impossible. 'If,' it was remarked to me the other day, 'Cetewayo could, under proper guidance, pay a six months' visit to England, it would offend no prejudices here, and might lead to important results.'"

"It is singular," writes a Durban correspondent, "to notice that English merchants, who most openly express their dread of an aggressive Dutch policy, and their determination to resist it, betray, when off their guard, an underlying conviction that Dutch aggression is not really a danger of the moment. A member of one of the largest mercantile houses in Port Elizabeth, who has been certainly using no measured language in condemnation of the Convention, put the matter, the other day, in very few words. 'The fact is,' he said, 'the Dutch are our customers, and we can't afford to quarrel with them.'"

Under these circumstances, it is well that matters are settled for the time between the English and the Boers. It is to be hoped that the former will be friendly, and that the latter will forget and forgive. There is plenty of room for both in South Africa. United in friendship and commerce, the Cape may yet be a bright diamond in the diadem of England. It may be that the Boers are not fond of the natives; but, in this respect, Englishmen are much the same. It is well that Sekukuni, under the Transvaal government, is to be released from custody, and it is

naturally to be expected that in the Transvaal the language of the courts and official documents shall be Dutch.

As to the Basuto war, it is an illustration of the way in which the colonists are ready to quarrel with their neighbours and to make a profit for themselves. The Basuto tribe inhabits the territory south-east of the Orange Free State, and south-west of Natal. Like all surrounding native Africans, the Basutos in years gone by have suffered much from the decided notions entertained by Boers on the relation of human rights to human colour. In 1866, Sir P. Wodehouse extended to them the protection of the Queen, and this protection was followed by their reception as British subjects. At that time, the total revenue raised for the expense of government and local management was about three thousand pounds. The people generally lived in the chronic state of destitution and improvidence, distinctive of a savage life. When, however, security was given to them by British protection, they speedily acquired more settled habits. They improved their system of agriculture. They built themselves substantial houses. Availing themselves of the demand for labour, suddenly occasioned by the discovery of the diamond-fields, they accumulated capital by storing up their wages. With the increase of prosperity they have felt the need for higher education. Schools have been opened in all parts of the district. Roads have been constructed; the use of improved agricultural implements has been accompanied by the transference of field labour from the women to the men. In 1878, the revenue was upwards of twenty-five thousand pounds, and of this, one-fourth, or five thousand pounds, were expended in education. The census in 1875 showed a population of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand; and the exports of the year were valued at forty-five thousand pounds. Nothing was more satisfactory than the condition of the people, who were our staunch allies, and did us good service during the Zulu cam-

paign. But the Cape Government goaded them into revolt; and had not Sir Hercules Robinson appeared on the scene, and Lord Kimberley used his influence, it is difficult to say what the consequences might have been. The Basutos, it seemed, had not been able to learn to do without guns, and hence a quarrel, which led to a contest with the Cape troops, which were not equal to the emergency. To the colonist, war, however, has many advantages. The *Cape Argus* gives some figures which explain the popularity of the Basuto war among a certain class of colonists. Smith and Jones, we will say, own between them a dozen wagons with oxen. They put them into commissariat employ at 30s. a day each. At this rate, these wagons bring in, in the way of hire, at the end of, say nine months, £5,000, the value of the wagons and the oxen at the outset having been some £250 each.

In England and the Cape the detention of poor Cetewayo has led to an endless controversy, Mr. Chesson and Miss Colenso being on one side, and Mr. Robinson, a distinguished colonist, on the other. The lady wrote as follows in the *Times* of September:—

"Sir,—Mr. Robinson's letter of the 27th of August contains too grave an accusation against my father, the Bishop of Natal, to be allowed to pass unnoticed by me, and I trust you will kindly allow me to reply to it through your columns. Mr. Robinson says:—'It is no doubt true that deputations have arrived at Bishopstowe from Zululand. Bishop Colenso's residence is a favourable resort for natives who feel or fancy that they have been aggrieved by the action or policy of the Government.' In the first place, Mr. Robinson can hardly be ignorant of the fact that the Zulu deputations in question were sent, not to the Bishop, but to the Government of Natal, and that their residing at Bishopstowe while awaiting the pleasure of the Government was an accidental circumstance, consequent upon their not receiving any particular hospitality from those to whom

they were sent, by the almost unanimous voice of the Zulu people, entreating for the return of their much-loved—not, as Mr. Robinson has it, 'warlike and long-dreaded'—King. Mr. Robinson's application of such terms to the one South African chief who has kept the peace with his neighbours throughout the whole course of a long reign is simply consistent with the determination of Sir Bartle Frere and his supporters that the Zulu King shall figure as a sanguinary and hated tyrant, whatever may be proved to the contrary. The latter point is settled in most people's minds by the mere fact of the devotion shown to their King after his fall by the whole Zulu people, who, throughout the country in which Cetewayo was hiding, allowed themselves to be harried and plundered, and even in one case put to the torture by order of a British officer, rather than betray their King. Mr. Robinson strikes the favourite key-note of 'that portion of the colonists whom he represents when he recommends that a hut-tax should be imposed on the Zulu people to satisfy their 'eager craving . . . to pay tribute,' of which unnatural appetite no one, I think, ever heard before, unless it is a new version of their earnest entreaty to be allowed to ransom their King. A certain part of the colonial community cannot endure the notion of a black man who is not obliged to pay hut-tax to the whites, and before the Zulu war the imposition of such a tax upon the free Zulu people was one of the special advantages counted upon by colonial 'Jingoes.' But if Mr. Robinson really believes that he represents colonial feeling and opinion on the subject of the Zulu King and the future settlement of Zululand, he will find on his return to Natal that he has slipped behind his age. When one of the most influential colonial journals can express itself as strongly on behalf of the restoration of Cetewayo as did the *Natal Witness* of the 23rd of July—speaking of such restoration as the victory of 'truth and right'—it is time for the editor of the *Natal Mercury* to leave off informing the British public that he represents colonial

feeling, and that the colonists still uphold Sir Bartle Frere's policy. In conclusion, I must beg your readers to believe that there is not one grain of truth in Mr. Robinson's accusation against my father of converting Bishopstowe into a hotbed of native discontent and agitation. If one thing has more than another contributed to what has been, until quite lately, the quiet endurance of the Zulus during the misery and oppression of the last two years, it is my father's earnest preaching of patient continuance in well-doing, of faith in England's justice and mercy, and, where facts have made it impossible to touch on that, of faith in God. The influence of Bishopstowe has ever been for peace, patience, and hope, and though it might well make us blush to hear the captive Langalibalele's little children singing 'God save the Queen,' we have taught them all to do it."

The following are the main items of the settlement effected by Sir Evelyn Wood with the Boers on behalf of the Government:—

The new boundaries, which are dealt with in the first clause, will be best understood by a map. The second article defines and provides for the Queen's suzerainty; the right of appointing a British Resident, of moving troops through the country in time of war, and of controlling relations with foreign Powers, being the main conditions laid down. The 3rd and 4th Articles provide respectively for the continuance of all laws in force till altered by the Volksraad; and the transfer, which was to take place yesterday, of the government to the Triumvirate. Article 5 provides that no mitigation of sentences on persons convicted of offences contrary to the usages of civilised warfare shall be valid without the consent of the British Resident. Then come a series of clauses dealing with the subject of compensation for damage. All claims are, as you will be aware already, to be submitted to a sub-commission, consisting of the newly-appointed Resident (Mr. Hudson) and the two Transvaal judges, Messrs. De Wet and Kotze. Article 8,

which defines the nature of the claims for which compensation may be made, is of great importance:—"Compensation will be allowed for loss or damage sustained by reason of the following acts committed during the recent hostilities, viz.—(a) commandeering, seizure, confiscation, or destruction of property, or damage done to property; (b) violence done, or threats used by persons in arms." In regard to compensation under the first head, direct losses only will be recognised. Under the second head, "compensation will be allowed for actual losses of property, or actual injury to the same, proved to have been caused by its enforced abandonment." Distinct proof of the existence of the property in respect of which compensation is claimed will in all cases be required by the sub-commissioners—a proviso which will exercise a very healthy effect in checking persons who might be tempted to present fictitious claims. Hardly less important is Article 9, in which it is provided that her Majesty's Government may at any time pay the amounts due for compensation with interest, and add these amounts to the debt payable by the Transvaal State to the Imperial Treasury.

This matter of the Transvaal public debt is one about which so much interest is felt in England that a separate word must be given to it. What is the amount of this debt? There is, to begin with, the £48,000 due to the Cape Commercial Bank at the date of the annexation. Then there is £85,667 due in respect of the railway loan, and £22,200 due to a public trust fund known as the "Orphan Chamber." These sums, which make up a total of £155,867, are to be regarded as a first charge on the revenue. "The Transvaal State will, moreover, be liable for the lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the Province since the annexation, to meet the sum of £265,000, and which debt, together with such debts as may be incurred by virtue of the claims for compensation, will be a second charge upon the revenues of the State." The

whole debt of the country does not therefore appear very formidable, nor is it to remain a burden to the State for any indefinite length of time. By the 11th Article it is provided that such portion of the debt as may remain unpaid a year hence shall be repayable by interest and sinking fund at the rate of £6 *os.* 9*d.* per annum, by which means the debt bearing interest at the rate of three and a-half per cent. will be extinguished in 25 years. As it is arranged that £100,000 of the debt is to be paid off within the year, it may be said, roughly speaking, that the liabilities remaining will amount to between £400,000 and £500,000—not a large debt, it must be owned, for a country of such area. Still, it is the population rather than the area that has to be taken into account in this respect, whilst the Dutchman's well-known dislike to taxation is also a not unimportant factor in the case. My own impression, however, is that there is sufficient strength and unity of feeling in the country to lead to considerable sacrifices being made, if necessary, for the speedy freeing of the country from an unwelcome burden.

Under Article 12 continuance of enjoyment of their rights is provided for all persons holding property on the day of the transference of the government. This is, of course, an important article for persons who have sided against the Boers during the late war, and who are undoubtedly left in a position which has its unpleasantnesses. Then come one or two articles referring to natives. Natives are to be allowed to acquire land, but they will have no independent titles. The sale and transfer is in all cases to be made in the name of the Native Location Commission, a body consisting of the President or Vice-President of the State, the British Resident, and a third person to be chosen by the two. The natives are also, in respect to their moving about the country, to be subject to the "pass laws" as in force, or to be revised. There is no ground for complaint in respect of this. The same laws, which provide for a species of supervision over natives, are in

force in the Cape Colony; and, though some of their provisions may seem objectionable to Englishmen, public feeling in South Africa is hardly ripe as yet for their abolition. There can be no doubt, too, that they form a valuable check against that most favourite of native offences—cattle stealing.

Article 18, which defines the duties of the British Resident, is so important that we must give it *in extenso* :—

"ARTICLE 18.—The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident :—1. He will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a *Chargé d'Affaires* or a Consul-General. In regard to natives within the Transvaal he will report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention. (b) Report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-treatment of natives, or attempts to incite natives to rebellion, that may come to his knowledge. (c) Use his influence with the natives in favour of law and order. (d) Generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of such persons and property of natives as are consistent with the laws of the land. 3. In regard to natives not residing in the Transvaal—(a) He will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by the Transvaal residents upon the land of such natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment has been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (b) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with native chiefs outside the Transvaal, and subject to the approval of the High Commissioner as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (c) he will arbitrate upon every dispute between the Transvaal residents and natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts

committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to by the parties interested. 4. In regard to communications with foreign Powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with her Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner."

The remaining articles of the Convention

Convention becomes null and void. But there is little fear of such a contingency.

The first year of Sir Garnet Wolseley's settlement in Zululand passed quietly. The chiefs appointed by him showed a disposition to conform to the advice of the Resident, and the only disquiet that existed was due to fraudulent representations made by native traders from Natal, as to the



JOUBERT, THE BOER LEADER.

provide for the unhindered residence of all Europeans in the country, the admission of British manufactures on the same terms as those of any other country, the release of Sekukuni, the independence of Swaziland, and the withdrawal of the troops on the ratification of the Convention by the Volksraad, which is to take place within three months. Failing this ratification the

intentions of the Government. Ordinary crime was almost unknown. The chiefs abstained from killing, but not from wholly eating up the property of persons who disobeyed their orders. In all the districts except that of John Dunn the missionaries returned and re-occupied their old stations. Even Dunn made some arrangements for receiving some Norwegian missionaries in

place of the worthless German ones, whom he had excluded. A great many people came in from Natal to see their friends in Zululand, and there was a wholesale emigration of labourers from Zululand to Natal, who returned to their homes with ample earnings. Trade was as brisk as ever, but towards the end of the year there was serious scarcity in the tracts traversed by our forces during the war, due, of course, to the consumption of crops, and the disturbance of sowing operations. A correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing from South Africa under the date of August, 1881, says:—

“Stormy or fair? That is the question at the moment lying at the bottom of South African politics. There has been a storm—a succession of storms—which have passed over. The clouds, however, are still hanging about, and even the most sanguine will not fail to admit the possibility of a renewal of the political bad weather. It need not, however, be apprehended that any further disturbance will arise out of the conflict in the Transvaal. I have within the last two days conversed with not a few of the ultra-British section of the Capetown community. There is only one opinion among them. Whatever their disgust at the Transvaal settlement—and that disgust is sometimes expressed in strong terms—there is only one thing now to be done, and that is to make the best of the situation. Any renewal of hostilities—supposing such a thing possible—would be regarded with the utmost dread. This frame of mind is not only satisfactory but significant. It proves that the convictions of this anti-Dutch and (as far as home politics are concerned) anti-Liberal section of the community are deeper and go further than they will outwardly admit. The possibility of a general civil war in South Africa, unless a settlement had been arrived at, is an idea which they verbally deride. It is nevertheless impossible not to see that it is the shadow of this possibility that leads them to deprecate any renewal of hostilities.

“With this feeling prevalent among the class which is quickest in making its voice heard in South Africa, the position may, as far as the Transvaal question is concerned, be regarded as hopeful. It is true that here and there, in such societies, for example, as are to be found at the Diamond Fields, rash and hasty utterances may tend to keep alive and fan the irritation existing between the two great European classes. Men who have no particular business except to call themselves British subjects will, when drinking in a canteen, give vent to sentiments which, if they were heard by Dutchmen possessed of less than the usual amount of phlegm, might lead to blows, or even worse. Happily, it is seldom, owing to difference of habits, that Dutchmen hear the hard things that are said of them. If gossipers may be trusted, the Dutch are among themselves far more bitter against the English. ‘You should hear how they talk among themselves,’ it was said to me the other day. The sum and substance of the talk of the Dutch among themselves is, according to these reports, to the effect that they have beaten the English once, and can, if they choose, do it again. Even if, however, such is occasionally their talk among themselves, it is not to be found confronting you in public. There is a mutual self-restraint and respect for national prejudices which is not only most marked in the present, but is most encouraging for the future. To the Englishman the Dutchman admits the fact to the fullest that the Transvaal Boers would have no chance against the force which was concentrated at Newcastle at the end of March. They admit that the Boers owed more to the unfortunate blunders of British officers than to the failure of British troops. They acknowledge the magnanimity of the settlement, and point out, with much force, that that magnanimity has produced a corresponding feeling of generosity on the other side. ‘I should not be surprised,’ a Dutch gentleman remarked to me yesterday, ‘if the Transvaal should after all be the first to move in the

question of Confederation.' Certainly the spontaneous adoption of the British coinage and the equally spontaneous declaration in favour of British goods, are facts which outweigh in their importance a whole shipload of rumours.

"With this determination to make the best of things existing on both sides, every day that removes the country further from the memory of the war will be so much added to its chance of permanent peace and progress. The native question, it must be admitted, presents more serious difficulties. These difficulties, let it be said at once, in no way result directly from the Transvaal settlement, though what has passed there may possibly tend to render them more complicated. The key of this question is to be found in the Basuto war. Here, as might perhaps have been anticipated, colonists are eager to lay the blame of their own sins upon the Imperial Government. 'If the Imperial Government had not,' they say, 'encouraged the Basutos to resist, we should have ended the business long ago.' They ignore the fact, however, that they themselves went into the war with their eyes open, and with the utmost deliberation. There never was a war more gratuitously entered on. There never was a war that could have been more easily avoided. Mr. Sprigg and his colleagues, in the face of a public opinion (if a Parliamentary vote went for anything), pretty nearly balanced, took upon themselves the task of subduing the Basutos, and failed. The Basutos, in their own country, were too much for the colonial troops, who, expecting to fight naked savages, were astonished to find themselves opposed by men well clad, well armed, well mounted, and possessed of a genius for military tactics. The Basutos, who would never have invaded the colony, know well enough that they have successfully defended their own rights. Will they carry out the terms of the award? The only part of it which they have carried out as yet has been the payment of the fine of 5,000 cattle, which were sold by auction for some-

thing under £2 a head. To the registration of their guns and the compensation of the natives who remained loyal they as yet demur. If they persist in raising difficulties over these two important points, will there be a renewal of hostilities? And if there should be a renewal of hostilities, will the prestige they have gained by their successful resistance of the colonial forces provoke excitement elsewhere?

"This is the point upon which the situation of the moment turns. Apart from all other contingencies—apart from the possible effect upon the native mind of the terms of the Transvaal settlement in conjunction with what has passed in Basutoland—the Basuto question presents a serious difficulty to the Ministry now in office, who are engaged in the thankless work of setting right the blunders of their predecessors. At the same time, it cannot be forgotten that the blunders of their predecessors were only a chapter in the history of the policy of wholesale recklessness, which will ever be identified with the name of Sir Bartle Frere."

In some quarters a good deal of excitement was created by a circular of Lord Granville to the effect that henceforth English travellers who venture into districts where no law is recognised, and are captured by brigands, must do so at their own risk, as it is utterly impossible for the English Government to undertake to pay the sums—which are generally very successful—demanded by the brigands to restore them to liberty. According to some residents abroad, this decision of the British Government is much to be deplored. But there seems little cause for alarm, and the British taxpayer will reap the benefit. It will tend to give the adventurous Englishman that sense of personal security which enabled the empty traveller of the Roman poet to sing in the presence of the highwayman. The Turkish brigands capture British subjects because of their assumed pecuniary value, and not for the pleasure of their personal society. When the guarantee of the Government is withdrawn, the

stock will fall in the market. The system of ransoms was a positive encouragement to brigandage. The help of the British Government will not be refused to its subjects in difficulty and danger, but that help will not take the form of release by purchase, and will be the more effectual for this very reason.

More important was the conduct of the Government, in the summer of 1881, with regard to the French Commercial Treaty. At the end of the session Mr. Ritchie moved an humble address praying her Majesty to withhold her consent to any commercial treaty with France, which proposes to substitute specific for *ad valorem* duties, to the disadvantage of any article of British manufacture, or in any way to raise the price of duties payable on such subjects, and which does not leave her Majesty's Government full liberty to deal with the question of bounties, or which would bind her Majesty's Government absolutely to its provisions for a longer period than twelve months. In reply, Sir Charles Dilke said they, the Government, would not be parties to a treaty which left the British manufacturer in a worse state than at present. He also promised that all papers on the subject should be presented to Parliament at the close of the negotiation. The commercial results of a treaty with France were important, but they were overshadowed, said Mr. Chamberlain, by the political results, and he was sanguine that it might be possible to renew and extend relations between this country and France, which had materially contributed to the welfare of both countries, and to the peace and prosperity of the world. On a division the numbers were 153 against to 50 for. The one great hardship was the sugar trade; but in a speech made previously, Mr. Gladstone had shown that the consequences to the trade in this country, by reason of the French system of sugar bounties, were by no means what they were in some quarters, and that one branch of the business had gained more than the other had lost. In the course of the debate, Sir Charles Dilke

said, as to the sugar bounties, the French Government contended that since their legislation of last year, those bounties had really ceased to exist, and Mr. Chamberlain asked, "As to sugar, how was it that a manufacturer in England had made as much as £200,000 in the last few years?" He observed if the motion was passed no commercial treaty would be possible with France, and that was what all hon. members would be voting for who voted with the hon. member for the Tower Hamlets. "The general effect of the resolution was to strike at the general effect of the most favoured nation clause of the existing treaty by putting on a countervailing duty on sugar. That would enable France to put on a differential duty on English goods compared with those of other European countries, than which nothing could be more disastrous. Practically no bounty on sugar at present existed, or, at all events, it was so trifling as not to be worth taking into account. What ground was there for interfering with the most favoured nation clause? Why did hon. gentlemen opposite wish that no treaty should be made? He believed their predecessors were opposed to the treaty of 1860, and they were therefore at all events consistent. The opinion he had arrived at was that while hon. members opposite would not be sorry for the failure of negotiations for the treaty, though they would be quite ready to throw the blame for such failure on the Government. All figures in relation to the imports and exports between France and this country had to be received with caution, as much that came through France was returned as French, and so with goods landed in this country and afterwards exported to the United States. Cotton yarns going to Vosges were sent to Antwerp, and therefore appeared in the trade with Holland. It was said that English trade was rapidly falling off and manufacturers being ruined, and that foreign manufacturers were being benefited by our loss. There had been a loss of £150,000,000 in agriculture. It was absolutely impossible that with that loss of

purchasing power trade should not be affected, but that was not a question of Protection or Free Trade, but was owing to an unfortunate absence of sun which we had to regret during the last five seasons. The loss in Bradford trade was due to change of fashion, and was altogether independent of Protection or Free Trade, and there was also the loss on the capital of the manufacturer which was due to violent over-production and over-speculation which occurred some few years ago. Although there was an apparent falling off in our trade between the period of depression and the period of inflation, yet the full volume of trade had been going on. The apparent decrease he attributed largely to the wholesome check given by the Attorney-General's Committee on Foreign Loans. With regard to the working classes, he showed that the purchasing power of their wages had increased, and that the consumption of the necessities and common luxuries of life had increased. It was also curiously calculated that the death-rate in this country fell 3 per cent. for every 2s. per bushel off the price of corn. Pauperism of late years had decreased, and with regard to emigration there had been a decrease also, while in the protected country of Germany the emigration had been largely and substantially increasing." The right hon. gentleman entered at length into figures on the imports and exports of the country during the whole of the free trade period, with a view to show the general beneficial effect. There were periods of depression in every country. "In 1877, for instance, there was a Commission to inquire into the prevailing distress. So in the United States, in 1874, when more than two-thirds of the iron furnaces were out of blast—a much larger proportion than ever went out in this country. With regard to the hardware manufactory, there never had been any serious competition with the English manufacturer."

Earl Grey in the vacation made a powerful attack on the Anglo-French Treaty of

Commerce as a violation of the principles of Free Trade; and about the same time one of the directors of the British Chamber of Commerce of Paris wrote a letter to the *Temps* explaining the English point of view in regard to the suspension of the negotiations for a treaty of commerce with France. He says the Treaty of 1860 inaugurated a new era of concord and friendship between the two countries, and abolished all duties on French produce excepting wine and alcohol, consenting at the same time that France should impose on English produce duties varying from 5 to 35 per cent. The result has been that the French exports to England have exceeded by one-third those of England to France. With a view to a new treaty, Mr. Gladstone asked the British Parliament for a sum equal to 75,000,000 fr. in order to lower the last duty on wine. The French Parliament, on the other hand, adopted a general tariff which made no concessions, but, on the contrary, increased in a fearful manner the duties on English produce at present exported to France. The new duties on cotton will be increased to 40 per cent., and upon wool as much as 70 per cent. To this tariff England can only reply, "We cannot sign a treaty opening our doors when you close all yours. We are willing to give up to you the last thing we have left, namely, the duties on wines, but we intend at least to remain free to close our doors as you have done."

The letter then declared that it was impossible to arrive at a settlement by the 8th of November. Until the suspension of the negotiations every one believed in a prolongation of the existing treaty until the 8th of February. The British Government acted in the interest of both countries in asking for the prolongation as a first condition of sending new delegates to Paris.

To these arguments the *Temps* gives a reply, in which it says:—"We regret the suspension of the negotiations as much as England. Both sides have struggled against a preliminary difficulty which has only a remote relation to the real question, namely, of fixing a definitive régime for the trade of

the two countries. Nothing can be easier than to put an end to the misunderstanding which has thus arisen." The *Temps* proceeds to show that the object in view is the establishment of a fixed commercial régime, adding, "In the first place the exaggerated increase in the duties of the general tariff has no other object than to secure the prompt conclusion of commercial conventions affording reciprocal advantages. England can give us a reduction of the duties on our wines, and France has no Protectionist aim in view, and no hidden thought of causing the failure of negotiations. She has declared that she now intends to extricate herself from the present provisional system, and that it cannot be allowed that a prolongation of the present treaties shall afford a means of eluding the conclusion of new conventions. England cannot be placed in the category of countries in regard to which a prolongation of the Treaty is forbidden by the recently enacted law on the subject." In conclusion, the *Temps* says :—"After the cordial and gracious invitation of the Queen of England, our Government, without departing from the rules of prudence, may consent to the prolongation asked for."

These French negotiations had been conducted with a slowness worthy of a European nation. For a moment, when M. Léon Say arrived in London, as ambassador, they seemed likely to receive a satisfactory solution. The basis at that moment agreed on for negotiations between the Gladstone Government and M. Léon Say were—1. Recherche d'une classe de vin payant à l'entrée en Angleterre un droit réduit. 2. Maintien sous le régime du tarif général à l'entrée en France des bestiaux et matières agricoles qui par conséquent ne devraient pas figurer dans le traité. 3. Recherche des moyens de faire disparaître les fraudes des Douanes. 4. Amélioration du status quo dans le sens du développement des relations commerciales. On this head the English Government stated that they could only understand it as meaning a reduction of duties on the

principal products of English industry. France is much more interested than England in a commercial treaty, and in the sense of the first clause of the basis of agreement already referred to, Mr. Gladstone proposed in his supplementary budget for 1880, a reduction of the duties on wines, with a view to hurry on the treaty. But at that time M. Léon Say was suddenly elected President of the Senate, and a great outcry was made against him by the Protectionist members of the body, on the ground that in signing the basis for a treaty, he and the cabinet which instructed him had violated a promise given to the French Chambers that no treaty should be made, or as some put it, no negotiations begun until the general tariff before that body had been voted. In the face of this resolution the French Government executed a retreat, and M. Challemeil Lacour, who succeeded M. Léon Say, allowed the matter to slumber. The proposals made by Mr. Gladstone with regard to the wine duty, were consequently withdrawn. In the autumn of 1881 there was a renewed gleam of hope that the treaty might be renewed.

Another question in which we had after a fashion to co-operate with France, was in reference to the claims of Greece. Turkey had been made to give Greece a little more territory; the difficulty was where to draw the line. In the spring of 1880, M. de Freycinet had pressed the English Cabinet for an answer to the proposal made by Mr. Waddington in December, 1879; this last proposal made by Mr. Waddington had been that Janina should be left to Turkey, but that in Thessaly the boundary should follow the extreme northern limit of the valley of Peneus. This proposition Lord Salisbury had met by suggesting an international commission to examine the frontier on the spot. This the French Government consented to, though they immediately returned to their old proposal; but ultimately a line was suggested, which in Epirus followed the course of the Kalamas, but in Thessaly followed the northern limit of the valley of Peneus, thus

giving both Janina and Metroro to Greece. The decision of the conference held on this subject having been communicated to the Porte, in a collective note, and the Porte having replied in July, 1880, the French Government, through M. de Freycinet, declared that the decision of the conference must be looked upon as irrevocable, and that the Powers would not entertain any proposal for a different line. In September, however, France, while agreeing in principle to the naval demonstration, tried in vain to induce the other allies to greatly limit the power of the senior admiral, whom it had been agreed on to regard as commander-in-chief. The result was that the instructions sent by the French Government to their admiral were not in exact accordance with the instructions given by the other five Powers, for they directed him to refer home all questions of a difficult or delicate nature, and they at the same time gave him private instructions that under no case was he to fire a shot. In order to make matters worse, the French squadrons arrived in the Adriatic some considerable time after the squadrons of the other Powers. When, on November 30, 1880, M. Bartlemey de St. Hilaire rose to reply to the interpellations on the foreign policy of Government, he was, however, able to announce that the negotiations carried on in respect of Dulcigno, with Oriental slowness, had been successful; but, as regards Greece, he found himself unable to say more than that if the European concert were maintained, the Greek Question would be solved by pacific measures like that of Dulcigno. And so it was, thanks to the energy and firmness of Mr. Gladstone. In August and September of the year following, Turkey was compelled to loosen her hold on Greece.

In 1881, a new difficulty arose with France. It seemed good to the French to take the Bey of Tunis—rather against his will—under their protection, and at one time it seemed as if this might lead to European complications. In August, 1881, it was announced that the appointment of M. Lequex as Consul-General of France in

Tunis put an end to a state of things which was incompatible with the treaty right of other Powers. As consul or agent of France, M. Roustan could not be Minister of the Bey without infringing on the rights of his colleagues, who were his equals. Such was the idea originally taken by the Italian Government, and ultimately we were told the British Government made strong remonstrances to the French on the subject. The semi-official organ of the Italian Government said:—"This appointment is undeniably a satisfaction, given especially to England and Italy, and will contribute, without doubt, towards completely restoring, between the three States, the good relations which, in the interests of European civilisation in Africa, ought never to have been endangered for a single moment. Italy, indeed, may be said to have acted all along as a cordial ally with England. When the naval demonstration of 1880 was proposed by England as a means of putting an end to the hesitation and double-dealing of the Porte, Italy at once became a party to it, and the Italian Minister gave further proof of their readiness to co-operate with the English Government, having Mr. Gladstone for its head, by instantly adhering to the proposal made by England early in October, to blockade Smyrna should the Porte continue secretly to encourage resistance to the execution of its own agreements.

Austria, from the beginning, was opposed to the coercion of Turkey; but, fearing that if she did not participate in the naval demonstration she might not be in a position to check the further proceedings of some of the Powers that might be injurious to her interests, she accepted England's proposals on the understanding that no troops should be landed, and no hostile action taken against the Turks.

The action of the British Government was clearly defined when Mr. Goschen entered on the duties of his mission at Constantinople. In a circular addressed to the British Ambassadors at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Rome, Lord

Granville stated that in order to prevent any further delay in the execution of the Berlin Treaty, an identical and simultaneous note should be addressed to the Porte by the representatives of the Powers at Constantinople, requiring the Turkish Government to fulfil forthwith its obligations under the treaty in regard to Greece, Montenegro, and Armenia. In a despatch to Mr. Goschen, Lord Granville said that his appointment had been decided on in order to mark the sense which her Majesty's Government entertain of the gravity of the situation, and to impress upon the Sultan that the time had come when the British Government was determined to insist, in

Sultan and the Porte, that the representations he would make to them are essentially of a friendly character, though at the same time he should make them understand that the present careful abstinence from menace, on the part of the British Government, does not imply any want of earnestness or determination as to the course of policy which they desire to see pursued." Matters after this proceeded more satisfactorily. On June 1st, Lord Granville was enabled to inform Mr. Goschen that the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of Berlin had accepted the proposal of an identical and simultaneous note, and that a conference was to be held at Berlin to



THE FORTRESS, WIDDIN.

concert with the other Powers, upon the fulfilment of the engagements which the Porte had entered into with regard to Greece and Montenegro, and "of the pledges for reformed administration which the Turkish Government has so often solemnly given, and so repeatedly broken." After describing, in detail, the engagements referred to, and the policy of procrastination adopted by the Porte in regard to them, and recapitulating the promises made by the Turkish Government, in answer to the repeated representations of Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Layard on the subject, Lord Granville expressed the desire that Mr. Goschen should state clearly to the

consider and determine by a majority on the proper line of frontier to be adopted between Turkey and Greece. The identical note appeared June 11th, and it stated that the delay which had occurred in carrying out certain of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, had led to an interchange of views between the signatory Powers, the result of which was a recognition on their part that it was an object of European interest that this delay should be put an end to, and that the union of their efforts would be the surest means of securing 'the object aimed at by the treaty. It further announced that a conference was about to meet at Berlin to decide the question of

the Turco-Greek boundary, and addressed a peremptory demand to the Porte for an explicit declaration of the steps taken on the question of the Montenegro frontier, and the reforms in Armenia. A change of ministry in Turkey was the result of this note, while the conference came to a unanimous decision as to the Turco-Greek frontier. The line of delimitation was to be drawn from the mouth of the river Kalamas to the vicinity of the Han Kalibaki, and to follow the mountain ridges between the basins of the rivers, and so by Mount Olympus to the Ægean sea, leaving the Mauroneri on the north, and the Kalamas, the Arta, the Ospropotamos, and the Salaniryias, together with the lake of Janina and all its affluents, and Metroro on the south. The Porte objected to this demand, and the Albanians formed an armed League and came to its aid. But the Sultan was afraid that if he acceded to the demands of the Berlin Conference and cede states in which a large proportion of people were Mahomedans, he might be assassinated by his furious people. Then it was observed that the right of the Sultan to occupy the land and sea frontiers of Eastern Roumelia remained a dead letter, that the Bulgarian fortresses which under the treaty were to be destroyed remained intact, that the tribute due in Bulgaria had not been paid, and the deported and exiled Mussulmen of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia had not yet been reinstated in their homes. The Turks felt that at last they had no friends, and the Porte vigorously protested against complying with the demands of the united powers. Remonstrance was in vain, and in September the fleet assembled at Gravosa was placed under the command of Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour. Meanwhile extreme agitation prevailed in Constantinople, alarming rumours were circulated in Bulgaria of large numbers of Russian volunteers coming to fight, serious disturbances took place in Syria among the Arab tribes and in Kurdistan, and seditious proclamations began to be distributed in the

capital. A new Ministry was placed in power at Constantinople, and the Porte became more defiant and obstinate than ever. The Ambassadors at Constantinople were accordingly instructed to state that the naval demonstration must be carried out, and Admiral Seymour at the same time summoned the Governor-General of Scutari to hand over Dulcigno to the Montenegrins. The reply was that no instructions had been received from Constantinople for its surrender, and that the Turkish troops would forcibly resist any advance of the Montenegrins, or an action on the part of the fleet. Thus matters remained at a dead lock till October, when the Porte addressed a note to the Powers stating that it would at once give directions to the local authorities for the surrender of the district to the Montenegrin authorities by pacific means. A large body of troops was sent to compel the Albanians to give up the place in dispute. Dervish Pasha marched his troops to Dulcigno on November 24th, and after an encounter with the Albanians, in which there were some killed and wounded on both sides, entered the town, which was formally surrendered on November 26th. The object for which the European fleet had assembled in the Adriatic having been thus achieved, it dispersed on November 5, 1880.

Greece, as was to be expected under the circumstances, anew pressed her claims. The large and fertile provinces of Epirus and Thessaly made extensive naval and military preparations with the avowed object of obtaining those provinces by violent means in the probable event of Turkey refusing to give them up peacefully, and at Athens a war ministry came into power. These proceedings caused considerable alarm in the various European capitals, and means were at once resorted to to avert the danger of a Græco-Turkish war, which seemed imminent.

No progress was made during the year with the other unsettled questions with regard to the Berlin Treaty. The Bulgarian fortifications were not demolished,

and the question of the possession of Arabia and Tabia 'remained undecided. An attempt was made to improve the financial position of the Turkish Empire, by the appointment of several German officials to important posts in the Government offices at Constantinople, and by an arrangement proposed in November to the Turkish bondholders for resuming the payment of interest on the National Debt. An international committee, appointed to prepare a scheme of administrative reform for the European provinces of Turkey, sat from May 25th to August 23rd. It proposed an organic statute, of which the following are the principal items:—1. The governor of each province to be appointed for five years, and to be controlled directly by the Executive Council, and indirectly by the Provincial Assembly. 2. The Executive Council to be composed of six principal officials of all the heads of the religious communities, and of six members elected by the Assembly. 3. The Assembly to be composed of three elective members from each canton of *ex-officio* members, comprising six chief officials, and the heads of the religious communities, and of members nominated by the Governor, not exceeding one-fourth of the whole. 4. The Assembly to deal with laws relating to the administration, the distribution of taxation, mines and forests, public works, education, agriculture, commerce, banks, hospitals, etc., and to have the right of increasing or diminishing items in the budget. 5. Direct taxes to be paid into the Ottoman bank, which will open three separate accounts—one for the expenses of local administration, which are to be paid in all cases as a first charge on the revenue; one for 15 per cent. of the surplus, which is to be devoted to public works and education in the province; and one for the remainder of the surplus, which is to be paid to the Central Government. The statute was accepted by the Porte, but, of course, no serious attempt was made to carry it into effect. The same may be said of the promised reforms in Armenia. On July 5, 1881, a general

scheme of reform for that province was laid before the Powers in a circular despatch from the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs. But on September 7th, in a collective note addressed by the ambassadors at Constantinople to the Porte, it was pointed out that this scheme did not in any way provide for the local wants of the population, as required by the 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin; that in order to do so the communes and administrative groups should be so divided as to separate the settled population from the semi-nomadic tribes, and the appropriation of the local revenues be regulated on the same principle as that laid down in the organic statute for the European provinces, which should also determine the tenure of office and extent of the functions of the Governors-General; and that it was absolutely necessary, without loss of time, the reforms intended to secure the life and property of the Armenians, to take immediate measures against the incursions of the Kurds, to carry out at once the proposed system of finance, to place the gendarmenes provisionally on a more satisfactory footing, and, above all, to give to the Governors-General greater security of office, and a more extended responsibility. No direct reply was given to this note, but in its circular of October 6th, the Porte announced that reforms for Armenia were in progress, and a division of Armenia into administrative districts was actually carried; a division which, however, gave great offence to the Christian population, as the districts were so contrived as to give the Mahomedans a majority in each. In other respects, the state of anarchy which had prevailed in Armenia since the Russo-Turkish war had not materially altered, and perhaps it would be better to say it had been aggravated by the formation of a Kurdish league, which, like the league of the Albanians and the Wallachs of Thrace and Macedonia, aims at securing for its chiefs a position of semi-independence in the Turkish Empire similar to that of the present Governor-General of Eastern Rou-

melia, or of the Prince of Roumania and Servia before the late war.

Whether Roumelia has gained much by her independence remains to be seen. In 1881 its Prince made himself a king in direct opposition to the wishes of his people. The verdict in favour of such a step on his part was gained by very questionable means, and it is to be feared that the young State may suffer from such a disastrous step for some time to come. Just as kings and queens are beginning to grow out of fashion, there seems an effort to revive them. As we write, a meeting of the emperors has been held, and we are told that between them the reigning Duke of Baden is henceforth to take his place among the crowned heads of Europe.

As to the minor states of the Balkan peninsula, there is little further to say. Bulgaria, like Eastern Roumelia, still remained under Russian influence, and the unionist agitation became less demonstrative under the influence, it is said, of orders from Russia. The Roumanians, who had not forgotten the ingratitude of Russia in claiming the retrocession of Besarabia, after a war in which they had been the most valuable of her allies, gravitated to the side of Austria, and Servia did the same.

The present state of Turkey is shown by the following letter from Salonica, which appeared in the English papers in the autumn of 1881:—

“‘Brigandage has become a permanent scourge in Macedonia.’ How true are these words only those who dwell in this unfortunate country can tell. Since the release of Mr. Suter only thirteen brigands have been captured, although, were we to believe all the Turkish authorities tell us, there is not a single one left in the district of Cassandra, and hardly any in the district of Vergia. The fact is, it is not to the interest of those whose duty it is to suppress brigandage that it should cease. It may be asked why, but the question can readily be answered. The brigands bribe those who are sent in pursuit of them.

How is it that some of the watches given last year to Nikos’ band have been seen on the persons of Turkish officers? How is it that the band which captured Mr. Suter were allowed to escape by the Reudina Pass, the only place they could escape by? So long as Turkish fanaticism and hatred of anything Christian exist brigandage will never be eradicated.

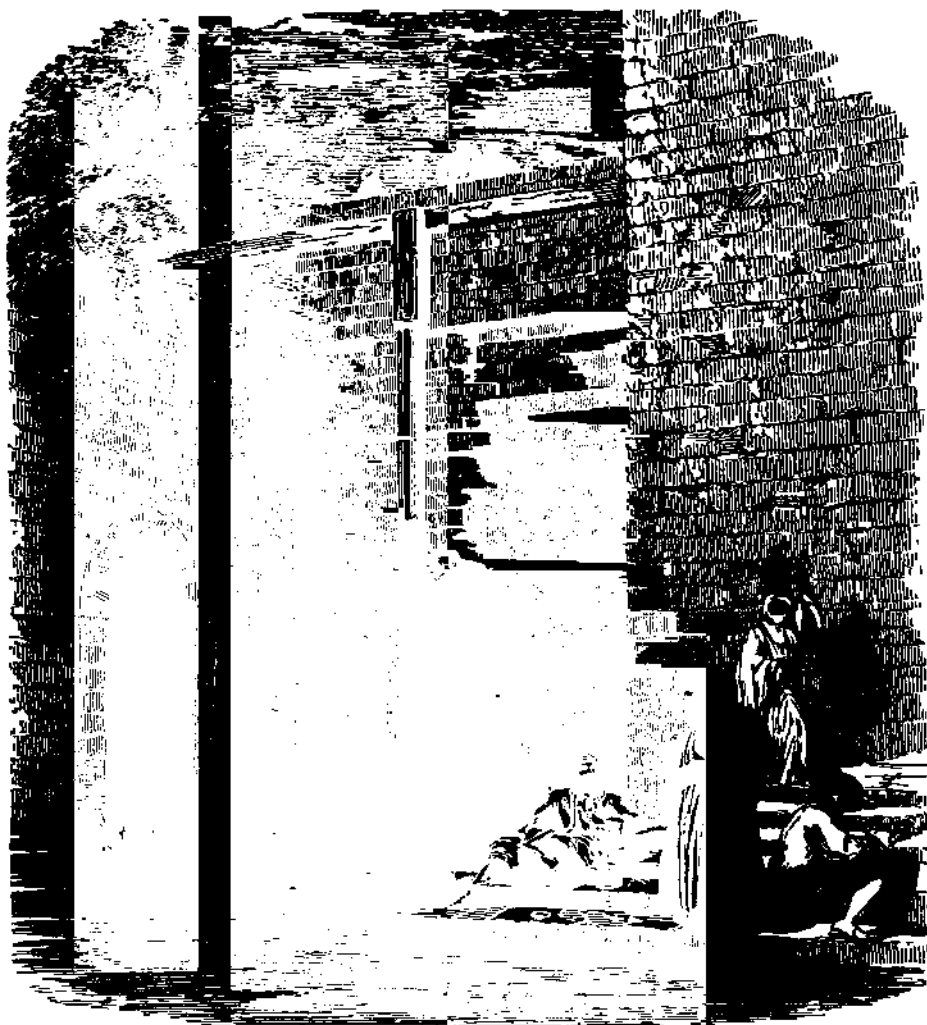
“Someshort time ago a notable of Naousta was arrested and ordered by the Bimbashi to capture all brigands in that district. The man asked the Bimbashi if he really wished the brigands to be captured, and on receiving a reply in the affirmative, asked to be allowed to collect one hundred villagers, to whom the Government should supply rifles and ammunition. He guaranteed to exterminate brigandage entirely in two months. In order to avoid any suspicion on the part of the Turks that these villagers might rise against them, this notable asked for two hundred Turkish soldiers to accompany him—to be placed, however, under his orders. This did not at all suit the Bimbashi, and the man was forthwith imprisoned, and has been so ever since. Last week, in a village of Epirus, a most artful stratagem was played on the troops. Captain Daveli, a famous brigand chief, who is in command of 120 men, sent twenty of his comrades into a village, and caused notice to be given to an Uzbashi of their whereabouts. Immediately 200 Albanians and Turks surrounded the village, and a parley commenced between the Uzbashi and the brigand in command of the other twenty. He offered the Uzbashi one hundred pounds to let him pass freely, but the Uzbashi stuck out for two hundred. While the negotiations were being carried on, Daveli and his hundred men suddenly descended on the Turks, and the result was that out of the 200, thirty were taken prisoners and seven escaped wounded; the rest were all killed, while the brigands marched off in triumph. Although troops have been or have been supposed to be scouring the Cassandra district, it was only three days ago that twenty-nine brigands

appeared at Livadi, a village six hours from Salonica, and demanded provisions, but no pursuit has been made! It is a noteworthy fact that this band is commanded by two ex-zaptiehs, one of them a sergeant of the officer now in command of Cassandra. The twenty-five Vlachs captured at Livadea in the beginning of last month by Captains Panajoti, Kalogeros, Yorgi Chami, Thanas Gania, Malush, and Djem-ali are still in the brigands' hands, for they can never pay the enormous ransom of £19,500, and will all soon probably be killed. In the month of May sixty-four captives were taken off, some of whom have been killed, some have had their eyes put out, and others have escaped by payment.

"True, indeed, is it that brigandage is a scourge, for not only do the villagers suffer from the brigands, but also from the Turkish troops, who live in the different villages, and eat, drink, and sleep without ever thinking of paying. Nay more, they maltreat and imprison the poor villagers, and many innocent persons are in prison, and have been exiled. There is no security for life and property in this country. Lord Granville's circular has caused the greatest consternation, for British subjects are distinctly told that the Government will not be responsible for their safety in any part of the Turkish territory, and brigandage is rife everywhere. It may be imagined how matters stand, when thirteen brigands, who more by luck than good management were recently killed were actually seen a few days before they were attacked drinking at a coffee shop on the outskirts of the town, and when they left it they passed close to the barracks and were seen by the troops, but of course these never thought of pursuing them. This I have on good authority, as I was told of it by a Turk. You good people in England imagine that reforms are being carried out in Turkey. Let some impartial person come out here and see what the people are suffering, and then we shall hear a different tale. Not only do the Christians complain, but the Turks also, of the gross injustice and maladminis-

tration. Imagine a man being appointed governor of this large province of Salonica who can neither read nor write. The Turks will never suppress brigandage, for the reason I gave above, and also that foreign Governments do not make them refund the ransoms for their subjects. Instead of paying an indemnity to those who have suffered by brigandage, the British Government asks the victim to refund it! Where are the days of Canning when the Turk trembled at the voice of an Englishman? What has become of the Treaty of Berlin? Does it not stipulate that the internal affairs of Turkey shall be properly carried on, or is brigandage not included? Were everything that goes on in this country placed before the public at home, people would be amazed. I fear there is no remedy except that proposed by Mr. Gladstone—'bag and baggage.' He is the only man who understands the whole thing, and you may be quite sure that were his policy ever to be carried out it would be greeted with the greatest delight both by Turk and Christian, for they are both heartily sick of their Government."

Egypt was another nation requiring a good deal of the time and the attention of the Government and the people of England. In 1880, she turned over a new leaf apparently, and began to pay her debts. The extravagant Khedive having been got rid of, his successor Ténhif Pasha has felt himself obliged to honourably fulfil his engagements to the Powers that placed him on the throne. On more than one occasion he supported his own Ministry against their demands, but more frequently his influence was invoked, and not in vain, to prove to his cabinet and subjects the necessity of submitting without a murmur to the necessities of the political or financial situation. The latter was the more critical. From the very first moment of his advent to power he had been forced to face two inevitable changes—the reduction in the rate of interest on Government bonds, and the abolition of the Moukabalah tax, in reality a double tax on all landowners,



EGYPTIAN IRRIGATION.—THE NILOMETER, NEAR CAIRO.

The graduated column in the centre indicates in cubits the height to which the inundation reaches. The sixteenth cubit is called "the Sultan's water," as the land-tax is only levied when this height is

attained. "A good Nile," as it is called, is from 18 to 22 cubits ; less than this leaves the soil insufficiently irrigated ; more than this drowns the country, and inflicts immense mischief upon the peasantry.

and one of the latest devices of the ex-Khedeve. Under a promise that all land-owners paying for a series of years a double tax should subsequently pay only one-half of the regular land tax, Ismail Pasha had aroused hopes of permanent relief, which he never intended to realise; whilst in like manner his assurance to his creditors and the European Powers, that the proceeds of the double tax would be devoted to paying off the national debt, was merely intended as a cloak for further extravagance and folly. The result showed that the double payment was really impossible. When the Moukabalah was regularly paid, the ordinary land tax fell into arrear, and when the ordinary tax was paid the Moukabalah was neglected. The tax had been useful to the ex-Khedeve as a means for obtaining short loans at an extravagant rate of interest, and of floating a debt of six millions in three years, with which the European controllers had to deal. The prospect is cheering. Mr. Charles A. Cookson, the Consul at Alexandria, writes:—"The general condition of the agricultural population of Egypt has considerably improved during the last year. Much of the improvement is no doubt the effect of the abundant crops of cotton and cereals, but the loyal and regular manner in which the taxes have been collected during the last two quarters has already produced an increase of confidence, which has the best effects. The peasant was furnished, at the beginning of the year 1880, with a form, in which was detailed all the taxation which he would have to meet for the ensuing twelve months, and nothing more than this appears to have been exacted. The land taxes are now collected with regularity, and in instalments, suited to the convenience of the taxpayer, the largest payments being taken at the seasons when the crops come to market. No forced loans appear to have been collected, and the use of the whip in the collection of taxes has virtually become extinct. The new regulations as to 'corvée' appear not to have been yet settled, but the forced

labour formerly employed on the Dairas no longer exists, as the several Dairas and Domian estates now pay their labourers regularly. There has been no recruiting during the last year, but soldiers on furlough only have been called up.

"The flagrant injustice which often existed in the distribution of water for irrigation, appears to have been very much diminished. The effect of these considerable reforms has made itself felt in a reduction of the rate of interest on advances made to the cultivator. Where 24 per cent. per annum was required by the lender on good mortgage security, 12 per cent. is now readily accepted, and a proportionate reduction on inferior security. Better terms even can be obtained from the *Crédit Foncier*, lately established, but the small cultivators generally prefer to pay the somewhat higher rate and deal with the merchants, who are not bound by the necessarily strict rules of large public banks. The peasants, too, are learning the advantages of regularity of payment, and are getting into the habit of making preparations for the periodical calls upon them, and thus the cases of execution and sale through the tribunals may be expected to be much less frequent. Another good sign is that the land has already risen considerably, in some districts even so much as 50 per cent., in value. Altogether the effect of the reforms which have been introduced by the new administration appears to be even greater and more rapid than was predicted or expected by those who advocated or introduced them."

Mr. C. Spencer Carr, writing from Birket-es-Sab, on May 15th, states that during the past twelve months the value of land has risen greatly; in many districts as much as 100 per cent., and even at such prices there are few sellers. He adds:—

"The taxes are now demanded and paid regularly, one-twelfth of the yearly tax being collected each month; illegal demands are not now made, and any person paying taxes in advance does so without compulsion, and orders are issued by the

Mudirs to the tax-collectors instructing them to treat the rich and poor alike. Under this system of monthly payments the taxes seem to be collected with comparative ease, and I do not hear of much compulsion being resorted to. I have not heard this season of any cultivators selling grain at a sacrifice in anticipation of the crop, and as they can now easily obtain cash advances at from 1 per cent. to 2½ per cent. per month interest, it is probable that we have heard the last of that crying evil. Large landowners requiring cash can now obtain advances at long dates of repayment on most favourable terms. I believe as low as 8 per cent. and even 7 per cent. per annum interest. General satisfaction is expressed at the arrangements made for irrigation, and I understand the Government are contemplating considerable improvements in districts where the supply of water is uncertain or inadequate to the demand, or where waste lands are to be reclaimed."

Mr. Félice, writing to Vice-Consul Borg, from Zagazig, on April 16th, reports:—

"The cotton crop of this year has been larger than last year's. The quantity of cotton ginned in my district, Minetel-el-Gamh, and the domains included, amounts to 408,000 cantars, while there remain about 10,000 cantars of cotton unsold. Last year's crop yielded 216,000 cantars, and this considerable difference in favour of the growers has greatly improved their financial condition. The moderation that characterises the just taxes claimed by the authorities, and the abolition of past oppressions, have lost to usurers the high rates of three to eight per cent. per month which they made the fellaheen pay, and the enormous profits they realised by purchasing cotton, wheat, beans, etc., at half price. According to information I receive, five twenty-fourths of the māl (land-tax proper) have been collected till now, so that the fellaheen find themselves in an easy and tranquil condition, such as they do not remember to have enjoyed for many years past. The corn plants thus far look very

satisfactory, but it would be premature to say anything regarding the prospects of the harvest, as it is subject to the hot winds, 'hamseen,' which may cause serious injury; the next month or six weeks will show."

Mustapha Aga Ayâd, the British Consular Agent at Luxor, reports as follows:—

"The land taxes are now levied, according to Government circulars, by instalments, fixed with due regard to the harvest. Four such instalments have been paid this year, and I am told the next call will be for five kirâts. The recovery of the said instalments has been easily effected, and without oppression, as it took place during the harvest of maize, barley, beans, and lentils. With regard to the 'corvée,' the men and camels now at work in the shifliks are well remunerated, and many of them, of their own free will, offer themselves for service. With regard to the works, the men now employed are simply for public works which are of utility to the villages of their neighbourhood. The natives are well pleased with the new reforms, and also with the reduction of taxes and octroi duties, and with their being condoned the arrears of taxes to the end of 1875."

Sayed Hussein, the British Consular Agent at Keneh, observes:—

"Since the accession to the throne of the new Khedive, the local government have adopted measures for the welfare of the country and its population. Several decrees have been sent to the Government officials, abolishing the Moukabalah, the personal duties; the purchase of salt has been made optional; the poll-tax levied upon artisans reduced to three-fourths, and condoned to the poor; a regular system adopted for the recovery, in the present year, of land taxes, to be paid gradually, and by instalments—viz., for January and March, 1880, one kirât each; for April, two kirâts; for May, five kirâts; for June, six kirâts; for July, five kirâts; for August, two kirâts; for September and December, one kirât each; cash payments being required, and no wheat accepted, as hereto-

fore. If the Government would accept wheat in lieu of money for taxes, it would render the settlement of the same more easy for the natives."

The results of the year showed that these forecasts had been in no sense too sanguine. The returns of the commissioners of the public debt proved that the mortgaged revenue was quite sufficient to meet the claims thrown upon it. The amount encashed on December 31st, was certified to be £700,000 for the unified debt, and £260,000 for the privileged debt; in addition to the payment of the various coupons as they had become due during the year, the redemption of about a quarter of a million of the debt by purchases in the open market, and the extinction of five millions of the floating debt.

The International Judicial Tribunal had originally been an attempt on the part of Ismail Pasha to substitute for the independent consular courts, a procedure which should remove some of the grave scandals to which the latter had unintentionally given rise. The various judges had in the first instance been appointed for a term of years, which came to an end in the course of 1880. A rising feeling of "Egypt for the Egyptians" had at one time led to a strong opposition to the renewal of the International Tribunal. European pressure, however, ultimately forced the Khedive and the Government to have resort to a commission of inquiry, and under cover of its recommendations, the International Tribunals, which had done their work well, and with as little friction as possible, were renewed for a further term.

From the sudden return of Colonel Gordon from Central Africa at the commencement of the year, people guessed that his mission had proved a failure. His health, after many years of exposure, was no longer strong enough to support him through the trials which necessarily awaited any commander purely intent upon suppressing an old national institution like domestic slavery; which, though officially condemned, was meanwhile socially sup-

ported. Gordon had broken up more than one horde of native slave-traders in Central Africa, but there were always fresh traders ready to renew, and rich enough to defend by force the nefarious traffic.

In the conduct of the negotiations with King John of Abyssinia, Colonel Gordon had been more successful, detecting almost at a glance that for many years to come that country would never be a serious rival to Egyptian influence in the Soudan, Central Africa. King John's position, far from being one of menace to Egypt, was itself threatened by powerful neighbours. On the east, Menelek, King of Shoa, and on the south, Rasadab, were only waiting a propitious moment to revolt from his authority, whilst divers feudal chiefs were looking with no less eagerness for the signal for revenge. The governor-generalship of the Soudan, which had been held by Colonel Gordon, was not continued in its original form, the Khedive dividing the duties amongst a number of Egyptian Pashas, to one of whom, Gessi Pasha, was assigned the government of the Upper Hill District; to another Massowah and the Red Sea coast; and to a third Berbera, Zeyla, and the Hara District. The first-mentioned was, at the outset, most successful. With less than 3,000 men he defeated Suleima, the leader of over 10,000 weh-armed gelabba (Arab slave-dealers) on the Gazelle river, who supplied the slave markets of Egypt and Turkey. After routing Suleima completely, he pursued the remnant of his forces, finally capturing the leaders of the slave-dealing party, their mitrailleuses and cannons, and liberating many thousands of slaves whom they had taken prisoners. It is sad to have to record that on his return from the interior, Gessi's army was exposed to the most frightful hardships, all transport by water rendered impossible by the condition of the river, which had been converted into impenetrable masses by the rapid growth of weeds. Through this the army had to cut a passage for themselves and boats, but by far the greater number succumbed to

the combined effects of exertion, privation, and disease. The occupation of the Bay of Assab, on the Red Sea, by Italy, on the ground of its cession to that country by the local tribes, gave rise to diplomatic correspondence between the Egyptian, British, and Italian cabinets. The first-named refused to recognise the power of

Government retained a dépôt in the Bay of Assab as a coaling-station for its line of steamers, it was agreed that it did so with the consent of the Egyptian Government, whose suzerain rights were to be fully recognised.

The gold mines of Midian, rediscovered by Captain Burton, were in the first instance



HENRY PEASE, ESQ.

any savage tribes to give territory, which, as forming part of the littoral of the Red Sea, north of Cape Guardafui, she claimed as her own; and which, under an agreement made with England in 1877, she was unable to transfer without the consent of that Power. The matter was, for the time, amicably arranged, for although the Italian

reported to be of such considerable value, that their working with European capital was proposed. Subsequent investigations, however, showed that the gold-producing districts of the Gulf of Akaba had for centuries attracted adventurers, and doubts were felt as to whether the outlay would prove remunerative.

As to the question of Egyptian slavery, the Anti-Slavery Society were much exercised on the subject, and headed by Mr. Pease, M.P., held an interview with Earl Granville, to assure his lordship that their fears were many, and that they attached great importance to united European action in the matter. They were disposed to regret that the question had not been brought up for discussion at the Berlin Conference. At any rate, such was the language of the Secretary of the society, Mr. Sturge.

Earl Granville, in reply, said :—"Gentlemen, I very much agree with what has fallen from my old friend who has just spoken. I think there is no doubt whatever that the progress of trade is of great importance; but it is a question that cuts both ways, because the slave trade interferes with that progress, and unless you can put that trade down as well as encourage legitimate trade, I am afraid that our efforts must fail. Some topics of great interest have been raised by the gentlemen who have spoken, all bearing on the slave trade, but it strikes me that the principal points submitted to me are these:—First of all, the impression of the society that they are losing ground in Egypt, that the slave trade is increasing in Upper Egypt, and the desirability of European concert. Also the great importance of carrying into effect the suppression of slavery itself in Egypt, and, in addition, the desirability of extending our consular superintendence. Now I hope that in a few days we shall present a Blue-book giving what official information we possess as to the state of the trade up to the end of 1880, and I am bound to say that this official report does not confirm your apprehension of the increase of the slave trade. At the same time I do not think it is fair to argue, and I am not prepared to deny, that the want of official information may be partly owing to the want of consular superintendence, which most undoubtedly now exists. With regard to the concert with other Powers, I cannot say how important I think it is to

get not only the sympathy, but the active co-operation of all civilised nations to put down this barbarous state of things, and we are more particularly glad to do it with our neighbour, France. No actual proposal has been made to us. Certain inquiries have been put, and certain *pour-parlers* have been going on; and when we can get anything *bonâ fide* and satisfactory, you may depend upon it her Majesty's Government will not be slow in the work. At the same time it is a matter that requires great caution, and there are many different considerations to be taken into account, with which I will not now trouble you. With regard to putting an end to the slave trade in Egypt, I am not prepared to give you any actual information on the matter, but I can fully confirm all that has been stated in reference to the good disposition of the Khedive with regard to the slave trade, and I believe I may also say with regard to the existence of slavery in his dominions. He has shown this in the appointment of Le Comte Della Sala to the important post that he occupies. Having been in communication with Mr. Malet, who has just left this country to go back to his post, I can confirm your statement that the Khedive is honest in his desire. With regard to consular superintendence, I can only say that we have submitted to the Treasury a proposal that we should extend our consular superintendence. What we propose is that consuls should be appointed at Saukin and Khatoum, and that they should have power, at the Government expense, of travelling about in Egypt, and on the coast of the Red Sea. The jurisdiction would extend from the Suez consulate to Tajorah. There is a vice-consul at present at Tajorah, and his jurisdiction extends to a place called Rass Afoun. I believe that this society has always been of opinion that this would be an important step, and I do not apprehend being very much snubbed by the Treasury in this case."

In the summer of 1881, there was a debate in the British House of Commons, initiated by Mr. Rylands, on the Anglo-

Turkish Convention. In the course of it Mr. Gladstone said :—"Now, with regard to what may truly be said to be the main question of discussion—namely, the Anglo-Turkish Convention, I wish to observe upon the total contradiction between the arguments of my hon. friend who has just sat down, and the late Under Secretary for the Foreign Department. The former hon. gentleman, while he fairly acknowledges that no reforms have been wrought in Turkey under the Convention, says, 'Yes, but wait. Wait till Russia is on the way to Asia Minor, and then you will have an irresistible leverage to force Turkey to those reforms.' But the late Foreign Secretary, so far from founding the duty of England to support Turkey against Russia in her Asiatic dominions, founded it upon the splendid and imposing commercial theory. He said that it was the duty and policy of England to wage war 3,000 miles from the base of her operations, for what reason?—to prevent the tremendous and ruinous consequences to the commerce of this country if Russia, obtaining territory in Asia Minor, were to establish a system of protective duties. If it is our duty to prevent Russia from imposing protective duties, what becomes of our leverage on Turkey to effect reforms? You tell her it is our interest to do so. The right hon. gentleman says the whole of our empire in the East is at stake in keeping Russia out of Asia Minor. If so, what leverage have you on Turkey? Will not Turkey read his speech and learn from it that your own interests, in his view, constrain you to defend her on that frontier, whether she effect reforms or not? I am surprised at the argument of my right hon. friend, who, I hope, will be distinguished in the councils of his country; but he has not yet had experience enough in the world to learn how much wickedness there is in it. Depend upon it there is quite intellect enough in the stupidest Pacha that ever held office in Constantinople to be able to place these two ideas together—that if we are told by the organs of the late Government that the

Anglo-Turkish Convention was founded upon a supreme and imperial policy of British interests, then he knows perfectly well that it was not founded on the necessity of introducing reforms in Asia Minor. Now, with regard to that Convention, the right hon. gentleman laid down another proposition of great importance. He boasts on the part of the late Government that they were glad to depart from the concert of Europe when, in their view, the interests of England required it. I want to know whether that doctrine, if it be good for us, is not good for others. My right hon. friend sees with surprise that France has been departing from the concert of Europe, and has in Tunis been taking measures as to which, stating it mildly, Europe is not unanimous in approval. But if France is blessed with Under-Secretaries of State who are imbued with the doctrines of the right hon. gentleman, she has no difficulty in finding an apology, for she has only to boast in the face of the world that she is ready, and desirous, and forward to act without the concert or approval of Europe when French interests require it. I am not here to pronounce an opinion, and it is not my business to do so, on the measures adopted by France in Tunis, but I am here to say that if those measures had been in their nature dangerous to the public tranquillity, and even if they had involved a breach of public law, the power which England ten, twenty, or fifty years ago would have possessed manfully to protest against any such proceedings has been crippled and impaired by, to use the mild term of my hon. friend the member for Burnley, the evil example set by the Anglo-Turkish Convention. That convention, to begin with, was a departure from the European concert. We had always said that the European concert was to be maintained, partly because it gave the highest authority to its own conclusions, which was capable of being brought to bear in the present condition of international law on the settlement of great affairs. But we have also said that it had a great virtue in

repressing the selfishness of the individual Power. And then my hon. friend astonished me by reproaching the advocates of European concert with the proceedings of France in Tunis. Why, it was no longer in our power to get rid of that which had been done before we came into office. Following so closely upon the date of the Treaty of Berlin, and following so closely upon the abandonment of the principle of concert by the late Administration, and, in particular, in the case of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, I ask you to go back for a quarter of a century to the Crimean War, which was commenced under the shield of a self-denying ordinance—under a positive and absolute engagement of the Powers concerned in it that they would take no benefit whatever to themselves from the measures they were adopting on behalf of Turkey; and what followed? The Treaty of Paris was concluded. Twenty years' repose was secured for Turkey by that treaty. There were no Anglo-Turkish conventions. There were no movements of France against Tunis. There were no proceedings of this class, or approaching them. The only point in which there was an apparent deviation from the Treaty of Paris within the years that followed it in the course of the settlement of its terms was that union of the Danubian Principalities which has constituted the State of Roumania, which was a movement not favourable to the selfish interests of any one of the Powers concerned, but a movement in favour of liberty, in favour of justice, in favour of the peace of Europe, and the stability of the settlement thus arrived at. That was what followed the Treaty of Paris. Compare that with what has followed from the Treaty of Berlin. We adhere to the doctrine of European concert; but what we had to do was to build up a ruin which had been trodden under foot, and which had become almost a bye-word in the mouths of those whom we succeeded. We are endeavouring to repair it, but repairing is a very different thing from upholding it. The late Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs boasts

of the readiness of the late Government to disregard the concert of Europe where British interests were concerned; but the principle of concert was the principle upon which the whole British policy for fifty years had been founded. Since Canning succeeded in combining three of the greatest powers in Europe for the purpose of constituting the kingdom of Greece, concert has been the established rule of Europe. My hon. friend says concert has always failed. Is not the existence of the kingdom of Greece at once a contradiction of the doctrine he has laid down? Concert may fail, but if concert fails rely upon it that which is weaker than concert is absolutely sure to fail. Do you want a more recent instance—reform in Asia Minor? My hon. friend says:—'It is true that we have failed in the Anglo-Turkish Convention, but concert has always failed too.' Is that so? Did concert fail in the Lebanon? Did you not there, in the heart of Asia, working entirely by concert, establish thirty years ago, through the able service of Lord Pufferin, that political system which has made the Lebanon comparatively a model for Asiatic Turkey, and which has subsisted through all the chances and changes down to the present time? Through all that period during which the principle of concert governed our policy with regard to affairs in the East, England had one proud distinction, even among European Powers. Whatever might be said of its ambition elsewhere, it was freely confessed that within these limits at least she had no selfish interest to pursue; and the consequence of this was to give her an enormous weight in guiding the councils of United Christendom. That was the position which England held down to the year 1878. I hope she will recover it. Men warmly attached to British fame and British power did not scruple to act upon it. Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell—two statesmen whose names are almost proverbial for their regard of the fame and splendour of their country—did not scruple to give over to Greece the Ionian Islands, and that act,



MIDHAT PACHA.

which I believe to have been from their point of view a wise one—that act, rely upon it, did much to corroborate the idea, that rested upon the precedents of a long period of time, of the justice, sincerity, and impartiality of this country at least in European questions. That compromised position it will be the labour of the future to regain by possibly a slow process; it may not be for the present Government, and for me it cannot be a task to be much prolonged, but while we are in our places, and while I hold the office I have the honour to hold, we will labour still for that purpose, and will again endeavour to found the influence and fame of England, so far as we can, upon a strict regard of international right, and upon a careful recognition of the title of others to be treated on an equality with ourselves. The hon. member for Portsmouth, with great ingenuity and no unfairness, contrasted in various points the case of the French in Tunis with the case of England in the Anglo-Turkish Convention. In regard to the incidental particulars I think he was quite accurate so far as certain points of fact were concerned. But there were other points which varied considerably from what he said; and there is one point of view to which the hon. member did not refer, and it is an important point of view. It is the juridical point of view. We look upon the conduct of France in Tunis, but it is difficult to assert that France in her conduct in Tunis made a breach of international law. France has never admitted that Tunis was an integral part of the Turkish Empire. A few years ago France joined Italy in holding the contrary. When we look at the convention we find that a single Power took over from the Sultan by what was described as a voluntary act on his part; but I do not scruple to assert that at the time this convention was framed it was a breach of the law of Europe. The Treaty of London and the Treaty of Paris had been set up by the Berlin Treaty in those points which were not altered by that treaty. They were in force before and

after the Treaty of Berlin, except so far as that treaty altered them. Those treaties said that any question relating to the integrity of the Turkish Empire was a question of common interest to every European Power in which no single Power should take upon itself to act. Was not that what you did? Had our occupation of Cyprus no effect on the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire? If Russia had obtained the power of administering Mitylene or Chios, would you have admitted for one moment that her action did not affect the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire? I," continued Mr. Gladstone, "frankly admit that this convention was made with the best intentions towards the subjects and Turkey; but even from that point of view it was an entire error. It is admitted that yet at least the treaty has not been justified by its results. It had another effect. This substitution of our sole action in Turkey for the united action of the Powers constituted an absolute reversal of the principle on which our Crimean War was made. The great object of that war was to get rid of the sole action of Russia in Turkey, and when we came to establish for ourselves a right of the same kind a natural suspicion was created in Turkey that we had selfish and ulterior objects; and I must say that suspicion would have been confirmed in the mind of the Porte to-night had its representative heard the late Under-Secretary emphatically declare how closely the Anglo-Turkish Convention was connected with the maintenance of our Indian Empire. The member for Portsmouth, who sees in the foreign policy of the present Government nothing but a panorama of failure—admitted in candour one exception, and I am not sure that he did not admit two. If the settlement of the Montenegrin and the Greek questions are so slight and insignificant that they are even invisible points in this great panorama of failure—how was it that they had not been settled in the two years while our predecessors were in power, with, as hon. gentlemen opposite

assure us, unequalled influence—predecessors who, we are told, enjoyed recognition all over the world, and who were the finest and ablest Ministers that ever swayed the destinies of the country—how was it with the enthusiastic recognition of their transcendental merits that they did not settle the two insignificant questions of the Montenegrin frontier and the addition to the territory of Greece? Why did these men, when they went out of office, hand over these little questions to the little men behind them? As far as those two questions are concerned, and mainly owing to the powerful exertions of my right hon. friend behind me, something has been done for the interests of justice and liberty, and for the future peace of the world."

Sir S. Northcote wished to add his congratulations to the member for Ripon on the manner in which he had discharged his duties at Constantinople.

Mr. Gladstone—"One moment. I forgot to acknowledge the tribute paid by the member for Portsmouth to my right hon. friend by reciprocally admitting the great ability with which he himself served the interests both of his own country and of the people of Eastern Roumelia in the office which he held."

The latest advices from Egypt are anything but reassuring. In the autumn of 1881 it was evident the country was in a state of anarchy. It appears that an order had been given for the transference to Alexandria of a certain regiment suspected of disaffection. The colonel therefore began to plot with the officers of the other regiments, and sent a demand to the Khedive for the dismissal of the Ministry, a constitution, and an increase of troops, threatening, in case of refusal, to march to the Palace at a given hour in the afternoon. One of the reasons assigned in the document for their action was the allegation that the Prime Minister had sold Egypt to England. In vain the Khedive visited the barracks, he was too late: the existing ministry fell. Cherif Pasha, when summoned to form a new ministry, refused to

become the nominee of mutineers, and has acted with perfect good faith. The excitement in France over the affair is very great and the French Consul is greatly blamed, for having been taken so much by surprise, as to have been absent from his post for some days. The Khedive appears to be absolutely powerless. There is no such thing as public opinion, as we understand it in England and Teneffi is apparently unable to count upon the loyalty of any section of the soldiery. All told, the Egyptian army is less than twelve thousand strong, and its fighting qualities are contemptible. There would be no difficulty in disbanding it, but it is the attitude of France that makes people uneasy. A year ago it would have been assumed as a matter of course that an amicable understanding would be arrived at without difficulty, and that England and France would cordially act together in any matter relating to Egypt. In the autumn of 1881, quite a different feeling existed, and the attitude of the French press was by no means reassuring. The *France* asserted that France had too long been second to England in Egypt, and urged the despatch of French ironclads to Port Said and Alexandria. The *Telegraphique* complained that England was seizing every opportunity to increase her influence in Egypt, and the *Rappel* hinted broadly that English agents are responsible for the whole affair. These charges were, of course, unfounded. England has everything to lose and nothing to gain by complications in Egypt. Her object is to create a stable government, and to preserve rather than destroy the menaced independence of the Khedive.

For the moment the Egyptian difficulty is over, but it is to be feared it is postponed rather than settled. The Anglo-French alliance is a thing of considerable difficulty, and Germany professed to be alarmed at English action in Egypt. In a remarkable and well-written article, though marked by an anti-English bias which the writer, M. Pierre Giffard, does not even attempt to disguise, it is pointed out that Cherif Pasha,

whom this revolution has raised to office, is so well known on account of his French proclivities, that he is known by the "unwashed" at Cairo as "the Frenchman." It would be as great a mistake, *Figaro* says, to set him down as an enemy to France as to regard M. de Blignières as an enemy to England. It seems he was brought up in France, and he is a better Frenchman than many Frenchmen of the *Figaro's* acquaintance. It was Riaz Pasha who was hostile to France, so that if inferences had to be drawn from the *Figaro's* article, they would point to the conclusion that the *émeute* last Friday was got up by the French party at Cairo against the English. The *Figaro* does not mince matters, as is seen by the following extract:—

"When, two years ago, the Anglo-French *consortium* was agreed on, England and France each appointed a Controller. That Controller did not deprive the Consul of any portion of his authority; he was *de facto* an Egyptian functionary named by the Khedive. M. de Blignières and Mr. Colvin are both precisely on the same footing; but while Mr. Colvin abstains from interfering with the British Consul General, Mr. Malet, M. de Blignières did all he could to drive M. de Ring from the post he so ably filled at Cairo. M. de Ring was the man in France who best knew the Khedive's affairs. His presence at Cairo was the guarantee for our influence in Egypt. Mindful of the interests of a great people, which number seventeen thousand of its fellow-countrymen in Egypt, while there are but eight hundred Englishmen in the country, M. de Ring stood up manfully against the influence of England, which might be reduced absolutely to nothing, and that in a very short time, if we were represented by a man of real value. But M. de Blignières gave himself no rest until M. de Ring was recalled. It was a decided victory for the eight hundred English, who occupy the highest posts in the administration of Egypt. And we witnessed the strange sight of a French functionary receiving the

compliments of England while the French colony were petitioning for his immediate dismissal."

The important articles devoted to the subject the *République Française* and the *Débats* require attentive perusal. We quote the *République* in full:—

"The English Press, with its customary liberty of action, has offered *ex abrupto* a solution of the Egyptian complication. This panacea recommended by most of the leading journals of London would consist in getting Egypt occupied by Ottoman troops. We do not know the means which the Governments of Paris and London will adopt to safeguard their interests and preserve Egypt from the most detestable of military dictatorships; but the objections to the Turkish occupation are so serious that we do not think we are mistaken in affirming that such an occupation will be set aside by the Governments, if it has not already been so. The good reception which this proposal has met with in London arises no doubt from the alarms of the first moment; but a serious examination of the consequences of an appeal to the intervention of the Sublime Porte will suffice to show that of all means this is still the worst. Nobody can ignore the rôle which the Divan has played in the Islamite world since the Turco-Russian war. It has pleased the Sultan to arouse Mussulman fanaticism, and to complicate the Eastern Question by an antagonism of religion. Beaten and repelled in Europe, the Sovereign of the Ottomans has turned his eyes towards Asia and Africa. France has felt the first shock of this religious action. England herself has felt the effects of it in her Indian possessions. If we are to follow the views of the English press to that religious sectarianism appeal will be made to restore order in Egypt. To overcome the rebellion of a body of eight thousand men all the privileges acquired for Egypt by foreign intervention since 1840 would be effaced by a stroke of the pen. Egypt would be replaced under Ottoman domination after everything had

been done to free the country from it. After having removed from the banks of the Nile the illicit influences which have been produced there under the shadow of Internationalism we should have to work in partnership with those Pashas of Constantinople who hate nothing so much as European civilisation ; and, to make the disgrace complete, it is to these men, reputed incapable of governing at home, that we should apply to govern others. This would be monstrous, and rather than accept such a patronage it would be better to abandon Egypt to the fate of events. It becomes us, therefore, to set aside at once an empirical remedy far worse than the evil itself. We also set aside the contingency of an Anglo-French occupation, France and England having an equal repugnance to resort to an action the necessity of which is in no way felt. We have already said that before examining if measures of coercion were necessary to restore order in Cairo the two Governments interested would act wisely in giving time to the Khedive, assisted by the representatives of France and England, to regain over the soldiers the ascendancy which he would certainly not have lost on a day of *émeute* had he been supported and encouraged by the English and French agents. Meanwhile nothing prevents the Cabinets of London and Paris from immediately starting the constitution of a military commission, composed of English and French, whose mission it will be to pay the arrears of salary to the disbanded officers, to reform the cadres of the Egyptian army, to reduce that army to just proportions, and to render impossible by a series of judicious measures the usurpation of the public powers by a few ringleaders. It may, perhaps, be said that such a project is difficult to carry out, seeing that the Khedive is at the mercy of the rioters ; but it would be greatly exaggerating the influence of the colonels, whose audacity for a moment got the better of the firmness of the Government, to suppose that they have only to make a sign in order to rally the Egyptian population round their flag. The

agitation has been circumscribed to narrow limits. It is not a question of dealing with an Egypt that has revolted against the Anglo-French Administration, but only with a certain number of regiments whose chiefs have not the courage to proclaim their hostility to European intervention. The agitators, in order to carry out their enterprise successfully, reckoned particularly on the supposed misunderstanding of France and England. The accord of the two Powers, however, has not been in danger, and the military insurrection of Cairo, far from having troubled it, is calculated to strengthen it. We have confidence in the prestige and power of a common will and action, and we refuse to believe that the rebellion of a few soldiers can hold them in check."

A Blue-book has been issued from the Foreign Office, from which one or two extracts will suffice to show the condition of things prevailing in a great part of the Sultan's dominions. Acting Consul Catoni, writing from Aleppo, describes his observations during a residence of twenty years in Turkey. He says :—"In all the Turkish tribunals of this district (with the exception of the commercial courts) the corruption of the members who compose them is so great that the so-called justice is constantly put up to auction between the litigants, the highest bidder invariably winning his case. There are innumerable examples, in the criminal courts in particular, where innocent persons are punished instead of the guilty by the payment of bribes." The consul then cites one or two of the most recent cases within his own knowledge, and adds :—"These are simply cases taken at random within the last few days, to show in what manner justice is administered in this country, and to what men the Turkish Government have confided the execution of the much-lauded reforms. Above all, the new laws which render the tribunals entirely independent of the control of the governors, the commerce in the so-called justice now surpasses that of former years in an enormous degree."

Consul Dennis sends from Smyrna a report based on information derived from an official who is said to have an intimate knowledge of Asia Minor. He observes :— " There has been no earnest systematic endeavour on the part of the Government to purify justice, by the selection of upright and enlightened administrators. The present judges, as a rule, are ignorant, narrow-minded, and corrupt, and accept their posts with the sole view of enriching themselves by the receipt of bribes. Justice is too often dispensed according to the caprice of the presiding judge, who decides the case before him in conformity with his own narrow prejudices or in obedience to his pecuniary interests, rather than in accordance with the provisions of the law or with the evidence laid before him. What hope can there be for the good administration of justice when most of the tribunals, even under the new law, are still under the control of the Cadis, or ecclesiastical authorities, who, as a class, are notoriously venal and corrupt, and whose bigoted views, engendered by the study and practice of the Koranic law, render them peculiarly unfit to administer a code which claims to be in harmony with the spirit of the age and the requirements of the nineteenth century ? " From Larissa, Vice-consul Longworth described the courts throughout the provinces of Thessaly as " in a most unsatisfactory condition, corruption, bribery, and procrastination being their foremost evils. " Consul-general Blunt reports a better state of things in Salonica ; but adds that in nine cases out of ten the judges are tainted with a suspicion of corrupt practices. In the province of Trebizond Consul Biliotti states that " the reformed courts are a mere mockery in their present condition. There is no justice without money, and there is no injustice that cannot be obtained with money. " The vast majority of the reports from other districts disclose a similar unsatisfactory state of things.

One of the most disastrous steps taken by the Government, of which the Earl of Beaconsfield was the head, was the acqui-

sition of Cyprus—a white elephant, with which the present Government does not know what to do. It was very poetical to call her Majesty Queen of Cyprus. The idea was first ventilated in one of the novels of the late Premier, but it is not statesmanship to saddle the English taxpayer with an island which can never be made a profit or a credit to English rule. Already the Cypriotes are discontented with English government, and the following petition has been addressed to the English Colonial Secretary. Its prayer is as follows :—

" My Lord,—The people of Cyprus, being familiar with their national history, have never ceased to bear in mind that they are Hellenes, and trusting in the magnanimity of the English nation, in that of her gracious Majesty the Queen, and of her Majesty's Government, they hope that at the proper moment their wishes will meet with favourable attention. They therefore consider it a sacred duty to repeat here what they quite recently declared in a categorical and official way ; that is to say, that their only desire, and their only hope in the future, is union with their mother country, Greece. The example of our Ionian brothers, and the return to power, by an immense majority of suffrages from the generous English people, of the great English statesman upon whose penons are inscribed the words, ' Justice ! Humanity ! Liberty ! ' encourage us to hope that before long the Government of her Britannic Majesty will give a striking proof that the political principles most firmly rooted in the English nation are those of Canning, Russell, and Palmerston. But as it is possible that the accomplishment of our hopes may be delayed for some time by high political considerations, and as, in the meanwhile, the actual state of the island in an administrative, judicial, and political sense, differs widely from what we hoped it would be, and what the British Government proposed ; as the continuation of the actual state of chaos is both morally and materially injurious both to those who govern and to those who are being



JAMES A. GARFIELD,
LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

governed, as may be gathered from the petition we addressed to the preceding Government in 1879, to which we refer you, and a copy of which we annex in order that you may form an idea of the state of our administration, which continues as defective as it was then. For these reasons we pray you, my lord, as the head of her Majesty's colonial department from which we depend, to use your influence with her Majesty's Government to despatch to Cyprus a Royal Commission, which will be able to ascertain on the spot the actual state of matters, and report to you accordingly, thus causing the introduction of a system of administration and government in accordance with civilisation, justice, and liberty. In this manner the amelioration of the condition of the people of Cyprus may be realised in conformity with the desire expressed by the Government of her Majesty the Queen. But if the great party which actually governs the noble English nation believes that in a short time satisfaction will be given to the national wishes of the people of Cyprus, and considers it useless to waste time in the performance of provisional acts, then the people of Cyprus will wait patiently, without murmuring, full of courage, and profoundly grateful in advance to the generous English nation, her Gracious Majesty the Queen, and the Britannic Government.—We have the honour to be, your lordship's most obedient servants."

[Here follow the signatures.]

"The petition (adds the *Daily News* correspondent) is now being circulated in the villages for signatures, and every effort is being made to get it to England before the rising of Parliament. It has been prepared in triplicate. Two copies go to the officer administering the Government for transmission to England, and one will be forwarded direct to the Earl of Kimberley. There can be no doubt that all the Greek population approve of the document, but a good deal of difficulty is experienced owing to the majority of the peasants being unable to write."

In the summer of 1881 considerable sensation was created by the intelligence that an attempt had been made to assassinate President Garfield, the American President, by a man of the name of Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, who, stimulated by disappointment, and the wild talk of American politicians of the party opposed to the President, made a desperate attempt upon his life. In all parts of the civilised world the intelligence was received with sorrow and indignation. Men who regarded with equanimity the conspiracies against the life of the Czar, were filled with indignation that the elect of the American nation, the head of the republic founded on the principles of justice and fraternity, and the rights of man, should thus be attacked, and statesmen of all classes and all parties in all parts of the world were shocked and grieved at the affecting intelligence. At first it was reported that the President was dead, but at length it became clear that he had only been dangerously wounded by the bullet of the assassin. In time, as the good constitution of the President, and the nursing of a devoted wife, and the skill of accomplished physicians, produced salutary effects, it was believed that he would recover, and then came a feeling of gloom and despair, as day by day the hopes of the nation faded away.

The following is the text of Mr. Gladstone's letter to Mrs. Garfield:—

"London, July 21, 1881.

"Dear Madam,—You will, I am sure, excuse me, though personally a stranger, for addressing you by letter, to convey to you the assurances of our feelings, and those of my countrymen, on the occasion of the late horrible attempt to murder the President of the United States, in a form more palpable at least than that of the messages conveyed by telegraph. Those feelings have been feelings, in the first instance, of sympathy, and afterward of joy and thankfulness almost comparable, and, I venture to say, only second to the strong emotions of the great nation of which he is appointed the head. Individually I

have, let me beg you to believe, had my full share in the sentiments which have possessed the British nation. They have been prompted and quickened largely by what I venture to think is the ever growing sense of harmony and mutual respect and affection between the two countries, and of a relationship which from year to year becomes more and more a practical bond of union between us. But they have also drawn much of their strength from a cordial admiration of the simple heroism which has marked the personal conduct of the President, for we have not yet wholly lost the capacity of appreciating such an example of Christian faith and manly fortitude. This exemplary picture has been made complete by your own contribution to its noble and touching features, on which I only forbear to dwell because I am directly addressing you. I beg to have my respectful compliments and congratulations conveyed to the President, and to remain, dear madam, with great esteem, your most faithful servant,

"WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE."

The following is the reply sent by Mr. Blaine through Mr. Lowell:—

"Washington, July 22, 1881.

"Lowell, Minister, London.

"I have laid before Mrs. Garfield the note of Mr. Gladstone just received by cable. I am requested by her to say that among the many thousand manifestations of interest and expressions of sympathy which have reached her, none has more deeply touched her heart than the kind words of Mr. Gladstone. His own solicitude and condolence are received with gratitude, but far beyond this she recognises that Mr. Gladstone rightfully speaks for the people of the British Isles, whose sympathy in this national and personal affliction has been as quick and sincere as that of her own countrymen. Her chief pleasure in Mr. Gladstone's cordial letter is found in the comfort which it brings to her husband. The President is cheered and solaced on his painful and weary way to health by the many messages of sympathy which in his return

ing strength he receives and most gratefully appreciates.

"BLAINE, Secretary."

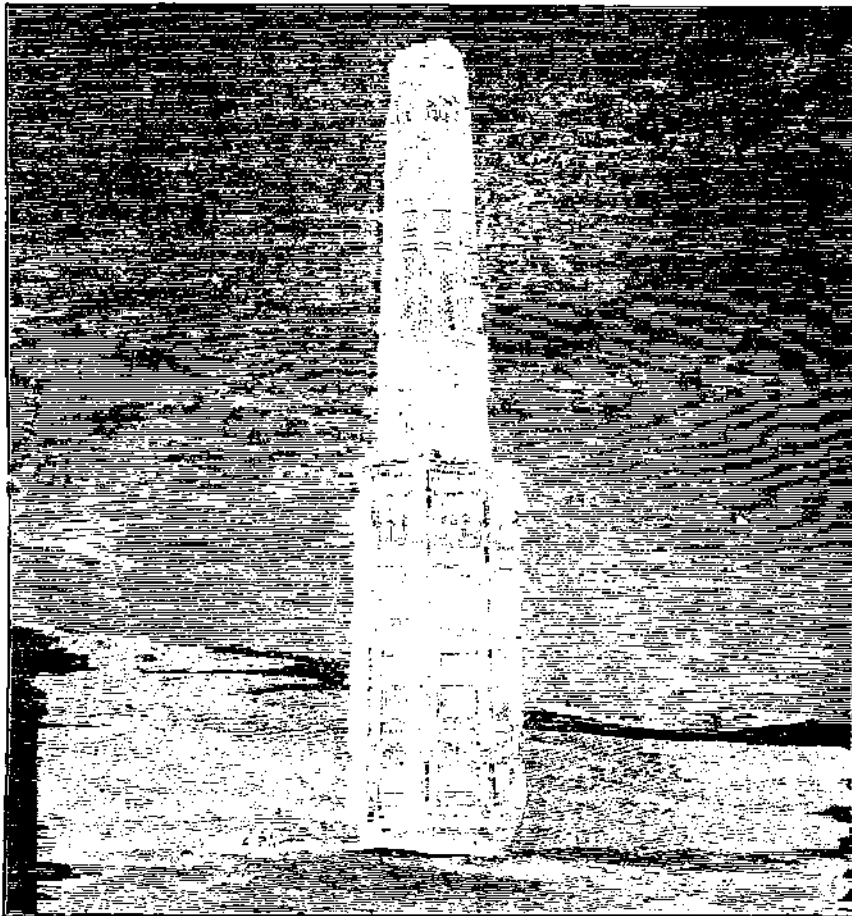
The letter of Mr. Gladstone, writes the *New York Independent*, to Mrs. Garfield, "is the most precious testimonial of international sympathy that the attack upon our President has called out. We thank William E. Gladstone personally, and we are glad that so noble and true a man is at the head of the Government of the British Empire."

Lord Houghton recently paid a pleasing little compliment to Mr. Gladstone. The Premier, fatigued with his onerous duties, exclaimed, somewhat petulantly: "I am leading a dog's life!" "Yes," replied Lord Houghton; "the life of a St. Bernard, which is spent in saving the lives of others."

It is needless to tell the whole story of the Afghan campaign, commencing with the murder of the ill-fated General Cavagnari, and ending with the victory of General Roberts over Ayoub Khan. One illustration of the way in which our troops were handled, and in which they did their duty, will suffice. At the battle of Ahmed Kheyl General Stewart at first found much difficulty in keeping back the enemy. It was not until time was afforded for that gallant veteran, General Porter, to bring up a portion of the rear division, that the fanatical levies, brought together by the preaching of old Mushki-i-Alam, fairly broke and dispersed. The battle, one of the most critical of the whole war, though little notice was taken of it at the time, began with a furious onset of between 3,000 and 4,000 Ghazis. These fierce fanatics were sent forth in the expectation that their reckless valour would throw the British column into confusion, and the main body of the Afghans remained on the adjacent hills, watching for the proper moment to swoop down upon the infidel host. On came the Ghazis, some only armed with pieces of sharpened iron fastened to sticks, and so determined was their onset that, although they were exposed to a withering fire for

nearly a third of a mile, they instantaneously scattered the two squadrons of native cavalry with which they first came into collision. So great was the confusion, that the routed troops came helter-skelter back

rush by a well-delivered fire. Even then, however, the issue of the battle was not decided, for the Ghazis fought with splendid courage, right up to the muzzles of the guns that were mowing them down by the score.



AFGHANISTAN—MINAR OUTSIDE GHUZNI.

into the head-quarters staff, and compelled General Stewart, and those around him, to draw their swords and prepare for a hand-to-hand encounter. Most fortunately, the gallant 3rd Ghoorkas checked the ugly

The fury of the encounter may be gathered from the fact that, although it only lasted one hour, the enemy left a thousand of their number dead on the field, besides carrying off as many, or more, wounded,

while our casualties amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty. Had the main Afghan force, numbering some 7,000 or 8,000 men, followed up the attack, serious results might have followed. They would have done so, probably, had they not seen General Barter hurrying up with the rear division. This force arrived too late to take part in the battle itself, but the moral effects of its appearance must have been as great as that of the Prussians at Waterloo. There was another smart tussle at a village outside Ghuzni, and, indeed, the Afghans were a foe not easily to be put down. That we did so, however, was just as well; and that now we leave them to please themselves as to who shall reign over them, is better.

Perhaps the best comment on the Imperial policy—the policy of the Jingo—the policy which was to make a war with everybody in every quarter of the globe—a policy which the nation repudiated by the largest majority ever known—was a little account sent in for our wars in Afghan and South Africa. It appeared from a parliamentary return, obtained by Mr. Jesse Collings, has been issued of the number of officers and men killed and wounded in the Afghan war and in the South African wars from 1875 to 1880 inclusive, and of the cost of those wars. In the Afghan war, the total number killed and died of wounds, was 99 officers and 1,524 men; wounded, 111 officers and 1,252 men. Of these the losses among the British troops were:—Killed, 67 officers and 461 men; wounded, 76 officers and 403 men. In the South African wars, 1875-1880, the casualties were:—Killed, 12 officers and 167 men; wounded, 15 officers and 243 men. In the Zulu war, 53 officers and 1,328 men were killed, and 29 officers and 272 men wounded. In the war with Secoceni, 3 officers and 9 men were killed, and 7 officers and 249 men wounded. The total for the whole of the wars was:—Killed: officers, 172; men, 3,028. Wounded: officers, 162; men, 2,016. The cost of the above wars, so far as the British and Indian Exchequers are

concerned, was £24,494,483 (including £4,324,047 for frontier railways, and £1,019,470 for Punjab Northern Railway); and the net charge, after deducting receipts, £18,412,223. These figures are bad enough, but they are incomplete, as they do not seem to include the disastrous campaign in which Sir George Colley lost his life.

Under our rule the fact remains that India is in by no means a very satisfactory state. The population for April, 1881, is stated at 252,641,210, which is an increase of 120,788,565 upon the figures of 1871. But for the terrible famine of 1876-8, which swept away six millions, the percentage of increase would have, of course, been much higher. Owing, doubtless, to this famine the population of Madras shows a decrease of two per cent., and that of Mysore of no less than seventeen per cent. In the central provinces we find the increase to be 22 per cent., and in British Burmah no less than 35 per cent. The experience of the past shows that the Government of India must be prepared for the occurrence of scarcity in some degree of severity, and in some parts of the country as often as two years out of every nine, and that great famine may be anticipated at average intervals of twelve years. We have given the people peace, and we seek to give them food in time of scarcity, but it cannot be disputed that the density and increase of population in certain parts of India, constitute a grave political and social difficulty. The available good land of India is nearly all occupied. There are extensive areas of good waste land in various parts of the country that might be reclaimed, and rendered suitable for cultivation, but this would require capital, and the people have none to spare. The produce of the country on an average of ten years is barely sufficient to maintain the present population, and make a saving for occasional famine. It has been estimated that the greatest export of rice and corn in one year is not more than ten days' consumption of its inhabitants. Even at the present rate of increase in twenty millions, there

will be twenty-five millions more to feed. Yet we are dealing with a country already full of people. The situation is unpleasant, the outlook is unpleasant. As rulers we are thus brought face to face with a grave and growing difficulty. There are more people every year to feed from land which, in many parts of India, is undergoing gradual deterioration. Mr. Caird has pointed out that the agricultural system, except in the richer and irrigated lands, is to eat or sell every saleable article the land produces, to use the manure of the cattle for fuel, and to return nothing to the soil in any proportion to that which is taken away. Every increase of population aggravates the danger. When population was not pressing on the cultivated land, and there was space enough to admit of it, the exhausted land was allowed to rest in fallow for a time, and in the hot sun and genial rains to recruit its productive powers. "But there is no longer room for this. Crop follows crop without intermission, so that Indian agriculture is becoming simply a process of exhaustion. Even in some tracts of canal-irrigated land, where water is lavishly used without manure, crops have ceased to grow. An exhausting agriculture and an increasing population must come to a dead-lock."

One of the most subtle and persistent evils in connection with our Indian administration, is that craving for patronage at the expense of Indian revenue, which ever subsists among our governing classes of both parties. As to the British as contradistinguished from the Indian military service in that empire, it is a vast harvest-field of pay patronage and promotion, in which our Horse Guards, and War Office are constantly reaping precious sheaves. Since Parliament was dispersed, a fine little job was concocted at the expense of the Indian taxpayer, when it was announced that the Government of India has it in contemplation to re-establish the office of Naval Adviser, lately held by Admiral Blythesia, V.C. Not a line of justification for this renewal of an abolished post has

been attempted by any of the official abettors of the scheme. The *Echo*, commenting on this subject, let us at least know who they are. We challenge proof that the functions of Naval Adviser to the Government of India are anything more than a farce, of which the only serious incident is the payment by India of an enormous salary, one equal to that of a British Cabinet Minister. The Indian marine is a transport, despatch, salvage, and survey service. It is a valuable one within its proper and special functions, but it has no naval duties, nor military responsibility; all of these that are required for the protection of British commerce in the Eastern Seas are performed by the East India and African squadron, the admiral of which at the time is the proper and sufficient adviser of the Viceroy in naval matters. For its share in the services of that squadron India pays seventy thousand pounds per annum, together with very considerable sums incurred in the Indian dockyards in the repairs, coaling, and equipping of her Majesty's ships of war as well as of the Indian troopships. Any advice the Bombay Government or that of Simla may require concerning the Indian marine service can be, and is, afforded by the officers of that service, who still include several who formerly belonged to the Indian navy, of favourable reputation; while the officers who have joined in later years have acquired local experience in Indian waters, which is of far more value than can be offered by navy officers, who only visit India in turn with other parts of the world.

Appeals still continue to be made for the old game of annexation, to be played by England on its old grand scale. According to Mr. Dicey, a great authority on the matter, England is bound to annex Egypt, partly because the possession of the Isthmus of Suez is essential to our hold on India, and partly because the Egyptians will fare better under our sway. In some quarters it was hinted that an agreement, at any rate a mutual understanding, had

been come to between England and France. We were, it was arranged, to take possession of Egypt, and France was to be left free to do what she wished with regard to North Africa, where, according to all appearances, she has brought what may be called a hornets' nest about her ears. As regards Egypt, however, Mr. Gladstone has made no sign, and at present there appears to be no indication that, in accordance with manifest destiny, we are to take possession of the land of the Pharaohs, a land where ever English influence must be powerfully felt, and which will come to grief if it ceases to listen to the advice and adopt the counsels of its English friends. Some of our military friends are also finding work for us in other quarters. For instance, Captain Colville, perhaps stimulated by the *bdat* obtained by Captain, now General, Burnaby by his ride to Khiva, resolved to make his way through the South of Morocco to the Algerian frontier, a route never before traversed by an Englishman. His chief object was to survey the land, that he might possess a personal knowledge of the country and of the resources of the Moors, in the event, which he considers imminent, of England being called upon to resist the encroachments of the French, for he as a soldier considers the annexation of Morocco to be a laudable and desirable act on the part of England. After elaborate preparations in the shape of a disguise for his wife, etc., it is with a certain sense of disappointment that we read of the safe arrival of the travellers at the Algerian frontier without a single adventure worthy of the name, eleven days after their departure from Fez. We get a slight amount of information, if not of a very valuable kind, from the survey of a country quite unknown to the general reader. The scenery appears to be uninteresting, and the people are utterly barbarous, shut out from all civilisation and enlightenment, by a corrupt despotism. Happily, that concerns us little. The annexation of Morocco has not at any rate come within the sphere of practical politics.

The principal action of the home government in India was with regard to the evacuation of Candahar. The preponderance in India was, as was to be expected, in favour of retaining the place as a place of arms. The Russian operations at Merv suggested that that power would soon be on the borders of Afghanistan, while the weakness of the two rulers would certainly tempt the Russian officials in Afghanistan to the old game of intrigue and interference, rightly or wrongly imputed to them. The success, too, of Ayoub's march had shown how easy it was to organise a force at Herat, and how easily accessible Candahar was from that place. While some enthusiastic advocates of retention urged that Candahar would pay its own expenses, others were content to plead that it was cheaper in the long run to retain it than to recover it. A railway to the place, fortifications, and the certainty of remaining there, would make it a safe, and even a pleasant position for an English garrison. If it were abandoned we should have (so their advisers said) to advance on it again within five years, and encounter far greater difficulties than those we had surmounted at such tremendous expense. The effect, too, of retreat in the face of difficulties, or the temper of the native powers in India, and the tranquillising effect of taking a step which would make our position absolutely secure as against Russian advances or alarms of Russian enterprise in Afghanistan, were insisted upon. General Roberts, and it was said a majority of the Viceroy's council, and even the Viceroy himself, were in favour of keeping a British force at Candahar. But in November, 1880, the Home Government sent a despatch to the Government of India, expressing, in the plainest and strongest terms, their objection to anything that would involve the permanent retention of a British force in Candahar. The reasons given were:—1. The apprehension of danger from the Russian advance was immeasurable. 2. If it should ever be necessary to occupy Candahar as a defensive measure, it would be

easier to do it when the independence of Afghanistan was threatened (as the despatch assumed it necessarily would be by a foreign invader). 3. There would be no finality in occupying Candahar. We should be drawn on towards Herat by the same arguments as drew us to Candahar. 4. An occupation of Candahar would be followed by constant difficulties with the Afghans. 5. It would interfere with the difficulty of creating a strong Afghanistan. 6. It would involve an expense to the Indian exchequer, which even the most certain advantages would hardly justify. 7. The evidence of indisposition on our part to annex would reassure the native princes of India and increase their loyal feeling. Elsewhere, we may add, it was urged that so great was the unwillingness of the natives to serve beyond the frontier, that the war had put a dangerous strain on the loyalty of the Sepoys, and had seriously checked recruiting.

Government then directed Lord Ripon to withdraw from Candahar at the earliest suitable time. If within a limited period a strong native Government could be established, this was an end worth striving for. Abdurrahman was the first choice of Government, but it was admitted he was probably too weak to take Candahar over. Lord Ripon was therefore directed to see what could be done to establish a Government of the local Sirdars. As we have said, nothing was definitely known at Candahar of the intentions of the Government; the uncertainty, of course, increasing our difficulties. But in spite of many alarms, the peace of the province remained unbroken. Mr. Lyall, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, came to the city to make inquiries as to the feeling of the people, and soon after he left local Sirdars were sent out with a very small supporting force in each case to administer the outlying districts. Supplies were fairly abundant, except so far as the scarcity of carriage made it difficult to bring them in. Indeed, in no department had the campaign been so fruitful of warning as that of trans-

port. The need of some permanent organisation in India, capable of ready expansion, was generally admitted.

Letters from General Roberts' force described the condition of the garrison they relieved in no complimentary terms. They were scared, it was said; and the most monstrous stories of Ghanzni terrors were current. The beleaguered soldiers stoutly deny that this was so, and appeal to the daring shown in the unsuccessful sortie. But when General Roberts' brigade marched on to India, as they did when their mission was accomplished, there was a marked contrast between the new Bombay troops and the seasoned Bengal soldiers who had restored British prestige. To restore proper tone, fresh Bengal regiments were ordered up from India, the survivors of the old garrison were withdrawn, and at the close of the year the garrison was an efficient force of Bombay and Bengal troops. General Phayre had assumed command after General Roberts' departure, but he was superseded soon after by General Hume, an experienced soldier, but as yet untried in Afghan warfare. About a week after the battle of Candahar, a brigade was sent out to visit the battlefield of Maiwand. It found that nearly all the dead had been decently buried by the villagers, and since much has been said of Afghan cruelty, we may add here that the prisoners who were given up by the villagers, had, in most instances, been treated kindly.

Of the honours which awaited General Roberts, and those who fought with him, we need not speak here. General Stewart, who had played a less imposing, but not a less heroic part, became military member of council, and subsequently was named to succeed Sir F. Haines as commander-in-chief in India. One of the victorious brigades, on its march back, had some serious work to do. It visited the country of the Marris, who were compelled to pay a fine, and submit to other penalties for their raids. Before the end of the year our troops were finally withdrawn from the

Khaibar Pass and the Kuram Valley. An arrangement was made with the Pass Afridis, by which they were, in return for a subsidy, to patrol the pass, keep it open, and provide escorts. The forts constructed in the pass, which, during our occupation, had been provided with excellent roads, were made over to the Afridis. As to the Kuram, to keep faith with the Turis, the local tribe who had assisted us, and been assured that they would never revert to the rule of Kuram, it was handed over to them as an independent power.

the end of the year, there was much dispute and uncertainty as to the best line. Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, to which government the construction of the railway was assigned, showed much energy in pushing on the work, and visited the line in person.

One class in India, the educated natives, hailed the advent of a Liberal Government with glee. Crowded and enthusiastic meetings were held to congratulate the Liberals on their triumph, and as a practical exhibition of regard, an Indian subscription



MARQUIS OF RIFON, K.G.

One result of the war that was likely to be permanent was, the railway from Sakkar on the Indus, to the foot of the Bolan Pass. It was constructed with unexampled rapidity, in order to relieve the pressure on the transport, but it was the intention of the Conservative Government to have completed it ultimately to Candahar. Across the desert, of course, it was to lay on the level sands, the light narrow line, but with the mountains the difficulties commenced. The route selected beyond Sebi was not the regular Bolan route, and, indeed, up to

was commenced to defray the costs of Mr. Fawcett's election. The resignation of Lord Lytton, and subsequently of Sir John Strachey, were hailed with delight. However, there was not a little disappointment experienced when Lord Hartington told a deputation that something even was to be said for the Vernacular Press and Arms Act; and when Lord Ripon did nothing towards a repeal of those measures. Regarding education, he several times expressed his wish to recur to the policy of 1854 the charter of Indian education; of

that policy the aim was the substitution of state aid for private effort, and the extension of secular and vernacular education rather than that of the higher English education. Neither Lord Ripon nor Lord Hartington showed the slightest disposition to reverse the policy tending to free trade. During the year an attempt was made to admit natives to the higher grades of the Civil Service. Some had already attained the highest judicial office, and in every district much, perhaps most, of the ordinary magisterial and judicial work is done by natives of the uncovenanted Civil Service. But the educated natives claimed a more ample admission to the ranks of the covenanted Civil Service than the system of open competition in England had secured to them. The disadvantages natives laboured under were admitted; but every Secretary of State who had dealt with the subject felt that a pure system of competition in India would not secure for the public service the class of men best fitted by race, by social standing and character, and personal aptitude, to obtain the respect of the people, and work as honestly and ably as the average Englishman whom the competitive system sends out.

The report of the Famine Commissioners was issued during the year 1881, in two bulky Blue-books, full of interesting matter and disquisition regarding every question which nearly or remotely connects itself with the condition of the agricultural classes in India. Its conclusions do not admit of being summarised, and, as yet, have been little discussed, much less acted on. Mr. Cand, who, as an English authority on agricultural questions, had been made a member of the Commission, availed himself of the invitation of the Secretary of State to give his views generally by a series of sweeping proposals which would revolutionise every department of the Indian Administration. His courage and sincerity did not prevent the Indian papers from doubting the adequacy of his opportunity for studying the conditions with which he dealt so trenchantly.

The report of the commission of distinguished officers, which, under the presidency of Sir Ashley Eden, considered the question of Indian Army Reform, was received with greater respect, chiefly because if its proposals had to be specifically adopted or rejected, change of some kind was regarded by every one as necessary. Nevertheless, the report, says a writer in the "Annual Register," seemed to lack authority, for many of the officers appointed to the Commission were absent in Afghanistan during its sittings. The main features were as follow:—Army administration to be decentralised, separate territorial armies being formed. The anomaly of having a commander as a member of the council is to cease; the commander-in-chief being, as in England, a purely executive officer, and the military member of the council bearing to him the same relation that the English minister of war bears to the English commander-in-chief. A great number of small military stations are to be abolished, great strategical centres being maintained. Provision is made for a system admitting rapid mobilisation. To obviate the evils of drafts of raw recruits from England, and frequent reliefs, no English soldier is to be sent to India who is of less than three years' service, nor of any who are not prepared to serve for nine years. For the native army a reserve force is to be collected. The proposal for a local army is not approved, but the regiments are to be raised from fixed recruiting grounds. In the Bengal and Punjab armies, cadets of good families, who have had a military education, are to be appointed as officers; elsewhere officers are to be appointed by election from the ranks. The native princes are to be induced gradually to reduce their forces. The staff corps is to be finally abolished, and no military officer is to be allowed to be in civil employ. The railway system is to be completed with a view to military requirements. And, lastly, volunteering (among European residents) is to be encouraged (not made compulsory). The result of the adoption of their

proposals would, the commissioners consider, lead to a yearly saving of £1,250,000.

The adoption of the narrow gauge on a portion of the new line connecting Bombay with the Punjab, led to repeated protests at crowded meetings of the mercantile community of Bombay and elsewhere. Lord Ripon, when at Bombay, held out hopes that the question would be reconsidered, and the general feeling in India is undoubtedly that, on commercial grounds, the adoption of a uniform broad gauge is desirable, while on military grounds it is essential. Besides the extensions we have already noted, much progress was made within the year (especially in native states) in railway construction.

Trade imports as well as exports, we may here say, had recovered in a very great degree from the depression of the preceding year; but the prospects of the general export trade of India were regarded as by no means cheering. Tea especially was depressed, though a syndicate had established new markets in Australia, and it was hoped that the settlement of the labour question would relieve the difficulties of the Assam planters. The discovery of valuable gold deposits in the Wynaad and adjacent districts of the Madras Presidency had led to the formation of a great number of companies. The shares of many were soon at an enormous premium, and nothing occurred within the year to discourage speculators. On the lands which were the property of Government, mining leases on liberal terms were given. Much was hoped from the impetus which the discovery would give to local development.

The rebellion in the Rampa district of the Madras Presidency lingered on even after the death of Chendria, the leader. But one by one the remaining heads of the movement were captured, and before the end of the year the raids and riots which constituted the rebellion had ceased.

The operations against the Nagas were more serious. The men of Konoma, to which section of the race the war was confined, had escaped after the capture of

that place to a position on the hills higher up, from which our force could not dislodge them. Thence a body descended in February to the plains and sacked a factory, killing the manager. For a time there was a panic among the coolies of the neighbouring estates, but soon efficient measures were taken against the recurrence of raids, and a month after, the hostile tribesmen submitted. The Afghan war at this time strained our resources, and the terms imposed were not, it was said, sufficiently severe to prevent the recurrence of the offence—the murder of a British officer and the invasion of British territory.

This, perhaps, is a convenient place to say that the dislike the native army felt to prolonged service in Afghanistan was evidenced by the difficulty felt in obtaining recruits in India, and this, though extraordinary inducements were offered.

The uncertain temper of the King of Burmah added to our difficulties. When the year opened, his embassy was still waiting in their steamer at Thayetmo. In February they announced that they had received full powers to treat with the British authorities. The draft treaty, however, being examined, proved to be wholly unsatisfactory; no reference being made to the grievances of which we had complained with reference to the relations of our Envoy with the Court of Mandalay. Meanwhile the king had instituted a system of lotteries which replenished his exchequer, but beggared many of his people, and sent crowds of starving peasants to plunder the villages on our frontier. In April news reached Rangoon that the drunken king, to avert the anger of spirits which had afflicted Mandalay with small-pox, was preparing a great sacrifice of human beings. There is little doubt that such a sacrifice was intended. The Irawaddy steamer brought down thousands of fugitives to Rangoon; our troops were still kept expectant on the frontier, and the society of Rangoon clamoured for intervention. But the chief commissioner was resolute in his policy of abstention. The Embassy,

however, was told decisively that as they had nothing satisfactory to propose, they had better return to Mandalay. At last they returned. But just then ensued an invasion of Burmah from the British territory. One of the two refugee Princes escaped from Calcutta and managed to organise a small band on the frontier. With this he advanced, but encountering the royal troops the invaders were defeated. Renewing his attempt shortly after, the Prince (Nyoungike) was again repulsed, and was made prisoner by our frontier police. The arbitrary detention at a Burmese port of one of the steamers of the Irawaddy flotilla, seemed likely to necessitate action on our part, but the act of the local Governor was promptly disavowed by the king. In October a large detachment of Burmese troops came to one of the frontier posts, and it is said gave out that they were going to exact amends for Nyoungike's invasion. But eventually it turned out that they had only come in pursuit of robbers. Thus the year 1880 closed without war.

For a time it seemed as if the Sonthals who inhabit part of the hilly region in the Southwest of Bengal were likely to be troublesome. The minds of these tractable but still superstitious aborigines had been alarmed by the preparations for the Census of 1881, and the agitation was stimulated by a new seditious sect, the Kherwars. The people were led to believe that the enumeration was a preliminary to a wholesale deportation. One band threatened one of the magistrates, and were so menacing, that troops and police were poured into the district. But the agitation soon subsided, and the Census measures which had alarmed them were for a time withdrawn.

Our relations with Cashmere were not altogether so pleasant as they might have been. The sufferings of the people during the year of famine had moved Indian opinion to a sense of the misrule of the Maharaja, and of the attractive nature of the country. In some quarters the old cry of

annexation was raised. It was said in the papers discovered by General Roberts, there was sufficient evidence to charge him with disloyalty. It was said that he had been in treasonable communication with the Russians and the Ameer. But Lord Lytton stayed his hand, and the Maharaja came to Lahore to meet Lord Ripon on the occasion of the festivities there, though he refused to take part in the procession.

At the beginning of the cold weather, Lord Ripon, leaving Simla, came to Lahore, where he held a great durbar, and a review of the troops, including some of the victorious regiments which had come from Candahar. The speech to the assembled notables was chiefly noticeable for its absence of distinct reference to the future policy of Afghanistan, and by its insistence on the need India had of peace and good government. The Viceroy commended the troops warmly for their valour. Then his lordship hastened to Bombay, visiting the railway works in the Bolan, and the port of Karachi. Everywhere he had to receive deputations, and make himself pleasant. The effort was too much for him, and, as was to be expected, considering the climate and his years, he was knocked up, and was not really convalescent till the end of the year. It seemed at one time as if Mr. Gladstone would have had to send out to India a new viceroy.

One of the Indian calamities of the year was the landslip at Naina Tal, one of the loveliest of the health resorts of the lower ranges of the Himalayas, to which European families escape from the unhealthy heat of the plains. In September, a great landslip occurred by which forty Europeans suddenly and miserably perished. Early in the day, a subsidence at one end of the hill-slope of the lake had covered up some out-houses belonging to the hotel. To rescue, if possible, the natives who were buried there, and to prevent further loss, a number of English officials and visitors, and a working party from the barracks, were soon engaged. All at once, without a moment's warning, a huge mass of broken

rock and earth descended on them, buried the hotel, and all who were in it; swept across the road, and over a hundred yards of level space to the margin of the lake, where it even covered the Assembly Rooms. It was hopeless to attempt to dig out the corpses. For a time there was quite a panic raging, and the visitors rushed away to the plains. But confidence returned when the extraordinary rainfall, which had preceded and caused the landslide, ceased. The commission appointed to examine the station, reported that an outlay on protective works, and restrictive measures as to building, would render the place secure. Government contributed liberally to the expense, and it was resolved to lay out the slope of *débris*, beneath which so many Englishmen lay buried, as a memorial garden.

The approaching restoration of Mysore to the representatives of the ancient line which had been set aside in 1832, led to much discussion. Under the long period of British rule, the province had been administered chiefly by English officers. It was proposed, when the young Rajah had attained his majority, to allow him to introduce a purely native *régime*, but to lessen the force of the change, it was decided, before the transfer, to substitute, as far as possible, native for British elements in the administration. Already some natives have been advanced to the highest posts, and soon, the remaining district officials were informed that they would be transferred from the province. Unfortunately, the alterations proposed were not wholly pleasing to the people. For the native element introduced was not Mysorian, but Madras, and it was complained that an "alien" administration might quite as well be British as Madras. There was further the difficulty as to providing security for the protection of the private British interests—coffee planting, for instance—which had grown up and done so much for the development of the country. Bangalore, the British headquarters, was the healthiest station in the Deccan for

British troops, and a large amount of British money—Government money, as well as private capital—had been spent in building and general improvements. The final arrangement was understood to be that Bangalore should remain British territory, the island of Seringapatam being ceded to the Maharaja as an equivalent.

The question of Eurasian education, and the improvement of the condition of that large and neglected community, occupied much attention, especially in Madras. In that presidency, the more fortunate members of the mixed race organised associations for promoting thrift, and providing useful and suitable employment for their people; associations which it is admitted did much good. In Bengal, Archdeacon Baly's proposals for increasing the educational facilities on the lines approved by Lord Lytton were still under discussion.

We have already noted some important official changes. Sir Richard Temple hurried home from Bombay to be an unsuccessful candidate at the general election. He was succeeded by Sir James Fergusson. The Duke of Buckingham, his term of office having expired, left Madras, the *Anglo-Indian* indulging in by no means complimentary reviews of his administration, but the natives testifying by repeated demonstrations the respect and regard they had for him.

Other events just worth recording, and no more, are these: an attempt on the life of Lord Lytton was made by an Eurasian, whom investigation proved to be of unsound mind. Soon after the news of the disaster in Southern Afghanistan reached Karachi, there occurred among the Europeans of that large and flourishing part, a scare of a kind unhappily not unfamiliar in India. The arrival of some Pathan labourers gave rise to a report of an impending attack by Pathans; and, for a time, precautions indicating panic were taken. There was a somewhat similar scare at Ootacamund.

At Madras there was a panic of an even more dangerous kind among the natives,

an absurd report passing from ear to ear that Government intended a great human sacrifice.

In China it seems as if British rule is becoming more conciliatory and less aggressive and hostile, as regards the native population under our sway. Sir Pope Hennessy seems to be winning golden opinions in spite of the usual opposition on the part of the officials. In too many of our dependencies the representatives of British rule are apt to think that they best convince the governed of the beauties of British civilisation by reproducing the atrocities of which we are getting ashamed at home. Sir John Pope Hennessy appears to be of a different opinion from the following correspondence:—

Governor Sir John Pope Hennessy, K.C.M.G.,
to the Right Hon. Sir M. Hicks-Beach,
Bart., M.P.

Government House, Hong Kong,
18th May, 1880.

After a few years' consideration and inquiry, I think the time has now come for modifying the flogging and branding ordinances of Hong Kong, not merely in accordance with the more humane code of laws in civilised countries, but in accordance with the clear evidence obtained as to the evil effect in this Colony of the flogging and branding system, and its final condemnation by the officers entrusted with the administration of the law and the treatment of criminals.

In 1876, the year before my arrival, the number of prisoners flogged in Hong Kong was 113. Since then the number of floggings has been as follows:—1876, 113; 1877, 53; 1878, 49; 1879, 18; 1880, up to date, none.

That the action of the Local Government has not occasioned any increase of crime is seen from the following figures, which appear in the enclosed returns:—

Number of admissions to the Hong Kong Gaol:—1877, 3,946; 1878, 3,803; 1879, 3,669.

Number convicted and punished (fined

or imprisoned) by the Police Magistrates:—1877, 7,908; 1878, 7,794; 1879, 6,119.

My recommendations are that the Branding Ordinances be repealed; that public flogging be abolished by law; that all laws in Hong Kong which impose flogging on persons of the Chinese race exclusively be repealed; that all flogging be abolished except for such offences as entail flogging in England, and that flogging on the back be abolished by law.

DECISION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley
to Governor Sir John Pope Hennessy,
K.C.M.G.

Downing-street, 29th July, 1880.

Sir,—I have had under my consideration your despatches relating to the general subject of crime at Hong Kong, and the treatment of criminals in the Colony at the present time, and I have decided to give my assent to the recommendations contained in paragraph 13 of your despatch No. 60.

I have come to this decision mainly because I entertain grave objection, on general grounds, to the infliction of the punishments in question, and especially that of flogging, for ordinary offences. In this country flogging has ceased to be employed as a means of repressing crime, except in the case of certain crimes of brutal violence; and as a means of prison discipline it is confined to the case of convicted prisoners who are guilty of serious offences against the regulations of the gaol.

DECREASE OF CRIME.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley
to Governor Sir John Pope Hennessy,
K.C.M.G.

Downing-street, 8th April, 1881.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 14, transmitting the Criminal Statistics for the year 1880.

I am glad to notice a decrease in the

number of serious crimes as compared with the two previous years.—I have, etc.,
KIMBERLEY.

Touching our relations with China, we have ample reason to believe that the opium traffic is increasing, in spite of the efforts of a society at home to prevent it, and that we suffer materially in consequence. It would seem as if the Chinese Government, despairing of putting an end to the importation from India, had determined to relax the regulations which affect the growth of the poppy in China itself. A Blue-book was issued in the autumn of 1881, which is made up of reports from all the British Consuls in China, and nearly all dwell upon the increase of the cultivation of the poppy, and of the virtual acquiescence of the authorities. Mr. Consul Everard, reporting from Wenchow, says that the native drug is consumed in immense quantities, and the cultivation of the poppy is making giant strides in the neighbourhood. Mr. Consul Spence, writing from Tchang, reports that although opium smoking has grown to be very prevalent in the West, no foreign opium is consumed. In the city of Tchang itself, containing a population, inclusive of local coolies and sailors in the junks off the city wall, of not more than 30,000 inhabitants, there are more than 600 opium shops. These shops, or rather dens, sell from three to five ounces of opium each day; and, putting the average at three and a-half ounces, this gives a total consumption per annum, for that small city, of 67,171 pounds. The price paid for it by the smokers is about 3½ dollars per pound, so that Tchang spends yearly on this vice upwards of 220,000 dollars. Other towns and villages in Western Hwui consume opium in like proportion. "The air," to quote from one report, "of every hamlet is tainted with its fumes," and the cultivation is said to be increasing yearly. In Trechuan alone the production is reported to be as large as our whole Indian supply. Recent travellers from Yunnan tell us that the province is rapidly recovering from the

desolation in which the rebellion left it, and that it is already difficult to recognise the waste and solitude of which at one time we heard so much. The general form of winter cultivation is a crop of opium, and in Silmay whole districts are ablaze with poppies. In Amoy the mandarins have ceased to interfere with its cultivation in any way. In one custom-house district, that is at Newchwang, the imports fell off by more than 100 per cent.; and this decrease, representing a value of 369,280 dollars, is almost entirely due to the increased production of the native drug. That England is directly responsible for the development of the cotton cultivation in China is admitted in a memorandum of the Financial Department of the Indian Government, which states that until after the first opium war the Chinese Government strenuously opposed the introduction. Our trade suffers, undoubtedly, in consequence. Our trade with an empire that numbers a fourth of the world's population is actually less than with some of our own dependencies. Were the opium traffic abolished, there is almost nothing in the way of opening up the country, and facilitating trade that the Chinese Government would not be prepared to do. These are not times when we can afford to spurn such a market as China would then be prepared to offer us. Happily, peace between China and Russia has been preserved, but the prospect was a bad one, and the chances of war in 1881 were imminent.

With reference to the Chinese opium question, the following letter appeared, from Mr. Lay, the Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Customs, in the *Times* in the course of the year 1881:—

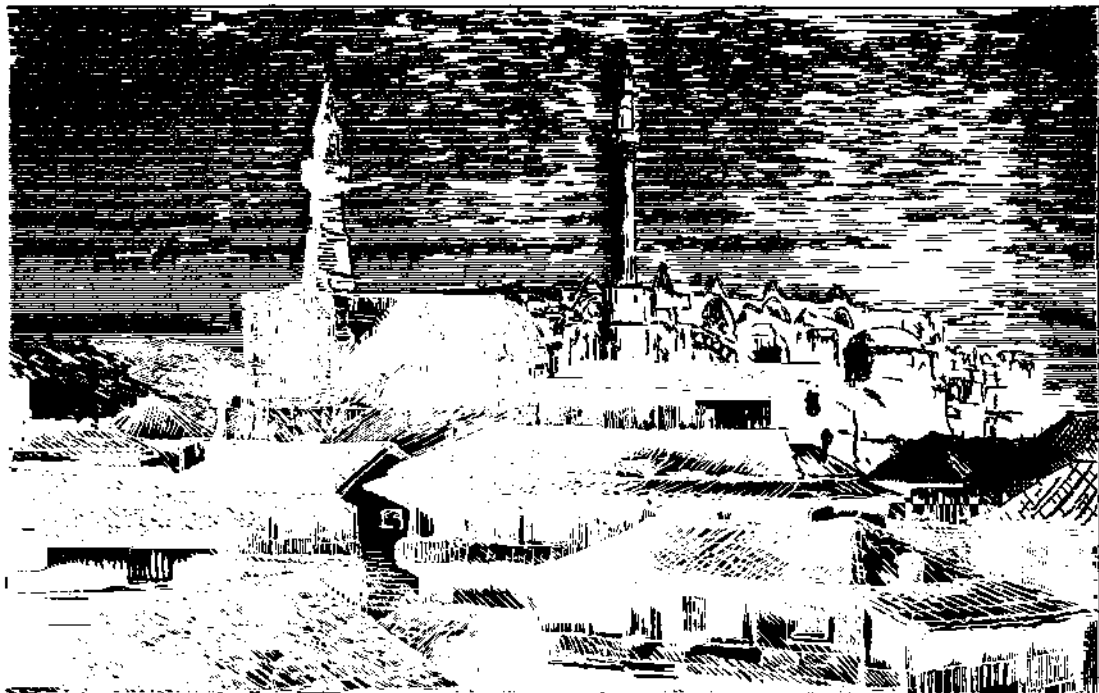
"Sir,—It is a pity that a good cause should be marred by inaccuracy as to facts. Statements have been advanced of late, with more or less of precision, to the effect that the legalisation of the opium trade was wrung from Chinese fears. At a recent meeting in Birmingham, Lord Elgin is credited in so many words with having extorted at Tientsin the legalisation of the

article in question. There is no truth whatever in the allegation, and I do not think, in fairness to Lord Elgin's memory, or in justice to all concerned, that I ought to keep silence any longer.

"Jointly with Sir Thomas Wade, our present Minister in China, I was Chinese secretary to Lord Elgin's special mission. All the negotiations of Tientsin passed through me. Not one word upon either

and Lord Elgin turned the interval to account by visiting Japan and concluding a treaty there.

"In the meantime, the preparation of the tariff devolved upon me, at the desire of the Chinese, no less than of Lord Elgin. When I came to opium, I inquired what course they proposed to take in respect to it. The answer was, 'We have resolved to put it into the tariff as *yang yoh* foreign



MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA, NIKOSIA, CYPRUS.

side was ever said about opium from first to last. The revision of the tariff, and the adjustment of all questions affecting our trade, were designedly left for after-deliberation and adjustment, and it was agreed that for that purpose the Chinese High Commissioner should meet Lord Elgin at Shanghai in the following winter. The Treaty of Tientsin was signed on June 26, 1858, the fleet was withdrawn,

medicine.' I urged a moderate duty, in view of the cost of collection, and this was agreed to. This represents with strict accuracy the amount of extortion resorted to; and I may add that the tariff, as prepared by me, was adopted by the Chinese Commissioners without a single alteration, which would hardly have been the case had the tariff contained aught that was objectionable to them.

"Five months after the signature of the Treaty of Tientsin, long subsequently to the removal of all pressure, the Chinese High Commissioners, the signatories of the treaty, came down to Shanghai, in accordance with the arrangements made, and after conference with their colleagues, and due consideration, signed with Lord Elgin the tariff as prepared, along with other commercial articles, which had been drawn up in concert with the subordinate members of the commission who had been charged with that duty. The Chinese Government admitted opium as a legal article of export, not under constraint, but of their own free will deliberately."

In one respect, an improved treatment of the native population in our colonies may be remarked. In a paper on New Zealand, which appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Arthur Mills, who had just returned from that colony, made some interesting allusions to the Maoris, as showing the wide difference between the native policy of to-day and that which found favour with the colonists whilst they were enabled to fall back upon the Imperial troops for aid. At present, New Zealand depends for her defence upon an armed constabulary of about 900 men of all ranks, and it is not surprising that, with so slender a force, the colonists are very circumspect with the Maoris. The case of one Moffat, a deserter, who was shot in the King's country, and of a lady artist of a London contemporary who was murdered soon afterwards in Taranaki, would have probably given rise to native wars under the old régime, while the performances in the last-named district of the natives, who violently interrupted the surveys, would have been expiated by bullets instead of being settled by the quiet consignment of the offenders to the local gaol. The Maoris seem to be split up into sects, both religious and political. About 15,000 of these, who live on a block of land one hundred miles long by fifty broad, on the west coast of the northern country, owe their allegiance to the so-called Maori king, who discourages

all contact on the part of the people with Europeans. Several other chiefs have a similar following, but during the last forty years the race has dwindled from 100,000 to less than half that number. Yet, whilst torn asunder by internal dissensions, juggled by false priests, false prophets, and impostor kings, and swindled by European land jobbers, the remnant of this noble race still, we are told, show signs of grandeur even in the last stage of its existence.

In the autumn of 1881, Mr. Grant Duff, as governor of Madras, delivered a farewell speech to his Scotch friends. It was reported in the *Times* at great length. After referring to the late Parliamentary session, and the House of Lords, and the state of Europe, he finished with an allusion to Cyprus. "There was," he said, "a notion in the public mind that the colonies were less prosperous than they were. As a rule the crown colonies, the colonies governed from England, were doing well. If they wanted to have an example of a crown colony, which no good government could unless aided by constant contributions from John Bull, might make even decently prosperous, they might look for a moment at that wretched Cyprus. England laughed at Cyprus all through the last election, but alas! all England did not at all realise then what a wolf she had got by the ears in that island. It was handed to the Colonial Office last December, so that he had to occupy himself a good deal with its affairs. We found," said Mr. Grant Duff, "that Cyprus was not, to mince matters, quite able to make ends meet if Parliament did not come to the rescue. You saw that the House of Commons the other day voted a large sum of money to get along. I shall be agreeably surprised if Cyprus, after paying the gigantic tribute to the Porte which the late Government bound us to pay, has much more than between £70,000 and £80,000, one year with another, to pay everything with. If we had not to pay the crushing tribute to the Porte, we could manage, without asking for British aid, to make a respectable colony of it, say

a very good West India Island, and out of its own resources; but as it is, that seems out of the question, however much we may reduce establishments and contract public works. Of course the Colonial Office is doing all it can to reduce expenditure, but no reduction can meet the case. The country would not like Cyprus governed, if we are to be responsible for it, on a less efficient system than that which we at present apply to our present colonies. As at present advised, any revision of taxation would result in a slight diminution of revenue, and much has been already done since England took to improving the fiscal system of the island. If John Bull ever has another Jingo fit, and is persuaded to make a great war harbour of Famagosta, properly fitted and decently healthy, he will see very little change out of a quarter of a million." The Cyprus of which Lord Beaconsfield and the Jingoës were thinking, evidently was the Cyprus of Romance.

There is an undercurrent of feeling prevailing in England, that enough has not been thought of our colonies either for trade or emigration, and that if England is to retain her hold upon them, she must handle them very gingerly at this present moment. While, however, one set of thinkers would cement the union which they believe coming to be every year more and more a sentimental one, by the stronger ties of federation, although they admit such a thing is not yet within the region of practical politics, another set would sever the bond and get rid of the colonial incubus altogether. Of the latter class are some of the advanced school of Birmingham politicians. The policy of England has sometimes been mischievous, but it is generally one of sublime indifference to colonial questions. Naturally the public only view colonial questions as they affect

English interests. If it be true that a man who goes to the Cape, or New Zealand, or Australia, becomes still a customer to the extent of £8 10s. per year, while if he goes to France or America he is only worth as many shillings, it must be to our interest not only to keep a hold on our colonies trading under our flag, but we must endeavour to prevent an Englishman going either to France or America, and direct his course to one or other of those parts of the globe where the inhabitants are still our customers.

It is on these points, say some of the colonial papers, that England's policy needs watching. There are few of the colonies so blind as to object to receive a portion of the surplus population of the mother country. The only fear is that if England attempts to divert the exodus from her shores to any one of the colonies, she may do harm. The colonists tell us that they have done nothing to show that they desire to cease to be chips of the old block, and yet in Canada and Victoria they do all they can, by means of protectionist tariffs, to keep out English goods. It is not certain that Canada will long fight America with hostile tariffs, and when she ceases to do that a community of trade and commerce will naturally weaken the tie which connects Canada with England. Nevertheless, it must be admitted England has not made as much of her colonies as she might have done, or as it is her interest to do, and it is desirable that she should as much as possible shape her colonial policy more with reference to the feelings of the colonists themselves, and not as if they were not in a position to feel or act for themselves. Then would England bring about that consummation so devoutly to be wished—the federation of an Empire second to none which the world has ever seen.

CHAPTER XLII.

MR. GLADSTONE AGAIN A FINANCIER.



O sooner had Mr. Gladstone returned to power than it was felt in commercial circles that he was the right man in the right place, and people felt that the money of the nation would not be squandered away in needless wars or for childish purposes. In June, 1880, he brought forward his first budget since his return to power, and it may be safely assumed that the financial changes sketched in it constitute a larger and more important scheme of financial reform than any which has been announced for many years past. Taking the resolutions in their order, the first relates to the increase of the income tax.

The rate of this levy was fivepence in the pound; but for the current financial year—that is, for the year which began on the 6th of April last and ends on the 5th of April, 1881—it will be sixpence in the pound. There are a few cases in which it will be charged at the rate of sevenpence, but those are only cases in which a half-year's tax has already been paid at the old rate. Interest, dividends, and other annual sums which are paid half-yearly or quarterly, usually reach their owners less the income tax, which has been deducted at headquarters. Some of these have already been paid for the current year, and the deduction made at the rate of fivepence in the pound. In such cases the additional penny would be escaped for half the year if the tax was only charged for the second half-year at sixpence. It is, therefore, needful to charge it for that second half-year at the rate of sevenpence. Such dividends have paid

twopence-halfpenny in the pound for the first six months: they will pay threepence-halfpenny in the pound for the second six months, and thus the sixpence for the whole year will be made up. In all cases in which the income tax is directly assessed it is payable in a whole lump in January. It was so paid last January at the rate of fivepence; it will be charged next January at the rate of sixpence.

The variations in the income tax have of late years been kept within very strict limits. When the late Sir Robert Peel revived it in 1842, he fixed it at sevenpence, and it so remained till it was doubled for the Crimean War in 1854. In the two next years it was sixteenpence, but was reduced to sevenpence in 1857, and to fivepence in 1858. In 1859 it was raised to ninepence, and in 1860, in order to facilitate the great fiscal changes made in the great Budget of that year, it was increased to tenpence. A penny was taken off in 1861, and a penny more in 1863, and again in 1864. In 1865 it was reduced to fourpence, but was again raised to fivepence in 1867, and to sixpence in 1868; a penny was taken off in 1869, and another penny in 1870, but both were put on again in 1871. In the next year twopence was struck off; in 1873 the tax was reduced to threepence, the lowest figure at which it had ever stood. This was preliminary to its intended abolition in 1874; but Sir Stafford Northcote inherited Mr. Gladstone's magnificent six-million surplus, and he merely reduced the income tax to twopence, at which it stood for a couple of years. In 1876 it got again on the ascending scale. It was threepence in 1876 and 1877; was raised to fivepence in 1878, and stood at that amount

till Mr. Gladstone's Resolution increased it for the current year to sixpence.

The second Resolution makes the change for which this increase of the income tax is granted. It declares that from the 1st day of October next the excise duty on malt shall cease to be payable. Together with this ancient tax certain other duties also cease. The description of one of these lets us into a brewing secret. The resolution repeals "the duty on sugar used by any brewer of beer for sale in the brewing or making of beer, or in the preparation therefrom of any liquor or substance to be used as colouring in the brewing or making of beer." Together with these duties fall the licenses which have now to be taken out by maltsters, roasters of malt, dealers in roasted malt, and brewers. The customs duties on malt, vinegar, and pickles preserved in vinegar are also repealed.

The malt duty is a very old grievance of the British farmer. It was first imposed in the reign of Charles II., and amounted to 4s. 3½d. a bushel on English malt, and 3s. 8½d. on Scotch barley malt; and 3s. on malt made from a hardier kind of barley grown in Scotland, and called big (*Hordeum hexastichon*). This tax was repealed, but was again imposed under William III. in 1697, to pay the cost of the French War. It was then charged only sixpence three-farthings per bushel. Since that time it has once been raised to 4s. 5½d., a penny three-farthings more than it had been in the reign of Charles II.; and in the year 1826 it was fixed at £1 13s. 4d. on every hundred gallons of malt made in the United Kingdom. A Treasury Warrant in the same year fixed 2s. 7d. a bushel as the rate at which the charge should be actually levied, and as the Act of 1840 increased the duty on exciseable articles five per cent., the actual amount of the malt duty is 2s. 8½d., or to be more exact, 2s. 8 11-20d. per bushel; or £1 1s. 8½d. per quarter. In Scotland and Ireland malt made from bere or big, for home consumption, is charged only 2s. a bushel, with

five per cent. additional; but if the malt is brought across the Border or the Irish Channel the full English duty is imposed. Malt for use in brewing can only be made by licensed maltsters, and the whole of their business is carried on under the most minute and constant supervision and control of the Excise. It can, however, be made free from duty if it is used for feeding animals or for distilling spirits; but persons so making it must be licensed, and give a bond for a thousand pounds as a security against fraud. The maltster's licenses vary from 7s. 10½d. to £4 14s. 6d., the license for roasting malt is £20, and that for dealing in roasted malt £10. The brewer's license amounts to threepence a barrel on all the beer brewed. It is, however, practically charged at the rate of 12s. 6d. for every fifty barrels or fractional part of fifty barrels brewed. All these duties, with the minute interference with manufacture they involved, are swept away. The maltsters will receive a drawback on the malt on which duty has been paid, but which still remains in their possession on the 27th and 28th of September; and on the 30th of September all excise supervision and inspection will cease. A business which is now carried on at every turn under the most detailed and exact regulations, so that even the utensils employed must be duly entered, and used only for that one purpose, will be as free as any other manufacture.

In place of all these duties the fourth and fifth resolutions impose new charges. Every brewer of beer for sale is to pay a license of £1; and any person desiring to brew beer for his own consumption, or that of his family or workpeople, is to be able to get a license to do so. On all beer brewed under these licenses a duty of 6s. 3d. for every 36 gallons will be charged. This duty will, as we understand, be liable to increase or decrease according to the saccharine strength of the wort before fermentation. The standard is to be 1055 degrees of specific gravity, and a proportion of the duty will be charged for every

increase of this specific gravity or allowed for its diminution. The mode of charging the duty on private brewers is to be, in Mr. Gladstone's words, that of making a "presumptive charge." Each applicant for a license for private brewing will state whether his house is of the annual value of less or more than £20 a year. If it is not more than £20 he may brew his beer on payment of six shillings, and hear no more of it. If it is over £20 he will have to make a return of the quantities of the materials he has used; and whether he has made little or much of them, good beer or bad, he will be charged according to the quantity the materials used ought to have made.

A further compensation for the loss of the malt duty is found in a slight increase of license duty on the retailers of spirituous liquors. In accordance with the recommendations of the report of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance, the spirit licenses on the larger class of licensed houses are to be increased. The beerhouse keeper will pay £3 10s. where he now pays £3 6s. 1½d., or £4 if he sells wine as well as beer to be consumed on the premises. The licensed victuallers who now pay for both beer and spirits will henceforth pay for one license, which will include both. They are now charged for the beer license £1 2s. 0½d., and for the spirit license from £2 4s. 1d. under £10 ratable, up to £11 for a £50 ratable and upwards. They will now pay £5 for houses under £10, running up to £20 for those above £40, and under £50; increasing to £25 for houses between £50 and £100, and £30 for those above that amount of ratable. If, however, the premises are used as an inn or hotel "for the reception of guests and travellers, desirous of dwelling therein, and are mainly so used," the license is to be limited to £20. The large and wealthy retailers are consequently considerably raised. A house of over £50 a year ratable which now pays £11 os. 6d. for spirits, and £1 2s. 0½d. for beer, will now pay £25 for a license including both. On the other hand, a retailer of cider and perry,

who now pays the same as the beer license, will be raised three shillings, and pay £1 5s.

The last resolution authorises a change in the Wine Duties, but it is chiefly by way of reduction. The present duties are charged equally on red wine, white wine, and the lees of such wine, at a shilling a gallon for the weaker kinds under 26 degrees of proof spirit, and half-a-crown a gallon for the strong wines over 26 and under 42 degrees, and threepence additional for every degree of strength as tested by Sykes's hydrometer. Mr. Gladstone reduces the weaker kinds by one-half. The line is now to be drawn at 20 degrees, and up to that strength the duty will be sixpence instead of a shilling. From 20 to 35 degrees there will be an increase of a penny for each degree of strength, so that wines of 26 degrees pay exactly the same as now; from 26 to 30 degrees they will pay somewhat less, and from 30 to 35 will pay a penny for each degree more than now. At 35 degrees of strength the increase is at the rate of 2½d. for each degree; so that a wine of 40 degrees, which now pays half-a-crown a gallon, will then pay 2s. 9½d. Wine in bottles is to pay the uniform charge of 2s. a gallon. This item stands in the resolutions as passed at 2s. 6d., and the increase per degree after 35 stands at 3d. The figures were altered to two shillings and twopence halfpenny by an amendment proposed by Mr. Gladstone. At the same time, the hotel license, which had been previously fixed at a limit of £25, was reduced to £20.

In 1881, the Budget was produced a little earlier, and, as was to be expected, there was a considerable desire expressed in many quarters as to the nature of its contents. Times were bad; trade was dull; and there were many who regarded, and still regard, Mr. Gladstone as a magician whose magic wand is to restore peace and plenty to the land. Of course they are wrong so to regard their hero, but such is the way of the world, and, therefore, no one was surprised that when the Premier

took his seat, preparatory to unfolding his Budget for the year, the House and the galleries were alike full, and the attendance at prayers was of the most gratifying character. Amongst the peers who arrived early, and got good places, were Lord Dalhousie, the Earl of Rosebery, Earl Spencer, Lord Sherbrooke, Lord Aberdare, Lord O'Hagan, Lord Annaly, the Earl of Kenmare, and Lord Sandhurst. There were forty-three questions on the paper, many of them relating to Irish matters. There was, moreover, a certain restlessness among the Irish members, which seemed to portend the scene usual where Irish members are concerned. Mr. T. P. O'Connor attracted some attention by the persistence with which he stuck to the questions of which he had given notice; and Mr. MacJver was instrumental in bringing about something like a scene as he endeavoured to convert the President of the Board of Trade to the policy of protection. The questions were, however, over sooner than was anticipated. By ten minutes past five the last on the paper had been put and answered, and another quarter of an hour sufficed to get through the miscellaneous business.

The scene is thus described by a writer in the *Daily News* —

"The Speaker left the chair, and the Chairman of Committees assumed direction. The mace was removed from the table, and Mr. Gladstone was greeted with a loud and prolonged cheer when he approached to commence his eleventh Budget speech. At the outset he was careful to strike a minor key, which prevailed throughout his address. He was evidently anxious to prevent subsequent disappointment, by dispelling any idea that he was about to present a great prosperity Budget. There was, he showed, a beginning of the revival of prosperity, but it was not important or brilliant. Recurring to the alteration in the tax of malt established last year, he said that £205,000 less than was anticipated had been received from this source. This was due, in a large mea-

sure, to the fact that a full yield had not been acted on; but he announced that the 'mum' would be slightly augmented. What spruce beer might be Mr. Gladstone, amid much laughter, declared he did not know. But, at least, he had companions in his misfortune with respect to mum, of which no one in the Inland Revenue Office knew anything, except that it was imported and was subject to taxation. With respect to terminal annuities which fall in in 1885, and on which many Chancellors of the Exchequer have looked with longing eyes, Mr. Gladstone announced that it was not his intention to use a penny of the receipts for Ways and Means. It would be applied, in a way he described in detail, to the reduction of the National Debt.

"By way of further preparing the mind of the House for the modest proposals to be made, Mr. Gladstone read a statement showing that the process of prosperous advances by leaps and bounds had apparently reached a termination. During the period from 1842 to 1858, the population had increased at the rate of $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. per annum, the revenue had increased $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the expenditure $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. From 1859 to 1873 the population had increased per annum 1 per cent., the revenue 3 per cent., and the expenditure $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. From 1874 to 1877 we had reached the setting sun of prosperity. The population had increased 1 per cent. as before, but the revenue had increased only $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., whilst the expenditure had increased $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. From 1878, to March, 1880, the population had increased 1 per cent., the revenue had actually gone back $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., whereas expenditure continued to increase by $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Another proof of the check to the flow of national prosperity was shown in the case of the income tax. In 1842-3, when the income tax was first put on, a penny yielded £772,000. In 1852-3, £810,000; in 1853 to 1878 it had increased to the enormous sum of £1,990,000. Last year it had gone back,

for the first time since it was imposed, now yielding only £1,943,000.

"Thus far the Premier had proceeded by way of retrospect. His approach to the confines of the coming year was the signal for a manifest access of interest on the part of his auditory. The revenue for next year he estimated at £85,990,000, and the expenditure at £84,705,000, leaving 'an apparent surplus' of £1,285,000. The Premier was emphatic in his reiterated use of the word 'apparent.' An hon. member opposite, desirous of anticipating secrets, inquired whether this were taking the income tax at 6d. in the pound? Mr. Gladstone playfully answered that the matter had not escaped his attention; but he was not to be induced to part with his secret except in his own way. He did not long baulk curiosity in this matter. The sixth penny in the income tax was, he admitted, a temporary arrangement. It was a *cadeau* given to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enable him to make arrangements for the adjustment of the tax on beer. He did not regard it as his own, and, therefore, as a starting-point, he would abandon the sixth penny in the income tax, an announcement received with a burst of cheering, almost pathetic in its earnestness on the part of an audience which had begun to think they were going to get nothing at all. This deducted from 'the apparent surplus' would leave a natural deficiency of £275,000, which, he observed, was not a very favourable description of a starting-point on which to frame a Budget. Having got thus far, he diverged into a brief disquisition on the duty on silver plate, which, it appears, brings in only £48,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone was most anxious to abolish this forthwith, but there was the question of drawback, which was estimated at £170,000, beyond which amount there was an incalculable sum that might be fraudulently demanded. The duty was at the rate of 1s. 6d. an ounce. His proposal was to reduce it by 3d. an ounce every year until it expired. The next portion of the scheme was an adjustment

of surtax on foreign spirits. This will henceforward be charged at a uniform rate of 4d. upon the gallon of standard strength. The test of distillation to be applied. From this source Mr. Gladstone estimates a gain to the revenue of £180,000, though he was careful to explain to the House that it was on moral rather than financial grounds that he made this proposal. The new test would be more fair.

"There now remained one subject, and that the most important. It was alluded to by Mr. Gladstone as 'The Death Duties.' He was not about to propose any complete plan for dealing with these duties. Such a scheme would be so vast that it could be entered upon only by a Parliament with more elbow-room. He instanced as gross anomalies the total exemption from taxation of property in mortmain. He did not know how long Parliament and the country would endure this unparalleled anomaly, but the day for dealing with it would come, and, he added, amid cheers, not confined to the Ministerial benches, he hoped it would be dealt with by the present Parliament. Another anomaly was the difference in the eye of the revenue officer between settled and non-settled personality, which he, for the present, dismissed with strong denunciation. He proposed to introduce into the Bill an optional clause providing that whenever the revenue authorities, the executors, and the legatee so agreed, a probate duty of 5 per cent. instead of 2½ as now, should be paid upon the property, and that there should end the business. This was a proposal which, by exception, did not appear to recommend itself to the House. The Premier's principal proposal under this head was to abolish the one per cent. legacy duty, and to add one-half per cent. to the probate duty. Amid general demonstrations of approval, he dwelt upon the advantages accruing, one of which was that they get out of a vast amount of complication and trouble. Legacies under £20, which now pay no duty, would henceforth be taxed. With the object of further diminishing the trouble

in connection with heritage, the Premier proposed that in the case of small properties the legatee may go to the nearest revenue officer, and upon making affidavit that the gross effects do not exceed £300, he may, on payment of a total sum of £2 5s., meet all the charges of the State. From this readjustment of the succession duties, the right hon. gentleman looked for a gain of £390,000, which would leave him, in round figures, a surplus of £300,000.

The Premier, who had at no period struck out upon those flights of eloquence with which the House is accustomed to associate his Budget speeches, resumed his seat amid loud cheering, after having spoken for two hours and ten minutes. So little had he the oratorical purpose at heart, that having prosaically suggested procedure for dealing with the Budget resolutions, he was about to resume his seat without anything approaching a peroration. Nor did he greatly change this intention, though the few concluding remarks had something of pathos from his recalling the fact that this was the eleventh time he had presented a Budget to the House of Commons, and that it would probably be the last, a foreboding which drew forth loud cries of 'No, no!' Sir Stafford Northcote agreed with the Premier in the suggestion that discussion should be deferred till some early date after Easter, when the whole of the scheme would be before the House, and only a conversation, more desultory and briefer than usual, intervened between the conclusion of the speech and the passing of the resolutions on which the Budget Bill would be founded."

One point in Mr. Gladstone's Budget elicited expressions of surprise. The Excise Revenue for 1881-2 is estimated at £27,440,000, while the yield of Excise in the past financial year was only £25,300,000. The estimate of an increase of more than two millions in that branch of taxation, while the others, taken to be at a standstill, is thought over-sanguine. But those who had read or thought on the Revenue returns for the financial year ended March

31st had been prepared to expect something of the kind. The Beer tax explains everything. According to the Budget speech, the drawbacks on malt—that special and temporary charge to cover which the extra penny was put on the income tax—cost £1,312,000, while the delay caused to brewing operations by the hard winter reduced the income from beer by about £205,000. Presumably neither of these causes of loss will operate upon the current year's Excise, and it will be remembered that the beer duty, when it got into full swing, was expected to produce £350,000 more than the old malt tax. These three sums have, quite obviously, to be added together in estimating the probable increase this year under the head of beer, and the remaining increase in the Excise estimates may be ascribed to the general elasticity of that branch of revenue. Expressions of surprise at the augmented estimate are, therefore, the most surprising part of the matter.

Mr. Gladstone's inability to describe "spruce beer" must be as surprising to those veterans still among us whose memory extends back to the days of King George IV. as the darkness prevailing at the Inland Revenue Office on the subject of "mum" would have been to a "Parliament man" in the reign of Queen Anne. If we remember rightly, spruce beer—popularly reputed to be a fermented decoction of fir cones—plays a conspicuous part in Pierce Egan's amazingly popular "Life in London," with its famous coloured plates by Cruikshank, for it was a favourite refreshment in the days of "Jerry Hawthorn" and "Corinthian Tom," being accounted not only wholesome and refreshing, but, like "parmacity," a sovereign remedy for "an inward bruise." In old-established shell-fish shops round about the Haymarket, the words "spruce beer" may still be seen here and there in faded letters high up among yellow sharks' teeth, dusty stuffed sea-urchins, and other faded relics. Ginger beer, claiming fine stomachic qualities, partially superseded it soon after that time,

and since then, as everybody knows, artificially aerated drinks have sprung into fashion in bewildering variety.

Statesmen of Queen Anne's days not only knew very well what "mum" was, but were very determined to discourage its importation into this country, to which end the enormous duty of fifteen shillings per barrel was imposed upon it; for this double beer, or "Brunswick mum," was in such favour with drinkers throughout Europe that it was deemed a proper and a patriotic course to protect the English brewer to that extent. As early as the close of the sixteenth century the town of Rostock alone is said to have exported annually as much as 800,000 barrels. Our heavy customs duties and the improvement in our own brewing processes finally rendered mum an unknown beverage among us, though Pope in his "Dunciad," published in the early years of the reign of George II., speaks of "the clamorous crowd" as "hushed with mugs of mum." It is simply a strong ale, brewed—as ale in this country was brewed in ancient times—from malted wheat, with the addition, it is said, of oatmeal and ground beans.

The reader will remark that the era of romantic budgets had passed away; that the time had gone by when the national revenue jumped up by leaps and bounds; that bad seasons, loss of money in foreign loans, American competition had sadly damped the national spirits, and interfered with the flow of wealth to the national exchequer, and Mr. Gladstone had to cut his garment according to the cloth. In a leader the *Daily News* made, as it were, an apology for the Budget, and explained why it was not the brilliant and startling effect it might have been; why it proposed no great changes, no splendid financial reforms, and why there is nothing startling and bewitching about it. War had eaten up what might have been the substantial national surplus, out of which Mr. Gladstone would have been prepared to make liberal concessions to the taxpayers and the various industries of the country. We have to take the fact

to begin with, that the operations of the Army and Navy in India and the Transvaal for the last two years had cost us £8,381,000. But that is but a low estimate of our war expenditure, as subsequently Mr. Gladstone moved for a vote of five millions to be handed over to India for the purpose of helping to defray the expenses of the Afghan war, and it is not yet clear what we have had to pay for our Zulu and Transvaal campaigns. Our expenses in many departments also, it must be remembered, have considerably, and in some cases necessarily, increased. The increase in the expense of the Education Department will not be grumbled at by many people, and the additional cost of the ordnance survey seemed to be welcomed from all parts of the House. The fact, however, remains that our expenses have increased, our war expenses incredibly increased, during the last few years, and that the surplus is gone, which otherwise would have been at our disposal. And when expenses increase and receipts decrease, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have quite enough to do to make both ends meet, without any attempts at financial legerdemain. It was beyond the power of Mr. Gladstone either in 1880 or 1881 to effect any striking operations. The inheritance of war was still on him. He had to pay for the policy of his predecessors. The money is gone, and even Mr. Gladstone, with all his witchery in finance, can not recall it back into the national exchequer, and has not witchcraft enough to turn straws into gold. He made the best of the means at his disposal, and his main proposals met, as they were bound to do, with the cordial approbation of the House and the country.

"I have not prepared the House for a very brilliant or exhilarating state of things," said Mr. Gladstone when he had told his audience "of the manner in which war had drawn upon our resources; the partial, and only partial, recovery of the country from a long state of depression." The changes he has made are not great,

but they undoubtedly point to much greater changes yet to be made. Moreover, some of the questions which Mr. Gladstone put aside for the present, are put aside with the suggestion that comprehensive and important changes are to be made under more favourable circumstances. Mr. Gladstone proposed to give up what he called the additional penny of income tax conceded to him last year for the wants of a special occasion. This penny, as he put it, was but a loan or *cadeau* to the Government. Adopting the words of Ovid's Ulysses, he modestly declared he could not call such things his own. He therefore proposed to abandon that amount of taxation. This will leave him with a deficit of £275,000, because the whole of his apparent surplus was not much more than a million, and the removal of the penny from the income tax will represent the loss or £1,460,000. He made up this loss by an alteration in the arrangement of the legacy and probate duties, and a readjustment of the duty on foreign spirits. The alterations which he made in the legacy and probate duties received universal approval, because of their fairness and simplicity. They tend to relieve legatees of almost indescribable trouble and embarrassment. Lawyers who live on legatees, like Mr. Pell in *Pickwick*, will hardly have much reason to rejoice in the changes which Mr. Gladstone made, but the public in general are likely to be pleased with them, and to the poorer classes of legatees they are an unspeakable relief. Mr. Gladstone foreshadowed, when dealing with this part of his subject, the coming of great changes yet to be made both in regard to the settlement of land and in regard to property in mortmain. The indications that he gave of a hope that, even in the present Parliament, great movements may be made in these directions, but to the very useful, but very modest reforms, he introduced a greater importance than their own nature would claim for them. His object for the time being was to simplify what he spoke of as the Death Duties, a phrase we do not remember to

have heard before, and which we believe was new to most members of the House of Commons, but which is very likely indeed to be adopted in common parlance in future, and to impress the public mind with its grim and funereal realism. The alteration in the duty on silver plate was to encourage a manufacture for which India is specially fitted.

One of the subjects debated in the House of Commons, in the session of 1881, was that of Indian Finance. On one occasion Mr. Gladstone is reported to have spoken as follows:—

Mr. Gladstone congratulated the hon. and gallant member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) on the spirit of "optimism" which had characterised his speech, and which enabled him to draw from the most adverse circumstances a picture coloured by his own view of the case. In his deliberate judgment, the people of India had consented to the Afghan War, on the authority seemingly of documents said to be in the possession of the Viceroy. But whether that were so or no, the Viceroy, or his Council, represented but in the feeblest possible degree the feelings of the people of India. The hon. gentleman had declared that the people of India were most contented and happy—and if so he would have to suppose that the gross errors—and, he was afraid, something worse than errors—of the last three years had effaced the recollection in their minds of a previous period, which had been characterised by continual efforts on the part of a Liberal Government to promote the well-being of that great country. Then the hon. member for Guildford had spoken of the "welding together of the Indian people," which, according to him, had been effected by the recent war, and in proof he had said that there had been no expression of a feeling of discontent by the Native Press. This he (the member for Guildford) actually thought was a proof of his assertion. He (Mr. Gladstone) had no doubt of the integrity of mind of the hon. member, and when they had passed an Act to place the government

of the Native Press in India at the mercy of the Attorney-General as much as the Russian Press was at the mercy of the Czar—then when it became useless for the purpose of expressing the native feeling—he (the hon. member for Guildford) appealed to it in proof of his assertion of the prosperity and happiness of that people. The hon. member also seemed to think this attack on an established Mahomedan country was a mode of confirming our Empire over the hearts of the Mahomedans in India. He was sorry to record his very strong dissent from the doctrine of the hon. member, who here again showed his Optimist spirit, and when he spoke of "solid and substantial" excess in the revenue he marvelled at the sanguine temper of the hon. member, who, looking at an excess derived from opium, was able to describe that in the above terms. It should be a perpetual warning and caution to those engaged with Indian affairs how they dealt with the question, and they ought to carry along with them

this only too solid and substantial persuasion that the Indian revenue never could be solid and substantial so long as it was largely dependent on the opium trade. He (Mr. Gladstone) was of opinion that the hon. member for Hackney had completely made good his case. The right hon. gentleman then went on to express his indignation at the untruthful statements made, or reported to have been made, by the Viceroy, with regard to utterances alleged to have been made by the speaker, characterising the action of the Viceroy as the result of a habit of which he had seen only too many other instances himself and concluded with the fervent hope that, as the war had been described by the Government as in part an Imperial one, we ought not for a moment to shrink from the responsibility of assuming our fair share of the expenses of the same, and not to force the whole of that burden on the shoulders of the people of India. The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid applause.



CHAPTER XLIII.

THE SESSION OF 1881—SCENES IN THE HOUSE—THE IRISH OBSTRUCTIVES—THE BRADLAUGH INTERLUDE.



SCENES did the Houses of Parliament meet under a greater sense of responsibility than on the 1st of January, 1881, and the crowded state of the Houses, as well as the space devoted to the subject by the newspapers, was a clear indication how widely that feeling was participated in by the country at large. In the speech read by Royal Commission, it was stated that the House had been called at a period earlier than usual to the resumption of its labours, "as some affairs of more than common urgency demanded attention." The speech then proceeded to say:—

"My relations with Foreign Powers continue to be friendly and harmonious.

"The main question relating to the frontier between Turkey and Montenegro has been settled.

"The Powers are now engaged in communications which have in view the determination of the frontier between Turkey and Greece.

"Some important portions of the Treaty of Berlin, which have so long remained without fulfilment, continue to form an object of my anxious attention.

"A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority; and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives, which I had been desirous to confer.

"I regret that the war in Basutoland

still continues, notwithstanding the efforts of the Cape Government. It would cause me much satisfaction if a suitable occasion should present itself for friendly action on my part with a view to the restoration of peace.

"The war in Afghanistan has been brought to a close, and, with the exception of the Candahar force, my troops have been recalled within the Indian frontier. It is not my intention that the occupation of Candahar shall be permanently maintained; but the still unsettled condition of the country, and the consequent difficulty of establishing a Native Government, have delayed for a time the withdrawal of the army from that position.

"Papers on the several subjects to which I have adverted, as well as further correspondence on the Military Estimates of India, will be presented to you.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—The Estimates for the Services of the coming year are in a forward state of preparation, and will be speedily laid before you.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—There has been a gradual, though not very rapid, improvement in the trade of the country; and I am now able to entertain a more favourable expectation of the revenue for the year than I could form at its commencement.

"The anticipation, with which I last addressed you, of a great diminution of the distress in Ireland, owing to an abundant harvest, was realised; but I grieve to state that the social condition of the country has assumed an alarming character. Agrarian crimes in general have multiplied far beyond the experience of recent years.

Attempts upon life have not grown in the same proportion as other offences, but I must add that efforts have been made for personal protection, far beyond all former precedent, by the police, under the direction of the Executive. I have to notice other evils yet more widely spread; the administration of justice has been frustrated, with respect to these offences, through the impossibility of procuring evidence, and an extended system of terror has thus been established in various parts of the country which has paralysed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties.

"In a state of things new in some important respects, and hence with little of available guidance from former precedent, I have deemed it right steadily to put in use the ordinary powers of the law before making any new demand. But a demonstration of their insufficiency, amply supplied by the present circumstances of the country, leads me now to apprise you that proposals will be immediately submitted to you for entrusting me with additional powers, necessary in my judgment not only for the vindication of order and public law, but likewise to secure, on behalf of my subjects, protection for life and property, and personal liberty of action.

"Subject to the primary and imperious obligations to which I have just referred, I continue to desire, not less than heretofore, to prosecute the removal of grievance and the work of legislative improvement in Ireland as well as in Great Britain.

"The Irish Land Act of 1870 has been productive of great benefits, and has much contributed to the security and comparative well-being of the occupiers of the soil, without diminishing the value or disturbing the foundations of property. In some respects, however, and more particularly under the strain of recent and calamitous years, the protection which is supplied has not been found sufficient, either in Ulster or the other provinces.

"I recommend you to undertake the further development of its principles in a

manner conformable to the special wants of Ireland, both as regards the relation of landlord and tenant, and with a view to effective efforts for giving to a larger portion of the people by purchase a permanent proprietary interest in the soil. This legislation will require the removal, for the purposes in view, of all obstacles arising out of limitations on the ownership of property, with a due provision for the security of the interests involved.

"A measure will be submitted to you for the establishment of county government in Ireland, founded upon representative principles, and framed with the double aim of confirming popular control over expenditure, and of supplying a yet more serious want by extending the formation of habits of local self-government.

"Bills will be laid before you for the abolition of corporal punishment in the army and in the navy.

"You will be asked to consider measures for the further reform of the law of bankruptcy; for the conservancy of rivers and the prevention of floods; for revising the constitution of endowed schools and hospitals in Scotland; for the renewal of the Act which established secret voting; and for repressing the corrupt practices of which, in a limited number of towns, there were lamentable examples at the last general election.

"I trust that your labours, which will be even more than usually arduous, may be so guided by Divine Providence as to promote the happiness of my people."

In the debate which ensued, Mr. Gladstone showed himself as vigorous as ever, and replied very smartly to the criticisms of the Opposition leader, Sir Stafford Northcote. As usual at the commencement of a Parliamentary Session, there was a great deal of time wasted in personal discussion, in questions and notices of motion never intended to be seriously discussed; and, in many ways, indicative of a desire to harass Government rather than support it; to impede business rather than advance it. As much as possible was made out of the

Bradlaugh interlude, which, at one time, threatened rather serious consequences.

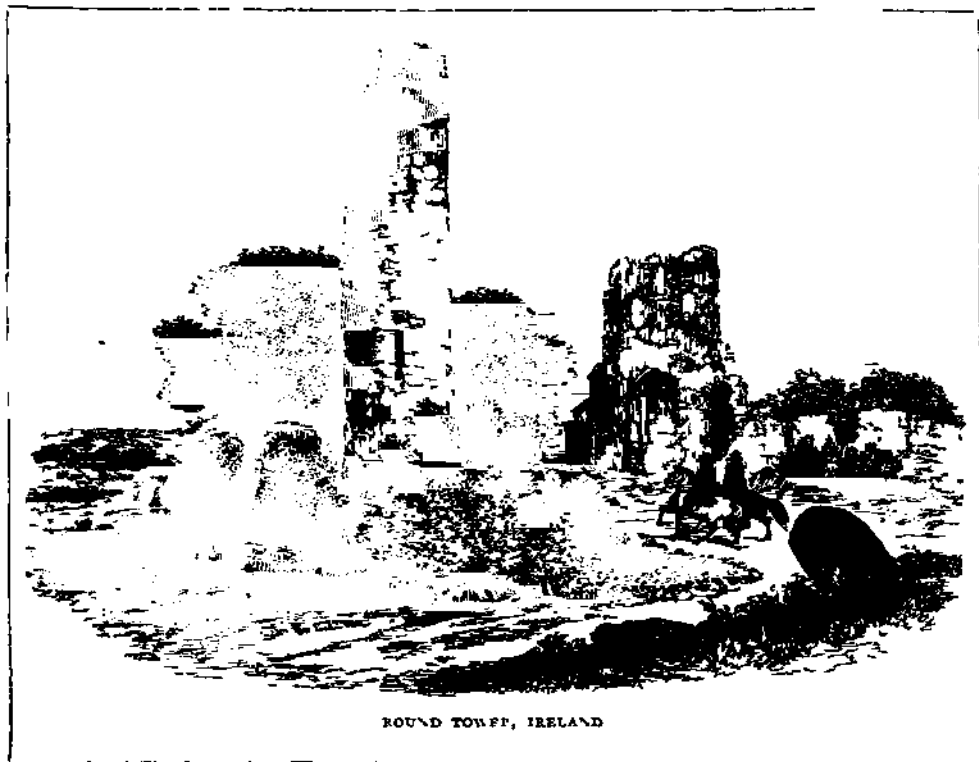
The first business of the session was the Coercion or Protection Bill, introduced by Mr. Forster. It is undeniable that the Bill was intended to curtail the liberty of miscreants, who not only fetter the free action of others, but compel their victims to obey their orders, by houghing their cattle, breaking into their houses, and shooting at their landlords. The statements read by Mr. Forster were of the most deplorable character. In Ireland, the law was set at naught, the land was ruled by the Land League and its emissaries. The case had a very simple aspect. If the promoters of the present discontent had carried their proceedings a step further, had organised their small parties into an army, and had actually broken out into rebellion, there would have been—there could have been—no question as to the necessity for suppressing that rebellion. But surely it is not to be contended that disloyalty must attain so large dimensions and assume the form of open war, before any extraordinary measures can be taken to prevent it. As Mr. Forster showed, we have every element of revolt except the actual placing of an army in array against the forces of the Queen. An authority independent of the Sovereign is established, and a machinery is in active operation, to enforce obedience to its decrees. It has its courts, which issue their summonses, try delinquents, pronounce sentences, and provide means for their execution. It has an army of agents scattered over various districts of the country, who go about in bands disturbing the quiet of well-disposed citizens, and punishing those who are guilty of paying their debts and obeying the law of the country. They prowl by night instead of marching by day; they wear masks and various disguises instead of appearing with open face; they act in small detachments, and not as a regularly organised army. But for all the purposes of terrorism they are as much an armed force of rebels as though they were the regiments of a regular

host. In short, we are in the presence of a revolt which is hardly veiled. Will it be maintained that until they unfurl the flag of rebellion and actually take the field, these men shall be at liberty to pursue a course of lawless violence, which means absolute cruelty to multitudes of law-abiding citizens who have no desire except to pass their lives in quietness, tilling their farms, paying their lawful debts, and discharging the ordinary duties of civilised society? Of course, these disturbers cannot be dealt with by martial law. That is the weapon reserved for open and armed rebellion. But surely there ought to be some other method of suppressing disorders such as those which disgrace a certain section of the Irish population at present. Their terrorism practically prevents the fair operation of the ordinary laws, yet they have not taken that overt procedure which alone would justify a resort to the extreme measures necessary to put down armed resistance, and justifiable only when such resistance is offered. Is there, then, no intermediate course between these two which even a Liberal Government might adopt, without any compromise of their special principles? The Bill introduced by Mr. Forster was the answer to the question, and to most minds it is one that was perfectly satisfactory.

There is one aspect of the matter which seemed to have escaped the notice of the assailants of this measure. It was generally treated as a matter between the English Government and the Irish Land League, whereas the parties most deeply interested were the honest and peaceful citizens; the men who were doing their duty and improving the country; whose property was injured, and whose lives were in peril. These innocent people, who suddenly found the whole comfort of life broken up by ruffians, who are determined on injuring them, simply because they obey the laws, have a right to demand a protection which no government could refuse without an abrogation of its ordinary duties. It was true that many who suffered from

these outrages refused to give such information as might lead to the conviction of the offender, but this was only one of the many results of the terrorism at work, and instead of supplying an answer to their demand, only constitutes another argument in its support. A condition of things by which the miserable victims of this lawless violence

the Government did not purpose to interfere with the political privileges of the people; the right of free speech, whether on the platform or from the Press, remained as it was, limited only by the condition that there shall be nothing tending to a breach of the law. All legal means for the attainment of legal ends were still available



ROUND TOWER, IRELAND

are held in such abject fear that they dare not even seek the punishment of those who have done them this cruel wrong, is a scandal to the rulers, as well as an oppression to its subjects. If there be not personal freedom, the boast of political liberty is a hollow sham.

In this light it may be remarked that

to the Land League. It could still hold public meetings, and send its representatives to Parliament. The object of Mr. Forster's Act was to get at the enemies of public order and political loyalty. If his trenchant dealing with them interfered with the success of the Land League, so much the worse for them. In reality, the Bill

was a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for eighteen months. This has, no doubt, a harsh sound, and at first seemed to invest the Ministry with very sweeping powers. But these powers are limited by being exercised under conditions, and under the surveillance of public opinion, which will certainly not be allowed to relax its vigilance so long as Mr. Parnell and his friends are in the House of Commons. Well might Mr. Forster pathetically exclaim, "If I had thought that this duty would devolve on me as Irish Secretary, I would never have held this office. If I could have foreseen that this would be the result of twenty years of parliamentary life I would have left Parliament rather than have undertaken it." A statesman who thus speaks is not the man to abuse the power he had so reluctantly sought. But, at all events, reasonable men who disliked his propositions were bound to suggest some other way of remedying disorder, and this they failed to do. The existing state of things was simply intolerable, as much so as the condition to which the obstructives sought to introduce into the House of Commons. It was very unpleasant to employ measures contrary to all Liberal traditions in either case, but the blame rested not upon those by whom they were proposed, but on those who had created the necessity of saving liberty itself from men who confound it with license, and seemed utterly unable to comprehend the conditions by which great free states can preserve their institutions. The Radical members in this unfortunate business seemed very much inclined to side with the Irish members. The latter, of course, managed so to obstruct the business of the House, that it was found necessary to pass a resolution giving the House power, when a question had been declared one of urgency, to put down all opposition by naming members when they refused to obey the ruling of the Speaker, and to suspend them from attending the sitting for that evening; and, if necessary, that is, if the action were repeated, so that the member

had to be named a certain number of times, he was to be suspended from attendance during the remainder of the session. It is to be regretted that this action on the part of the House seemed to have had but little effect. However, there was no help for it, as all-night sittings and the everlasting speeches of Irish M.P.'s, all the same old story, threatened to put a stop to all parliamentary government 'whatever. It must be acknowledged that in the enforcement of this new order, and in the passing of the Coercion Bill, the Conservatives gave the Premier and his Government a far heartier support than did the rank and file of their parliamentary followers.

In the early part of February the disorder in Parliament reached its crisis, which was only terminated after a sitting of forty-one hours, by the Speaker's *coup de état*. It appeared one night the Speaker retired at midnight, and was succeeded by Dr. Lyon Playfair. As the night waned the Irish obstructives grew more and more reckless, and the demand that they should be stopped became more and more imperative from the Opposition benches. The Deputy Speaker, knowing probably that decisive measures were contemplated, put aside these appeals, and at length Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. W. H. Smith, and others, left the House, greatly exasperated, in a body. This only encouraged the Home Rulers, who went on with their disorderly work during the small hours of the morning, whilst relays of Liberal Members arrived from time to time. Mr. Sexton announced that the Irish M.P.'s would continue to meet the Government with an uncompromising refusal to accept their measure of coercion, and were ready to fight them foot to foot and inch by inch. He spoke for two hours and three-quarters, and was followed by Mr. Biggar. At this time (8 A.M.) the House presented a very begrimed and disorderly appearance, the floor being covered with torn letters and papers. The Irish benches were covered with the materials of obstruction in the form of volumes of Hansard Blue-books

and cuttings from newspapers. But there were only four members of the party present. On the Treasury Bench were the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. Forster, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Courtney, and the Solicitor-General. Facing them were Sir R. Cross, Colonel Stanley, Mr. W. H. Smith, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and Lord George Hamilton. The whole number of members present had dwindled down to forty. At a quarter to nine there was still sufficient vigour left to raise a cheer on the approach of Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Biggar proceeded without interruption until nine o'clock, when his remarks were prematurely brought to a close by the entrance of the Speaker, who was received with cheers, the House immediately filling in the expectation of something unusual. Nor had members long to wait. The Speaker said the motion for leave to bring in the Bill for the Protection of Property and Life in Ireland had now been under discussion for about five days, the present sitting having commenced on Monday last at four o'clock, and continued until this (Wednesday) morning, a period of forty-one hours, the House having been occupied with discussions upon repeated motions for adjournment. However tedious these discussions, the motions have been supported by small minorities in opposition to the general sense of the House. A crisis has now arisen which demands the prompt interposition of the Chair and the House. The Speaker intimated that at once action was necessary, reserving future measures for the preservation of order to the consideration of the House at a more convenient season.

The Speaker at once put the question to the House, and Dr. Lyon's amendment, which proposed that remedial measures should precede coercive legislation, was rejected by 164 to 19 votes.

The Speaker, immediately upon announcing the figures, proceeded to put the original question, when Mr. Justin McCarthy rose in his place, and the other Irish members

followed his example. Amid a scene of great excitement, they shouted in chorus "Privilege!" and continued to do so for several seconds. They occupied the two seats immediately above the front bench below the gangway, and, Mr. Justice McCarthy taking the lead, they stepped down the gangway, and, bowing one after the other with much solemnity and evident anger to the Speaker, walked out of the House. The Speaker, who had remained standing during the scene, put the original motion to the House, which was carried without dissent. Mr. Forster then, amid cheers, brought in his Bill, which was immediately read a first time, and the second reading was put down for twelve o'clock.

Mr. Gladstone gave notice of the resolution relative to the business of the House that he should move on the following day, and the House adjourned at half-past nine o'clock, after a forty-one hours' sitting, the longest on record.

Of the proceedings of the subsequent sittings from twelve to six, it is only necessary to state that the Speaker, in reply to Mr. Labouchere, who wanted to know whether, in closing the debate early in the morning, he was acting under any standing order, stated, amid loud and prolonged cheers, that he was acting on his own responsibility, and from a sense of duty to the House. Mr. Parnell thereupon proposed to move that the action of the Speaker was a breach of privilege, but the Speaker said it was not a question of privilege at all, but one of order, and could only be questioned on a specific motion. Mr. M. A. Sullivan then moved the adjournment of the House in a long and impassioned speech, and a long debate ensued, in which Mr. Gladstone and many others took part. A little before six the division was taken, when Mr. Sullivan's motion was rejected by 278 to 44, the Home Rulers giving vent to their feelings as they left the House, by indulging in lusty cheers. On Thursday, the following day, the scene which ensued was still more exciting. Business proceeded quietly enough, though

it was evident, to the most careless observer, that there was an unusual number of constables present, till the questions on the notice paper were answered, but the calm that precedes a storm was broken when Mr. Parnell put a question to the Home Secretary which elicited the information, till then unknown to most members, that Michael Davitt had been arrested. A spontaneous outburst of cheers came from both sides of the House, mingled with the loud and angry cries of "Shame" from the Irish members. Mr. Davitt was a convict enjoying the clemency of the Crown, said Lord Hartington. He had abused that clemency, and his ticket-of-leave would be cancelled. Mr. Parnell asked what were the conditions of the ticket-of-leave that had been violated, but no reply came from the Treasury Bench. "Answer, answer!" cried the Irish members. "No, no!" was shouted out on both sides. Then the Speaker called upon Mr. Gladstone, but he had scarcely commenced when Mr. Dillon rose and was directed by the Speaker to sit down. But the hon. member said, "I rise to a point of order," and he remained standing, with folded arms and gleaming eyes. "Order, order!" vociferated hundreds of hon. members. Others, the friends of the new system of happy despatch, yelled, "Name, name!" Still Mr. Dillon stood, looking like another Ajax defying the lightning, only a trifle less classical. The Speaker sat down, but it was understood that he had "named" the wilful and persistent obstructor. Mr. Gladstone was seen leaning on the table, pale and careworn, and those who were close enough to hear could faintly distinguish the voice of the right hon. member, who was moving the suspension of Mr. Dillon for the remainder of the sitting. "This was succeeded by a perfect thunder of "Ayes," followed by a vigorous "No" from the Home Rulers. When the time for taking the division came, the latter body seemed divided in counsel and undetermined as to their course. They retained their seats for awhile, and it looked as if

they would refuse to take any part in the division. Ultimately, however, and apparently under an impulse, they rose from their benches and voted. Then followed the request to Mr. Dillon to withdraw, which he refused to obey, the result being his removal by the Sergeant-at-Arms.

For a short period (we quote the sketch of the proceedings in the *Pall Mall Gazette*) it was uncertain whether the matter would not remain at this point, and the sitting be allowed to proceed after the suspension of a single member; but the rise of Mr. Parnell, with the proposition that 'Mr. Gladstone be no longer heard, soon showed that the House was in for serious work. By this time the Home Rulers had had an opportunity for arriving at a plan of combined action, and when the division upon their leader's suspension was called, they refused to quit their seats. The Speaker was thus left alone with his enemies, and the deserted and tranquil appearance of the House might have encouraged the illusion that the storm of passion had subsided and given place to perfect quiet. The exchange of words between the Chair and the Parnellites was mild and courteous. They declined to vote, and in a calm tone the Speaker warned them of the consequences. At first punishment was delayed; but when, on the division relating to Mr. Finigan's suspension, which followed, they still refused to divide, the Clerk at the table took their names and handed them to the Speaker. The majority of the House had fallen from fever-heat to a state of comparative good humour, if not of amusement. Mr. Gladstone, however, remained grave, and stood up to propose the suspension of all the disobedient members, whose names were read out from the Chair, the motion being put amid much diminished excitement. Then came the work of calling out the names in turn, of listening to the individual protests against removal except by force, and the departure from the House. Even in this somewhat monotonous proceeding there was room left for a variety

of incident. Some of the members were content with being touched on the shoulder by the Sergeant-at-Arms; while others, more obstinate, insisted on a show of considerable force. The most prominent among the latter was Mr. Metge, a young Protestant landlord like Mr. Parnell, and evidently sharing his leader's intensity of political feeling. He stubbornly remained in his seat until Captain Gosset had called four of the attendants of the House to his aid. There was, naturally enough, a laugh when the Rev. Mr. Nelson, a gentleman with white hair and seventy winters, confronted the Sergeant, who looked about the same age, and the spectacle of one old gentleman attempting to resist the other, was certainly somewhat ludicrous. The appearance of the attendants, who came into the House in Indian file to assist in the work of expulsion, was not impressive, but was irresistibly suggestive of the depressed and perfunctory aid of the theatrical super. The protests of the expelled members varied slightly, and there was also a difference in the manner of their exit. Some hurried away, while others followed the example of Mr. Parnell, and bowed with gravity to the Chair. The demeanour of the House varied for a moment to moment: sometimes it laughed, sometimes it cheered, finally it settled down into allowing the incident to pass off in grave silence. The following were the members suspended:—Messrs. Dillon, Parnell, Finigan, Barry, Biggar, Byrne, Corbet, Daly, Dawson, Gill, Healy, Lalor, Leamy, Leaky, Leahy, M'Carthy, Metge, Marum, A. O'Connor, T. P. O'Connor, O'Donoghue, O'Gorman Mahon, Gray, Nelson, O'Sullivan, O'Connor Power, Redmond, Sexton, Smethwick, A. Sullivan, Molloy, O'Kelly, R. Power, O'Donnell, and O'Shaughnessy.

Calm having been restored, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to move his resolution, which he said was to increase the power of the House in the discharge of its duties. During the last four weeks no progress had been made, and the time was irrecoverably gone. Her Majesty's speech had pointed out that the affairs of Ireland demanded

the prompt attention of the House, and yet only one step had been taken in the direction indicated. He thanked honourable gentlemen opposite, and others who had so unselfishly aided the Government, as far as they could, by making way for the business put before the House. He was glad to say that 500 members of the House had repeatedly and consistently voted against obstruction, but the time of the House had, nevertheless, been wasted by speeches unlimited in quantity and in the number of repetitions. Whence had this obstruction come? It was not from the representatives of either Scotland, Wales, or England, there being but one casual representative of the last-named country who had taken share in the obstruction. As to the Irish members, the number who obstructed was but forty-six. Mr. Gladstone then moved his resolution. According to one report, Mr. Gladstone, who looked very worn, and scarcely able to stand, when he commenced his address all traces of weariness passed away as he continued his speech, and before he had finished, he had added another to the long list of his triumphs of oratory. The peroration in which he appealed to the House to uphold its dignity and traditions was exceedingly fine, and drew forth enthusiastic cheers, not only from Liberals, but from Tories who had perhaps never cheered Mr. Gladstone before. Sir Stafford Northcote's speech was tame after Mr. Gladstone's, but a burst of cheers hailed his expression of an earnest hope that the House might be able to come to an agreement here and now. Still more hearty was the response to his tribute to the impartiality, firmness, and discretion of the Speaker, and the gallantry with which he had borne the great personal strain and fatigue of the last few weeks. He moved an amendment, which was adopted by Government, a statement of the reasons why urgency was required. After further explanations from Mr. Gladstone, the adjournment of the debate was moved by Mr. Mitchell-Henry, and seconded by Sir J. McKenna, led to a lively debate, in the

THE DEER AND DEERHORN OF CONNAUGHT.



course of which Mr. Cowen pleaded with the House not to legislate in heat and passion against their absent friends; and Lord Hartington absolutely denied, amid loud cheers, the assertion of Mr. Cowen that the late Government had only received a lukewarm support from the Liberal Opposition in dealing with Obstruction. After some bodeful words of warning from Mr. Labouchere, the adjournment was rejected by 371 to 38. Two amendments were then agreed to; and a brief discussion, terminated by another division, took place as to whether 225 or 300 members should be the minimum majority by which urgency could be voted. The Conservatives, reinforced by Mr. Gourley, Mr. Thomasson, and Mr. Mitchell-Henry, went into the lobby in favour of the higher number, but they were defeated by 234 to 156. The resolution was then agreed to, and a proviso suggested by Sir Stafford Northcote limiting urgency to the Bill for which it was granted. Mr. Gladstone then made the required declaration as a Minister of the Crown that the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Bill was urgent, and that it was of public importance that the same should be proceeded with without delay. The second resolution was carried unanimously amid tumultuous cheering from all parts of the House, and then at a few minutes past two this memorable sitting of the House of Commons came to a close. It is stated that the Duchess of Connaught the Duchess of Edinburgh, Lady Granville, and Mrs. Gladstone, witnessed the whole scene from the Ladies' Gallery.

The following is the text of Mr. Gladstone's resolution respecting the business of the House, as finally adopted, with the amendments incorporated:—

"That, if upon notice given, a motion be made by a Minister of the Crown that the state of public business is urgent, upon which motion such Minister shall declare in his place that any Bill, motion, or other question then before the House is urgent, and that it is of importance to the public interest that the same should be proceeded

with without delay, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, no debate, amendment, or adjournment being allowed, and if on the voices being given he shall without doubt perceive that the 'Noes' have it, his decision shall not be challenged, but if otherwise a division may be forthwith taken, and if the question be resolved in the affirmative, by a majority of not less than three to one in a House of not less than 300 members, the powers of the House for the regulation of its business upon the several stages of Bills and upon motions and all other matters shall be and remain with the Speaker for the purpose of proceeding with such Bill, motion, or other question until the Speaker shall declare that the state of public business is no longer urgent, or until the House shall so determine upon a motion which, after notice given, may be made by any member, put without amendment, adjournment, or debate, and decided by a majority."

In the division on the question of suspending Mr. Dillon, the only English members who voted in the minority of 33 were Mr. Cowen and Mr. Labouchere. The minority of seven against the suspension of Mr. Parnell comprised Messrs. O'Shea, Callan, Cowen, Labouchere, P. Martin, M'Kenna, and Synan. On the third division for the suspension of Mr. Finigan, Messrs. M'Kenna and Callan constituted the minority of two. Messrs. Cowen, Callan, Labouchere, Macdonald, M'Farlane, and M'Kenna composed the minority of six against the expulsion of the twenty-eight members. Against Mr. O'Donnell's expulsion, Major Nolan alone voted.

Among the thirty members (including tellers) who voted for Mr. Mitchell-Henry's motion for the adjournment of the debate were the following seventeen English members, eight Conservatives, and nine Liberals:—Mr. Aylmer, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. H. Chaplin, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. J. Cowen, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Labouchere, Earl Percy, Mr. E. Smith, Mr. Summers, Mr. Thomasson, Mr. T. C. Thompson, Lord H. Thynne, Sir H.

D. Wolff, Mr. W. Woodall, and Mr. A. Dilke (teller).

In the division on Sir Stafford Northcote's amendment—that the majority which should decide the question of the urgency of public business should consist of not less than 300 members—the minority (152, including tellers) consisted almost wholly of Conservatives. Mr. E. T. Gourley and Mr. Thomasson were the only English Liberals who voted with them. Several Irish members voted in the minority: Messrs. Brooks, Callan, Mitchell-Henry, Lewis, Sir J. M'Kenna, P. Martin, A. Moore, Mulholland, Nolan, D. O'Connor, O'Shea, Shaw, Synan, and A. L. Tottenham. Mr. Cowen and Mr. Labouchere did not vote. Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Gabbett, Mr. Givan, Mr. Litton, Dr. Lyons, Mr. Meldon, Major O'Beirne, and Mr. T. C. Thompson voted in the majority.

It appears by the official return of the number of divisions taken during the session, that the following hon. gentlemen (33) were suspended:—Mr. Dillon, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Finigan, Mr. Barry, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Byrne, Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Daly, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Gill, Mr. Edmond Gray, Mr. Healy, Mr. Lalor, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Marum, Mr. Metge, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, The O'Donoghue, The O'Gorman Mahon, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Smithwick, Mr. Alexander Sullivan, Mr. Timothy Sullivan, Mr. O'Donnell, and Mr. O'Kelly.

Amongst the miscellaneous business of the session, was a vote proposed by Lord Hartington to General Haines, for the ability with which he conducted the Indian campaign from September, 1879, to September, 1880; to Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Martin Stewart; Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Onesiphorous Bright; Major-General Sir John Ross; Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts; Major-General Sir James Hill; Major-General Sir Robert Phayre; Major-General John Watson, and the other officers of the army, both Euro-

pean and native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance displayed by them in the military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions during the late campaign; and to the non-commissioned officers, both native and European, for the valour and perseverance displayed by them. An Irish M.P., Mr. Healy, who was received with groans, moved the following amendment:—"That this House, disapproving of the Afghan war as needless and unjust, considers it inexpedient to return thanks to officers or soldiers for slaying a number of people with whom we had no righteous quarrel, and devastating their country." The amendment having been seconded by another M.P., Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Gladstone said:—"I am sorry, sir, that any occasion should have arisen to call on me to give the House the idea that I thought anything was necessary to be added to what was stated by my noble friend near me, and by my right hon. friend who seconded the motion. But I do wish respectfully, but earnestly, to deprecate a division on this occasion. I would say to the hon. gentleman, that in one respect I sympathise with him, if he thinks some disparagement has been thrown on the important measure relating to the tenure of land in Ireland by allowing precedence to the subject before the House. I assure the hon. member that if he examines the annals of this House, he will find that it has been usual upon every occasion, even when the most vital subjects had been under discussion, to allow prior consideration to be given to motions of this kind, having in view the graceful and complete rendering of a just honour to our soldiers. It is assumed that such motions will require a very short time, and it is also felt that to give them the most marked and prominent position in the proceedings of this House is the mode in which we would desire to give that which, after all, is nothing but an honorary gift, in order that it may have its greatest value. On that account I hope the hon. member will not suppose that, in this proceeding,

we have attempted in the slightest degree to derogate from the importance of that subject to which he has referred. I am authorised to say that nothing could be further from the intention of my noble friend than to cast any slight upon the desperate valour which has been shown by the Mahometan population of Afghanistan in defending, as they conceive, the religion of their country. The word fanatical is a word which describes enthusiasm carried to an extreme, and which is well known to characterise both religion and conduct in the East, in a manner so traditional and historical, that the use of the epithet does not convey the slightest discredit. On the contrary, I believe that we who sit in this House should not rest satisfied with merely expressing a negative or a neutral opinion, and that while we deeply regret the occasion for a collision arising, we can truly honour in our hearts and minds the inspiring exercise of valour wherever we find it. In the same way I wish to say that the omission in this motion of specific nominal reference to the native forces is entirely due to the observation of strict rule and precedent in the case; and I certainly am of opinion, and I believe it is the general opinion, that in all matters of this kind the observance of rule and precedent is a matter of practical prudence, tending both to the dignity and safety of proceedings such as that in which we are now engaged. On the question of the motion itself, I hope the hon. member will feel that he has fully discharged his duty by the protest which he has made. He felt himself compelled to make a protest, and he has made it; but why should he persist in carrying some few members of this House into the division lobby with no other possible effect but that of detracting from the grace and kindness which it is desired by nearly every member of the House to show? Surely the hon. member cannot think that the gratitude of this House to the army in the field ought to depend upon the degree of approval or disapproval with which it may regard the policy which that army has been called upon to give effect

to. Deplorable indeed would the position of the soldier be, considering the enormous efforts, considering the sacrifices which he has to make in the performance of his duty in the field, if he found that he would be judged by his country, not according to his own conduct, or the manner in which he had fulfilled his covenant with the sovereign, not by the manner in which he had displayed even the very noblest qualities which war, with all its miseries, is calculated to produce; but that he was to be tried by another standard, viz., the rectitude of the judgment or the purity of the judgment of those who had ordered him into the field, and for whose error, if error it was, he was to be the sufferer. Such a doctrine would not bear examination for one moment at the tribunal of common-sense, and I do earnestly and respectfully submit to the hon. member that he would do no disparagement to himself, and would greatly promote the general wish of the House, if, content with his protest, he will withdraw his motion, and allow this to be a unanimous vote."

The real business of that evening in the House of Commons was, however, foreshadowed in the questions addressed by Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sullivan, and one or two others, to Mr. Gladstone and to Mr. Forster before Lord Hartington rose to move his vote of thanks. Mr. Forster, in replying to a question of Mr. O'Kelly, volunteered the statement that if the Land League would decide on advising tenants who were able to pay to do so, there would be a great diminution in the cases of ejection. This observation prompted Mr. Parnell to inquire whether, if the leaders of the Land League would advise those tenants who were able to pay, to do so, the Government would protect honestly indigent tenants from eviction? Mr. Forster, in his answer, committed himself as little as possible. "If," he said, "the Government saw any probability, or had any reason to believe, that this counsel would be really given, the whole question would be very much altered." After this, the Irish members were very

naturally anxious to pin the Chief Secretary to something more definite, and Mr. Parnell announced that if Mr. Forster would give the required understanding, he would give the specified advice. Presently Mr. Gladstone spoke much to the same effect as the Chief Secretary. "The matter," he said, in answer to Mr. A. M. Sullivan, "claimed, and would receive, the best attention of the Government, who would be glad to receive any further information on the subject." The interchange of these remarks suggested to a writer in the *Standard* the basis of an understanding between the Government and the Irish members on the subject of the Land Bill. The importance of this statement, the writer in question claimed, could not be missed. The resolution of the Home Rule Party was, however, not affected by this pretended negotiation. At the moment of this pretended negotiation, Mr. Parnell gave notice of an amendment on the second reading of the Land Bill, to the effect that the measure fails to secure a reduction of rents to tenant farmers; that it leaves evicted or rack-rented tenants in a defenceless position, and affords no guarantees for checking monopoly in land, or for making vacant spaces available for the labouring population.

The exposition of the principles of the Land Bill in Mr. Gladstone's speech before Easter, was generally admitted to be a most complete and adequate performance. He showed what the question was with which Parliament had to deal, exonerating the main body of Irish landlords, but insisting on the necessity of relieving tenants from insecurity. The Bill proposed to give every tenant the right to sell his interest in the open market, and to protect the interest thus made saleable, the intervention of a court was to be resorted to, through which a fair rent might be fixed, and the occupier practically be placed in the position of a statutory leaseholder for a fifteen years' term. The landlord was not given direct access to the court, on the ground that by raising the rent he could

force the tenant, in case of dispute, to have their relations judicially settled. The mode of fixing the fair rent, over which Mr. Gladstone passed lightly, was afterwards most keenly criticised. The provisions touching the purchase of tenants' holdings, the reclamation of waste lands, and emigration, were thrown somewhat into the background by the Prime Minister. The impression at first produced, says the *Times*, was that the measure was not only most ingenious and elaborate, but that there was not much room for effective criticism upon it. During the recess, however, the flood-gates of controversy were opened, and a vast amount of special knowledge and trained acumen were expended in pointing out flaws and weakness.

A writer in the *Daily News* thus describes the scene in the House of Commons, on the occasion of the introduction of the Land Bill. Among the ladies in the gallery who came to listen, were the Duchess of Teck, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Lady Rosebery, Lady Spencer, and Lady Richard Grosvenor.

"The House of Commons was, if possible, more crowded yesterday than on Monday last, when Mr. Gladstone brought in his Budget. From the hour the Speaker took the chair every seat on the floor of the House was occupied, members coming later finding it necessary to take their seats in the galleries flanking the House. Both of these were filled, more particularly that facing the Treasury bench. In the galleries allotted to the peers were, amongst others, the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Rosebery, Lord Sherbrooke, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Kenmare, Lord O'Hagan, Lord Dunraven, Lord Colville of Culross, Lord Aberdare, Lord Annaly, and Lord Dalhousie.

"The preliminary proceedings were greatly prolonged, there being exactly half a hundred questions on the paper, and these were supplemented by many others put without notice. Much interest was displayed in the fortunes of a question of

which Lord Randolph Churchill had given notice. The noble lord asked the Attorney-General whether it was the fact that two members of the Government had contributed to the support of the *Freiheit*, and whether it was intended to include these gentlemen in the criminal proceedings now being carried on against that newspaper. The Attorney-General said Lord Randolph Churchill had frankly informed him that the two members to whom he alluded were Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Brassey. He had to state, on their authority, that the suggestion was entirely without foundation. He presumed that some person had imposed upon the noble lord. He had to ask, on behalf of his two colleagues, that Lord Randolph Churchill would place in the hands of the Law Officers of the Crown the sources and nature of the information on which he had brought so grave, so groundless, and so reckless a charge. This challenge was received with prolonged cheers, in which many members on the Opposition benches joined. Lord Randolph Churchill begged to inform the House that his informant was Mr. Maltman Barry, who was prepared to state at the Bar of the House that he had received a subscription from Sir Charles Dilke, and the Treasurer of the *Freiheit* newspaper was also prepared to come forward and state that a subscription had been handed to him with a request that it should be acknowledged under an assumed name. This explanation being received with derisive cries, Lord Randolph Churchill observed that he would not further occupy the time of the House, but would to-day make a personal explanation. The Attorney-General pointed out that he had made no reference to Mr. Brassey, whereupon the noble lord further explained that Mr. Brassey had not contributed to the maintenance of the *Freiheit*, but to the election expenses of Herr Most when he offered himself at the last general election in Germany. Sir Charles Dilke, coming forward to the table, was received with loud cheers. He briefly stated that he

had never seen the *Freiheit*, and had never heard of it till the article on the assassination of the Czar had called public attention to it. In these circumstances he need hardly add that the statement on which Lord Randolph Churchill relied was utterly untrue. Lord Randolph Churchill, rising again, observed that he was very glad to hear this, and expected to receive the thanks of Sir Charles Dilke for supplying him with this opportunity of clearing himself against a serious charge. This way of looking at the matter was met with indignant cries from the benches opposite, amid which the noble lord resumed his seat, and the subject dropped.

"It was ten minutes to six when Mr. Gladstone rose to move for leave to bring in the Irish Land Bill. He was greeted with loud and continued cheering from the Ministerial benches, and with some cheers from hon. gentlemen opposite. Commencing his speech in measured tones, he explained the grounds on which the Government had thought it necessary to proceed to legislation on the Irish Land question. It was not on account of the harshness of the Irish land laws, nor on the ground of general misconduct on the part of the Irish landlords. They had stood their trial on that count, and had been acquitted. The grounds on which the Government proceeded were, first, that the old and standing evil in Ireland—that land hunger, which might not be described as an infirmity of the people, but really meant land scarcity—had received fresh development. In the second place, the Irish Land Bill, he, as the author of it, admitted with regret, had failed, partly because of alterations made after it had left the Commons, and partly from inherent faults in its construction. Lastly, it must be admitted that a limited number of the class of Irish landlords had distinguished themselves by conduct differing from that of the majority—an admission greeted with loud cheers from the Irish members. The Premier next proceeded to discuss the guidance to which the Government had to look in framing

the Bill. Two Commissions had been appointed, one by the late Government and one by the present, and these had produced a collection — 'he might almost say a litter' — of reports. These he lightly ran through, paying a passing compliment to Mr. Kavanagh, and dealing a gentle blow at Mr. Bonamy Price, who alone had had the courage to apply the principles of economy in the abstract, and had proposed to legislate for the people of Ireland as if they were inhabitants of Saturn or Jupiter. These preliminary remarks extended over little more than half an hour. The Premier next proceeded to describe the principle of the Bill as finally determined upon. At the outset he announced that there would be embodied in it the principle which he called 'assignment,' but which he admitted was better known as free sale. The right of assignment was for many reasons especially claimed for the Irish tenant. It was rooted in the law, and its necessity was admitted by the Royal Commission. Where it already existed it was of immense political advantage, as was shown in the cases of Mayo, Galway, and Donegal. Only the latter county, having the right of assignment, kept quiet during the disturbance which last year affected the West of Ireland. He also announced in this part of his speech that a Court would be constituted to take cognisance of rent. Should this be optional or universally compulsory? This question Mr. Gladstone discussed at some length, finally arriving at the conclusion that it should be optional. To this conclusion he was urged by many reasons. One was, that to make recourse to the Court compulsory would be to introduce the principle of centralisation, and Irishmen wanted, above all things, self-government. The use of this phrase drew forth cheers from the Home Rulers, which Mr. Gladstone smilingly answered by adding that 'the Irish want that which the Scotch have got,' a retort which drew forth general cheering.

"Access to the Court would be left perfectly free, so that any tenant of Ireland

might go into it, from the humblest to the greatest. The main purpose in the Court would be to fix a judicial rent. This fixed, the tenant would remain in possession for a statutory term of fifteen years, during which there would be no power of eviction or resumption by the landlord, except in case of breach of covenant or non-payment of rent. At the conclusion of fifteen years application might be made for a renewal of the holding. This applied to tenants who place themselves under the Act. 'Ordinary tenants,' as Mr. Gladstone termed them, meaning tenants who did not place themselves under the Act, would be invested from the day of the passing of the Act with the right of free sale. If such a tenant accepted an increase of rent, it could not be increased again for a term of fifteen years. If he refused to pay, he might sell his tenant-right, claiming from the landlord, as compensation for the reduced price it would bring in view of the increased rent, ten times the proposed addition. He would also have the right of compensation for disturbance and improvements, and, finally, might go into court and demand to have a judicial rent fixed.

"With respect to the Ulster Custom, tenants living under it might remain as they are now, whilst they would have the operation of the Act for controlling demands for augmentation of rent, or, if they pleased, they might go into court as any other tenant. Any lease exempt from the operation of the Act must be a judicial lease which had received the approval of the Court. There would be no power of contracting out of the Act except in cases where the annual rent exceeded £200. As to the constitution of the Court, it would be composed of the present Land Court, which would have the right to call in the aid of valuers. There would be a Court of Appeal in the shape of a Land Commission, which would consist of three persons, one of whom must always be a judge of the superior court or an ex-judge. The seat of the Land Commission would be at Dublin, but it would have the power of appointing

sub-Commissions, and sending them into the provinces to hold courts.

"Coming next to the important question of public advances, Mr. Gladstone announced that these would be made with the object of assisting the tenant to acquire his holding. The Commission would also become landholders, buying estates from willing landlords with the intention of reselling them to tenants. Advances would also be made to solvent companies engaged in the reclamation of land. Emigration would be assisted, though in this respect Mr. Gladstone intimated that the greatest care would be displayed in selecting cases. As to the amount of advances, the Premier would not fix it at five millions, or ten millions, or any other sum. It would remain a sum unlimited, except by the will of Parliament, expressed from year to year. The Premier concluded a speech that had occupied two hours and a-half in delivery by a peroration of singular beauty. 'Walking in the path of justice,' he said, 'we cannot err. Guided by that light we are safe. Every step we make upon our road brings us nearer to the goal, and every obstacle, though it seem for the moment insurmountable, can only for a little while retard, and never can defeat the final triumph.' Amid prolonged cheering, Mr. Gladstone resumed his seat. Sir Stafford Northcote deprecated discussion on the principles of the Bill at the present stage, and contented himself with complimenting the Prime Minister on the speech to which he 'had listened with so much admiration.' Mr. Shaw, whilst indicating possible criticism on particular points, expressed the opinion that the Bill was a great and honest attempt to deal with a great question, and, after some desultory conversation, leave was given to bring in the Bill."

After the delivery the Irish members, we are told, held a meeting to consider the proposals of the Prime Minister. The general opinion at that time was that if such a Bill were to receive the Royal assent, there would be left little cause of complaint on the part of Irishmen. Fears were ex-

pressed that, as happened with respect to the Land Bill of 1870, the measure might be altered in the House of Lords. But it was quite overlooked that in the House of Commons were many Irish M.P.'s utterly irreconcilable, and who would seek to prevent the passage of any measure which would render Ireland contented and at peace.

The second reading was fixed for April 25th, when the House met again, and Mr. Gibson, surveying the measure in a critical and inquiring spirit, put a series of embarrassing questions to the Ministry as to the effect of some provisions not fully explained by Mr. Gladstone. He laid especial stress upon the instruction of the court in fixing a fair rent which apparently enjoined that the tenant's interest in the holding should be exempted from the burdens of rent, and that the measure of that interest should be, in Ulster, the amount paid for tenant right, and out of Ulster the highest amount of compensation payable for disturbance and improvements together. No immediate answer was given by the Government, and some wrangling followed which gave the tone to the whole debate. An amendment by Lord John Manners, suggesting, as an alternative, the liberal expenditure of public money in encouraging Irish industries, was put on the paper, but withdrawn, and the Opposition reluctantly and hesitatingly rallied to Lord Elcho's amendment, condemning the Bill "as economically unsound, unjust, and unpolitic." The weary discussion, extending over points of detail, lasted over eight nights, Mr. Gladstone, who was somewhat indisposed, speaking, not at the end, but in the middle of the debate. The Bill was supported in principle, not only by the Ministerialists, but by the moderates, and even some of the extreme Home Rulers, as well as by most of the Ulster Conservatives. Mr. Parnell, however, who saw in the success of the measure the annihilation of himself and his party, and the stoppage of pecuniary supplies from America, denounced the Bill as a miserable dole to the

Irish tenants, and, with some of his followers, refused to vote for the second reading, which was carried on the 19th of May, Lord Elcho's amendment being rejected by a majority of 352 to 176, precisely two to one.

It was universally admitted that the questions raised on the second reading could most profitably be discussed in committee. When the Speaker was moved from the chair on the 26th of May, an attempt was made to raise the question on the Conservative side, but was abandoned at the instance of Sir Stafford Northcote. The Bill was in committee from that date till the 22nd of July, and hundreds of notices of amendment were given, some of them of the most stupid and irritating character. At the end of May, on going into Committee on the Irish Land Bill members found over 1,500 amendments to be considered. The net results of two sittings was to reduce this number by six, of which four were verbal amendments, and of the two on which argument was raised the principle involved in one will come up for discussion on another clause. At this rate of progress, and supposing there were no fresh amendments, it would require to complete the Bill that the House should sit *de die in diem* for one year seven months and a week. But this calculation is disturbed by the fact that fresh amendments are added daily. One night nearly forty were handed to the clerk at the table. At first, the Bill could only be taken on Government days, but on the 28th of June, Mr. Gladstone, expressing disappointment at the slow progress which had been made, carried a motion to the effect that the Land Bill should have progress over every other business. Beyond this it was impossible to ask the House to go, as it was known that it would be useless to call upon the opposition to join in voting urgency. The criticism of the Bill in committee was ably and keenly conducted; but few changes of importance were introduced, however, and the time of Parliament was abominably and unreasonably wasted, chiefly

by Irish orators, at all times remarkable for a fluency of language and impracticability of temper. All the while the ministerial majority remained steady, rarely falling as low as 100. When it fell lower, it was taken as a sign that there was a defection of Whigs and moderate Liberals from the Government. This was notably the case upon Mr. Heneage's amendment, excluding English managed estates—namely, those which were maintained and improved by the landlord from the free sale clause. This proposal was rejected by 225 to 200, many Liberals voting in the minority, and many more abstaining. It was obvious that if the Home Rulers had not voted against the amendment *en masse*, the Government would have been defeated, but, happily, no other division in committee was so close as that. The possibility of a fight, more or less determined, on the fair rent clause, was obviated by Mr. Gladstone's announcement before that point was reached, that the direction to the court, with regard to the manner in which the tenant's interest was to be measured, would be withdrawn, and the discretion of the court left absolute. This discretion had already been allowed on the suggestion of Mr. Charles Russell, in dealing with the landlord's reasonable objections to certain purchasers of tenant right. The concession of Government was regarded as fairly satisfactory by the opposition, and Sir Stafford Northcote withdrew an amendment, substituting for the original words a definition of the tenant's interest borrowed from Mr. Butt's bill. The Government, however, when the clause itself came to be discussed again, inserted words at Mr. Russell's suggestion, declaring that the court should have regard to the tenant's and landlord's interest respectively. The Conservatives protested, but the change was made, though Mr. Gladstone at some length contended that it was of little practical consequence. Nor were these the only alterations made. Among other changes in the Bill, was the recognition of the right of tenants holding under leases made since 1870, to get those settlements set aside

by the court, when it appeared that undue pressure to defeat the Land Act had been exercised. The Government further proposed to deal with the arrears of rent accrued during the past three years, by advancing money to clear off half the debt of 1879 and 1880, when the tenant paid up the rent of 1871, and the landlord was willing to enter into the composition. Amendments, proposed on the purchase clauses, to enlarge the amount of the advances by the State, and to extend the period of repayment, were successfully resisted by Mr. Gladstone. The Irish party, when the emigration clauses were reached, opposed them bitterly, as the priest knows that if the starved peasant escapes to America, he is beyond his power; and as the Irish demagogue, or patriot, as his admirers term him, has much the same sort of feeling, obstructive tactics were resorted to, which were only abandoned when it was found that the Government had made preparations for an all-night sitting. The limitation of the sum to be expended in this way to £200,000, was claimed, however, as a triumph by the Home Rulers, who believed £200,000 would not go far in sweeping off the Irish surplus population. Before the committee had concluded its task, the constitution of the Land Commission, the body to which was to be entrusted the working of the new act, was made known. The choice was one of great difficulty. The new body was to be responsible for the administration of the law, for defining what it was, and for determining the questions arising between landlords and tenants. It was with mingled feelings that the public learned that Sergeant O'Hagan was named as the Judicial Commissioner, with the position and salary of a judge, and that his colleagues were Mr. Lytton, late M.P. for Tyrone, and Mr. Vernon, well known in Ireland as a most able man of business connected with land. In such a matter it was impossible to attempt to please all parties, and the ministers wisely did what they thought was best for the Bill and the people of Ireland.

The Conservatives entered a protest against the appointment of three commissioners, all identified with strong tenant right views, while the Irish party and the Irish Press were unsparing in their denunciation of the selected parties. A proposal by Sir Walter Bartelot that the commissioners should be required to purchase holdings subject to statutory conditions on the landlord's demand, was rejected by a majority of 63. The Bill was considered on report on the 26th of July, when Lord Edward Fitzmaurice's limitation of the fair rent clause to tenancies under £100 valuation, was negatived by a majority of 36. At the close of the considerations of the amendments on the 28th, the Government hastily accepted a suggestion of Mr. Parnell that the power of selling a tenant's interest should be suspended until any application on his part to have a judicial rent fixed was determined. The leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons resolved not to resist in the House of Commons the third reading of the Bill, but the independent leader of the Fourth Party, Lord Randolph Churchill, persevered in raising a debate, in which Mr. Gladstone bore testimony to the earnestness and industry of the House, and Mr. Gibson recorded his final protest against the principles of the measure. Mr. Healy denied that the Irish people owed any gratitude to the Minister for the Bill, the real authors of which were in prison. It was a bill which had been wrung from Government by fear, but, nevertheless, the Home Rulers and Irish patriots did not refuse it their support. A few extreme Conservatives, however, acted differently. They summoned up their courage to take a division on the third reading, and were beaten by 220 to 14. The smallness of the division showed how members had become tired of the parliamentary session, and how, in time, after the weary warfare of the Commons was over, the Bill reached the Upper House, and what will the Lords do with it, was anxiously debated in all quarters of the kingdom. Throw it out, said some. Pass

it, said others. If the Earl of Beaconsfield had been alive, it was felt that the agitation of the hour would have been craftily allayed. People did not feel quite so safe in the hands of an arbitrary and hot-headed Marquis of Salisbury. After Lord Carlingford's clear, but unimpressive exposition of the measure, Lord Salisbury announced that the second reading would not be opposed. He condemned the Bill in its principles and its details, but he urged that in view of the state of things its promise had brought about in Ireland, it was expedient to accept it, casting the responsibility on the Government, and reserving to themselves only the right to render the most glaringly, unnecessary, and unjust among its consequences, leaving the main lines untouched. In this opinion the Conservative Peers and the dissatisfied Whig Lords agreed. Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Argyll spoke with great force against the Bill from the Liberal benches, much to the delight of Conservative Peers. The Bill, thus heavily attacked, was defended by Lord O'Hagan, Lord Spencer, Lord Monck, and the Lord Chancellor. Earl Granville, we believe, was laid up with the gout. The interest turned upon the amendments to be in committee or be proposed by the majority. The Duke of Argyll carried an amendment to the free sale clause in the same direction as Mr. Heneage; and, also, one for compensating the landlord who had bought up tenant right, and of the proceeds of the first sale of the holding. The changes in the compensation for disturbance sale were rejected. On the fair rent clause, Lord Salisbury carried amendments, giving to the landlord equal access to the court, striking out the direction to the court to have regard to the landlord's and tenant's interest respectively, providing that rents should not be reduced on account of any payments for tenant right and enacting that in respect of English managed holdings applications to have rents fixed should not be left at the discretion of the court to be dealt with, but should be absolutely dis-

allowed at the landlord's request. Other amendments were carried by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Pembroke. The provisions giving leaseholders the privilege of present tenants, at the end of their term, and empowering the court to quash leases imposed by pressure, were excised; as also were the clauses staying the proceedings during the pendency of an application for a judicial suit. The Bill thus amended was read a third time almost without discussion. In the Lords, the hostile majority was too strong for that—and the Ministry were weak in debating power, and the Bill was returned to the Commons, where very short work indeed was made with the Lords' amendments. There was no disposition then on the part of the Ministerial majority to give way. How could concession be expected under the circumstances? Mr. Gladstone had elaborated the measure as his message of peace for Ireland. It had been made as complete as possible. It had been debated carefully, word by word, line by line, week after week, and it was not to be expected that in a moment, at the bidding of Lord Salisbury and his fellow peers, up in a balloon, that he would give up his Bill.

In the House of Commons the work of reconstruction went on merrily, all the more important of the Lords' amendments were thrown out, with the exception of the Duke of Argyll's amendment as to English managed estates, with the stipulation that the improvement should not only be made but substantially maintained by the landlord. In their turn the House of Lords resolved to stand by their amendments, abandoning a few minor points. Lord Salisbury's declaration that it was for the country to judge between the Ministry and the majority of the Peers, seemed to portend a crisis. The excitement everywhere was immense. For two days the political world was in a state of fever. Public meetings were called everywhere to denounce the conduct of the Peers and to support the Ministry. In some quarters it was believed that the Peers had

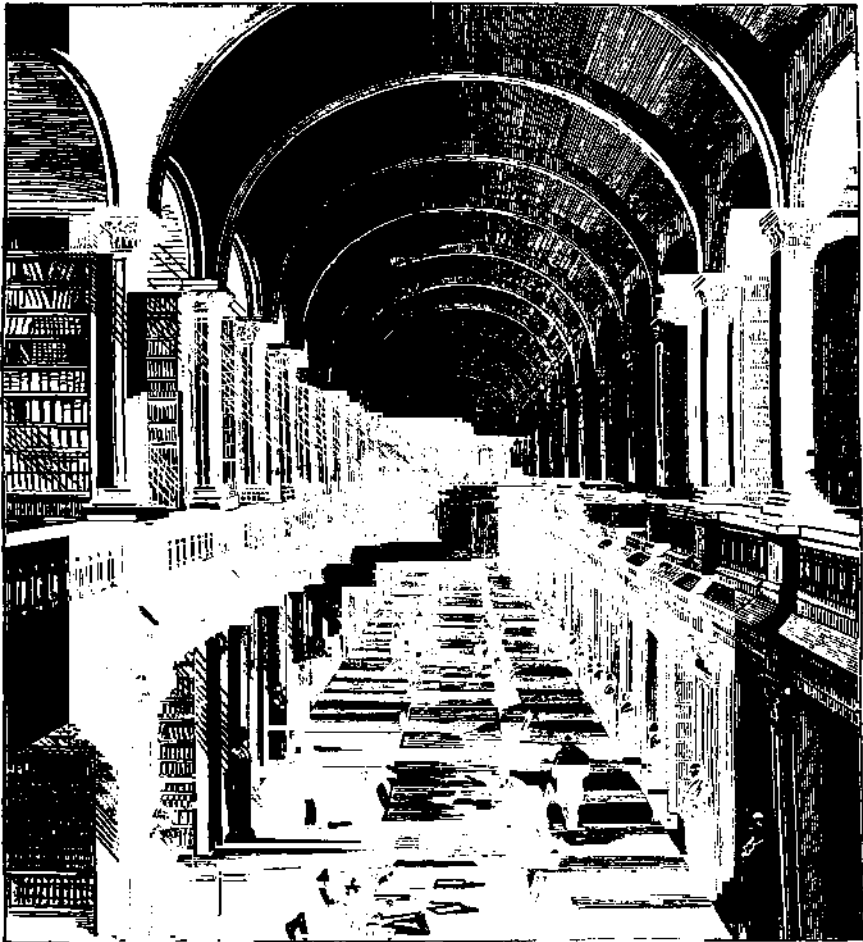
pulled their house about their ears, and that their existence as an hereditary institution was no more. But among men of sense and public spirit there was only one feeling. It was felt to be monstrous that for the sake of comparatively trifling differences, the Bill should be lost, Ireland plunged into renewed agitation, and a party conflict aiming at revolutionary ends provoked. Also, some of the leading Tory Peers, who held Irish estates, felt anxious on the subject of rent, of which they were sure they would never get a halfpenny if Mr. Gladstone's Bill were thrown out. Hence in all quarters, in spite of big speeches and angry invective, there was a desire for a peaceful and speedy settlement of the question. Mr. Gladstone rather disappointed some of his own party by his action, as they were hoping for a contest with the House of Lords, which they were sooner or later to win. Mr. Gladstone declined such a contest, and endeavoured to do the best he could under the circumstances. Actually he proposed, rather than come into collision with the Peers, to meet them in a friendly and compliant mood. On the 18th of August the House of Commons met to consider the revised version of the Lords' amendments. Mr. Gladstone, to the disappointment of some of his own party, and to that more especially of the Irish, announced that the amendments, instead of being rejected *en masse*, would be considered in detail on their merits, and that while the principles of the Bill would be upheld, every effort would be made to compose the dispute. In the debate which followed several important changes introduced by the Lords were rejected, notably those introduced by the Duke of Argyll, but some points of considerable importance were conceded. Among these was the right of the landlord to get a fair rent fixed by the court if the tenant fails to agree, without raising the rent at his own peril, the understanding that large payments for tenant right are not to justify the production of rent, and the final abandonment of a clause introduced by Mr. Parnell, for the sus-

pension of proceedings. With the Bill as thus amended Lord Salisbury advised the House of Lords to agree, and in this form the Land Law (Ireland) Bill, after an unexampled waste of time and temper and oratory, became law. Immediately this was done the Irish Party, headed by Mr. Parnell, became more irreconcilable and anti-Ministerial than ever. It was clear at once that they knew that it would never do for them to let the people settle down quietly to a life of industry under the new and improved relations between landlord and tenant; and accordingly Mr. Parnell and his followers immediately proceeded to abuse the Government—the Government which had done so much for Ireland, almost annihilated the obnoxious landlord, and destroyed the Established Church because of its Protestant character rendering it obnoxious to the Irish Roman Catholics—with as much violence as if a Tory Government were in power. The special ground chosen for attack was Mr. Forster's administration in Ireland, and especially his exercise of the powers entrusted to him by the Protection Act. It was true that Mr. Dillon, M.P., who had been arrested—and very properly arrested—for the use of language tending to excite his ignorant and inflammatory readers to resist the law, in consequence of his failing health early in the month. But this act of clemency did not abate the rancour with which the Chief Secretary and the Prime Minister were abused by the representatives of the Land League, in and out of Parliament—the men to pacify whom Mr. Gladstone had devoted the best part of the prime of his valuable life. Never had Irish affairs so exclusively occupied the attention of the Imperial Parliament. To Ireland and its people everything had to give way.

The session was Irish, and Irish almost exclusively. Those questions of external policy on which the election had been fought, and the Liberals restored to power, almost entirely disappeared from view. It is true there was a formal debate in both Houses on the abandonment of Can-

dahar, and the conflict between the rivals for the possession of supreme power in Afghanistan were occasionally referred to. Some members of no great position on both sides of the House attempted to raise

French intervention in Tunis, though by no means approved of, was not seriously debated in either House. The Liberal party were willing to leave the matter in the hands of the Government, and the Con-



LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

words in connection with different parts of the Eastern difficulty, Central Asia, Cyprus, and the Eastern question. There was no disposition to question the settlement of the Greek and Montenegrin disputes, while the

servatives were precluded from taking up a decided position by Lord Beaconsfield's treatment of the matter during the Berlin negotiation. The only issue not connected with domestic policy which was available

as a party battle-ground, was the restoration of the Transvaal to the Boers, which the Opposition attacked not only as a reversal of the policy pursued by Lord Carnarvon and Sir Michael Hicks Beach, but as a discreditable departure after three British defeats from the position taken up in the speech from the Throne. In the House of Lords, on March 31, Lord Cairns impeached the conduct of the Government, in a speech of remarkable power and brilliancy, which was thought at the time to be a clever bid for the Conservative leadership; and his onslaught was followed up by speeches from Lords Cranbrook and Salisbury. The defence of the Ministry, owing to Lord Granville's illness, was entrusted to Lord Kimberley, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Selborne, but no division was taken. It was understood that opportunity would be given for a similar discussion in the House of Commons; but partly through the protracted debates on the Land Bill, and partly through the delay in the final arrangements with the Boers, it was not till the 25th of July that Sir Michael Hicks Beach was able to bring forward his vote of censure. An amendment approving the conduct of the Ministry was moved by Mr. Rathbone and carried—after the Prime Minister's forcible and eloquent defence of his policy—by a majority of 314 to 205.

At an early period in the session the Government recognised the impossibility of proceeding with all the measures promised in the Speech from the Throne. The Irish Land Bill had taken up so much of the attention of the House that it was deemed impossible to attempt to deal with the proposed Reform of County Government in Ireland. The Attorney-General's Corrupt Practices Bill was at length abandoned, as, at a later date, was Sir Charles Dilke's Bill for the Permanent Establishment of the Ballot. Amongst the minor measures sacrificed were the Merchant Shipping, Thames Conservancy, Corn Returns, and Irish Bankruptcy Bills. These were all abandoned by the first week of July, but the Prime Minister still believed that a

measure so much needed as Mr. Chamberlain's Bankruptcy Bill—a measure imperatively required in order to create something like order and honesty in the whole commercial world—would be carried before the termination of the session. As to other matters, he was equally sanguine. He would fain have persuaded the House that the Rivers Conservancy Bill, which had passed through the House of Lords, the Scotch Educational Endowments Bill, and the Alkali Works Bill, were all equally certain to become law. Alas, of all these measures, the last alone was saved from wreck. A still greater disappointment awaited the Home Secretary, who was unable to fulfil his promise of dealing with that long-agitated question, the Water Supply of the Metropolis—a question which did so much to injure the reputation of his predecessor in office. Very mortifying were these disappointments, but there was no help for it. It is true, however, something was done in the way of reform in home matters. The Government carried Bills disposing of the patronage of the Chief Judges of the High Court, whose offices had been abolished by an order in Council, in spite of a protest from the late Lord Chief Justice, vigorously reiterated in the House of Commons by Mr. N. Fowler. It also carried a measure for suspending elections in corrupt boroughs, and for providing funds to enable the Senate of the University of Dublin to carry into effect the Act of 1879. It was much, however, to be regretted that the Government were unable to get rid of the Bradlaugh difficulty by the carrying of the Oaths Bill of the Attorney-General, of which Mr. Gladstone had given notice on behalf of the Attorney-General. The motion for the introduction of the measure, however, led to a debate of three days, which ended in no result. Had the House come to a different decision, a great deal of trouble would have been saved the House and the country, and perhaps Mr. Bradlaugh would have been relegated into obscurity—an obscurity which the religious public naturally thought, for many reasons

desirable; but Mr. Bradlaugh was particularly objectionable to the majority, and there was no getting over that fact. The more the mob outside supported him, the more naturally he became distasteful to the Liberal and Conservative gentlemen inside the House, and on the 4th of July the Oaths Bill was given up as hopeless. Mr. Bradlaugh, though declaring that he would persist in his claim, did not take any aggressive steps till the 3rd of August, when, after addressing a meeting of his sympathisers—whom he seems to have summoned from all parts of the country—in a vain hope, possibly, that he might overawe the House of Commons by a foolish display of physical force, he entered the House of Commons, and strove to make his way in. As was to be expected, the effort failed—he was dragged outside the precincts of the House, and prevented by the police from entering. The Speaker's conduct, in enforcing the formal order of the House, was challenged by Mr. Labouchere, but though Mr. Bright, in a vehement speech, denounced the wrong that was done to the electors of Northampton, and though it is clear as the noonday sun that the House has no right to limit the choice of electors, the minority, on a division being taken, numbered only seven.

On one occasion, that is, when Mr. Labouchere, in August, introduced a motion—"That in the opinion of this House the resolution passed on the 10th May last that the Sergeant-at-Arms do remove Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall undertake not further to disturb the proceedings of the House, meant that Mr. Bradlaugh should not come within the outer doors of this Chamber, and did not give any power to the Sergeant-at-Arms to hinder him from entering or remaining in all or any other portions of this edifice, and that therefore the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the officers of the House acting under him, in excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from such other portions of the edifice, acted without the authority of this House, and, in so doing, interfered with the

privileges inherent in membership in this House, and of which no member can be deprived without a resolution of this House to that effect"—Mr. Gladstone said:—"This being a question of prosecuting in principle the late resolution of the House by extension or addition, I am not certain that I should have risen at once upon the motion which has just been made. But the question appears to me to be one which the hon. member for Northampton was perfectly justified in raising from his point of view as to your conduct, sir, as the chief executive officer of this House, in the interpretation which you have put upon that resolution in the performance of your duty. I pass no censure upon my hon. friend the member for Northampton when I say it is undoubtedly a motion which raises the question whether you have been right in the exercise of your discretion, and a challenge to the members of the House to declare whether they will support you in that exercise, and in the interpretation you have put upon the recent resolution of the House. Much as I myself objected to that resolution, I wish to construe it impartially, and in the same sense as if I had approved of it and been a party to it. Approaching the question in that spirit, I can entertain no doubt whatever for myself that you have judiciously and wisely interpreted the resolution of the House. It appears to me, that however the mover of the resolution may have immediately contemplated—if he did so contemplate—the limits established by the actual entrance to the House, the clear intention of the House in passing that resolution was that Mr. Bradlaugh should be debarred from access to the House by whatever means were necessary for that purpose. And I cannot conceive it possible for one moment that it was the intention of the House even to leave it open to its executive officers to debar Mr. Bradlaugh in such manner and form, and under such conditions as to cause disorder in the immediate neighbourhood of the House, and even to bar the free and undis-

turbed access of members generally to the House. That is the point upon which the matter appears to me to turn. I must hold that above all other regulations one regulation is necessary, namely, that which is asserted in the sessional orders of the House, and which, in the direction given to the Commissioners of Police of the Metropolis, speaks not only of free access through the streets to the Houses of Parliament, but lays down that 'no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall or in the passages leading to the House during the session of Parliament.' I think there are three distinct grounds upon which it is to me quite plain that this motion cannot be sustained, and that you have justly exercised, as you commonly do, the authority reposed in your hands. One is the nature of the case, which absolutely requires a freedom of access, and that freedom of access would have been seriously hindered if the conditions in which you were placed by the resolution were such that you could only contest the entrance of Mr. Bradlaugh at the doors of the House itself, and by that very contest the free use of these doors would have been prevented. I think from the nature of the case that conclusion is suggested; that the spirit of the resolution itself absolutely involves it; and that you would not have acted in the spirit of the resolution if you had permitted such a contest to arise at the doors of the House. I think, further, that the great care taken by the House in its sessional order to lay down the principle that no disorder shall be allowed in any of the passages leading to this House, in order to secure the free access of members, supplies us with a proposition which I must understand as applying to all descriptions of disorder, whether that disorder arises from the action of extraneous persons, or whether it arises in connection with the action of any member of this House itself, who may have been placed by the resolution of the House, so far as the authority of the House

can establish such a resolution, under a ban precluding his free access to the House, and making him an exceptional person, so that, in point of fact, with reference to the executive authority of the House, he becomes an extraneous person; and it is the absolute duty of the executive of the House to treat him as if he were an extraneous person.' On all these grounds, I cannot hesitate for a moment to uphold that the motion which has been submitted cannot be sustained, and that the House is indebted to you, sir, for the manner in which you have construed and applied the resolution—with regard to which, as I said before, I think it my duty to look at it quite irrespective of my own personal opinions, which remain unchanged as to the character of that resolution; but the duty which plainly attaches to us is to support the executive authority of the House in faithful and full compliance with this resolution."

Subsequently, Mr. Bradlaugh did not improve his position by his endeavouring to get a summons against the police for assault, or by his effort to get Mr. Newdegate punished under an obsolete Act of Parliament for maintenance—especially when it was remembered that in his own case the offence—if offence it were—was repeated. In his struggle, as he admitted, he had been aided by the subscriptions of his friends.

Amongst the utterances of Mr. Gladstone that session calling for notice, is the speech delivered in the House when the news arrived of the assassination of the Czar of Russia, in consequence of a Nihilist conspiracy.

"Sir," he continued, after a few preliminary remarks, "I think we cannot but bear in mind that the circumstances of this assassination have reached a pitch of grief and horror, perhaps hardly known in the melancholy annals of such deeds. And finally, we must express our feeling of the black ingratitude to such a sovereign which alone, according to all human judgment, could have led to the conception and exe-

cution of such a crime. It recalls to my mind a sentiment in which the patriarch of all poets has recorded his feelings upon the fate of a very ancient sovereign, whose wise and good reign had failed to elicit the universal gratitude which ought to have been its consequence and its reward. As he thought is represented by Pope, he says :—

“ ‘Let tyrants govern with an iron rod,
Oppress, destroy, and be the scourge of God,
Since he who like a father held his reign
So soon forgot, so just and mild in vain.’ ”

For, sir, all know that whatever there may be in that great Empire, as doubtless there may be found in all communities, to call for censure in the imperfections of human institutions, none of this was owing to Alexander II. It was part, if it existed, of the inheritance he received. The sole labour of a devoted life was with him to improve that inheritance for the benefit of his subjects and of mankind. And, sir, I believe that it is not the language of flattery nor even the language of mere feeling excited by what has occurred which leads me to state with confidence that there cannot be a doubt that the reign of Alexander II. in the history of Russia, and in the history of European and Christian civilisation, will ever be recorded as an illustrious and memorable reign. He came to the throne when his country was locked in a deadly struggle with three of the Powers of Europe, two of them among the greatest Powers in the world, and he extricated her from that struggle with all the promptitude, and with all the honour that the most loyal citizen in his country could have hoped for. It was not his fate to pass through a long reign without again seeing his country involved during the close of it in another great and dangerous war; but that great and dangerous war was ennobled at least to him and to many who might think with him by the deep convictions of his heart and mind, that it was a war of duty and a war of liberation. But even turning from considerations of peace

and war, which must ever awaken in our minds mixed associations, let us only ask ourselves whether modern times have exhibited a reign more distinguished, more remarkable for the great works of peaceful administration which it has bequeathed to that great Empire. Perhaps, sir, we are none of us aware—I certainly cannot pretend to any accurate or minute knowledge of those works—but even the outline and even the names of a few of them are such as to demonstrate that they were due, not only to a sense of high duty and Christian philanthropy, but also to an enlightened intelligence and to a powerful will. It was the happy fate of Alexander II., by one of the greatest acts ever peacefully accomplished in the annals of civil change, to give civil and social freedom to a population of serfs, estimated at more than twenty millions of human beings. It was his happy lot to establish in Russia a system of local government which, as local government, I believe to be thoroughly free, independent, and popular. It was also among the triumphs of his reign to introduce into Russia an institution which we fondly think to be especially associated with our own history—the institution known as trial by jury. Nor were these the only acts for which he may claim the favourable judgment of the enlightened historian; but my duty is not to enter into a catalogue of these acts. It is only to point to a few of the more memorable among them. It is sad that such a man should have been reserved for such a fate. Doubtless the counsels of Providence on high, which it is not for us to scrutinise, and which we must believe, will tend to all that is wise and good. But in the illustration I just now cited, the words were used that the old sovereign was soon forgot. That will not be the case with Alexander II. The fond affection of his people will ever cling about his memory as well as the sympathy and admiration of the world. Sir, under these circumstances it is easy for us to understand in what manner it must be that the Queen—allied as she is with the Emperor

of Russia by domestic ties, and thoroughly cognisant of all that has taken place in a reign contemporary with her own—with what feelings she must be impressed by this terrible catastrophe, and therefore I have no more to do than to invite the House, loyally, earnestly, affectionately, and unanimously to go to the foot of the Throne, and to assure her of the grief and the horror with which we contemplate this act, and the sincere and respectful sympathy with which we enter into all the feelings that she can and must entertain with regard to it. I move, sir, 'That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, to convey to her Majesty the expression of indignation and of deep concern with which this House has heard of the assassination of her Majesty's relative and ally, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and to pray her Majesty that she may be graciously pleased to express to his Majesty the present Emperor of Russia, on the part of her faithful Commons, their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Imperial Family of Russia, and with the Government and people of that country.'

Private members in the session of 1881 were almost powerless. The Fates were against them. They had fallen upon evil times. On only a few important points debates were raised by independent politicians. Sir Wilfrid Lawson brought forward his Local Option resolution, which was adopted in the House of Commons by a majority of 196 to 154, Mr. Bright arguing on behalf of the Government that the acceptance of the principle did not imply either a promise of immediate action, or the adoption of any particular method of dealing with the liquor traffic. Sir Massey Lopes scored a success by obtaining a pledge from Mr. Gladstone that at the earliest opportunity after the close of the session arrangements would be made for constituting a Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. The abolition of capital punishment, once more proposed by Mr. Pease, was once more rejected by a majority of more than

two to one. The dubious position in which the negotiations with France remained during the greater part of the year, and an attempted revival in some quarters of Protectionist theories—either openly or in disguise, under the attractive title of Fair Trade—brought the question of Free Trade up again, much to the indignation of Mr. Bright and the other heroes of the Anti-Corn Law campaign. Mr. Ritchie, the member for the Tower Hamlets, tried to extort an unnecessary engagement from Government not to conclude a treaty on unwise conditions, but the debate drifted into generalities, which revealed a good deal of latent Protectionism, waiting and willing to be invoked, and Mr. Ritchie was beaten by 153 votes to 80. A Welsh Sunday Closing Bill was passed, but it was drawn up in so negligent a manner as to prove utterly unworkable. Lord Aberdare, in whose charge the Bill was, admitted subsequently that he had become aware of its defects, but that he thought it better to carry it, imperfect as it was, when he had the chance, rather than omit the passing of the measure at all that session.

Turning to the Lords, we find that they did quite as little as the House of Commons. Besides two or three questions of external policy already mentioned, Irish affairs were alone regarded. Lord Lansdowne drew attention to the unsatisfactory state of the Irish jury system, and the Duke of Argyll severely criticised the manner in which Lord Bessborough's commission had arrived at conclusions accepted by the Government as the justification of the Land Bill. In neither House were any new reputations made. Lord Salisbury's career, as leader of the Conservative majority in the House of Lords, was watched with mingled feelings by friends and foes. The attitude of the Duke of Argyll, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and other Whig seceders from the Ministry, was of peculiar interest during the Land Bill debates. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone stood almost alone; he allowed no one to divide the toil and the praise with him—his mastery of the Bill

was wonderful. In this respect there was no one equalling him on either side the House. At the same time, it must be confessed that he was ably seconded on points of detail by the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General for Ireland. The Opposition were well served by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Plunkett, whose knowledge of Irish affairs and readiness of debate were conspicuous. As the *Times* admits, under the peculiar circumstances of the session, independent members—whether Liberal or Conservative—had no chance of making their mark. It was very different as regards the Irish party, and Mr. Healy succeeded in winning pre-eminence as a master of obstruction and irritation over Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Donnell, and Mr. Parnell himself.

It can hardly be supposed that Mr. Gladstone or his colleagues had much enjoyment in the session of 1881. Every day the waste of time was truly melancholy. Questions, often to the number of fifty, and a large number of them utterly frivolous, consumed the time and occupied the attention of the House. In this way valuable hours passed away, and then the moving of adjournments, on any pretext, followed by animated debates on that question, took up more time. Obstruction, it was evident—when the Whitsuntide recess had been gained—had become more ingenious, and not less obstructive than ever; and it was only by means of the most protracted sittings that Government was enabled to carry the most important votes, and to get through even the most necessary routine business. No doubt “urgency” would materially have helped Government to get through the multitudinous amendments, and to stifle the wearisome repetitions on the part of Irish members in connection with the Land Bill, but urgency required a vote of two kinds, and could not have been carried without the aid of the Opposition—an aid which they were by no means inclined to give. As the more time wasted in repeating the stale objections to the Land Bill, the less chance there was of

the Bill becoming law—or of something turning up—which might make them masters of the situation. But not only the Home Rulers and the Fourth Party are to be blamed for obstructing legislative progress, and wasting the time of the House, but the general body of members must, more or less, share in the responsibility. For instance, on the eve of the Whitsun holidays, the House decided, by 246 to 119, to adjourn over the Derby day, not so much because Epsom races were in high favour, but because the Commons had got into a habit of not sitting on that day. A considerable part of Tuesday's sitting was occupied by the speeches of Mr. R. Power and Sir Wilfrid Lawson for and against the proposal—a proposal which, as he must have known well, neither the eloquence nor the wit of the Cumberland baronet could have carried, and but for the prompt intervention of the Home Secretary, the debate would have been further protracted. This is one instance out of many in which the House of Commons fooled away its time. On such a motion there was no need for any speech-making at all. It was quite sufficient to move it, and let the House decide it one way or the other, and then pass on to more important business. M.P.'s seem to forget that they are sent to Parliament to do business rather than make speeches.

On one occasion, this obstructiveness led to a pungent address from the Prime Minister, which is too good to be altogether forgotten. It was one in July, on the occasion of a protracted sitting, with a view to get through the emigration clauses of the Irish Land Bill, which were being contested line by line, with the evident approval, if not at the instigation, of the Roman Catholic clergy, who for very obvious reasons dread a larger exodus of their flocks to the United States. It was not long before excitement on either side became visible. While an obstructive amendment of Mr. Healy's was being discussed, that member and Mr. Biggar indulged in some unmannerly remarks in the tempo-

rary absence of the Prime Minister, which provoked Mr. Bright to denounce these attacks on Mr. Gladstone, and to declare that the Home Rulers did not dare to vote against the clause. Mr. Parnell replied, with great bitterness, that he should take such a course. After this, the discussion proceeded awhile without much heat, but about midnight the storm again broke out. A motion to report progress was made, and thereupon Mr. Gladstone got up, and in a speech of extraordinary vigour and passion, denounced the proceedings of the Irish Party. The Prime Minister's short and pungent address deserves to be recorded. After referring to the fact that this was the third night of debate on the clause, though they had proposed, in several respects, to limit its action, and that Mr. Forster had offered every reasonable explanation of the scope of the proposal, Mr. Gladstone went on to say :—

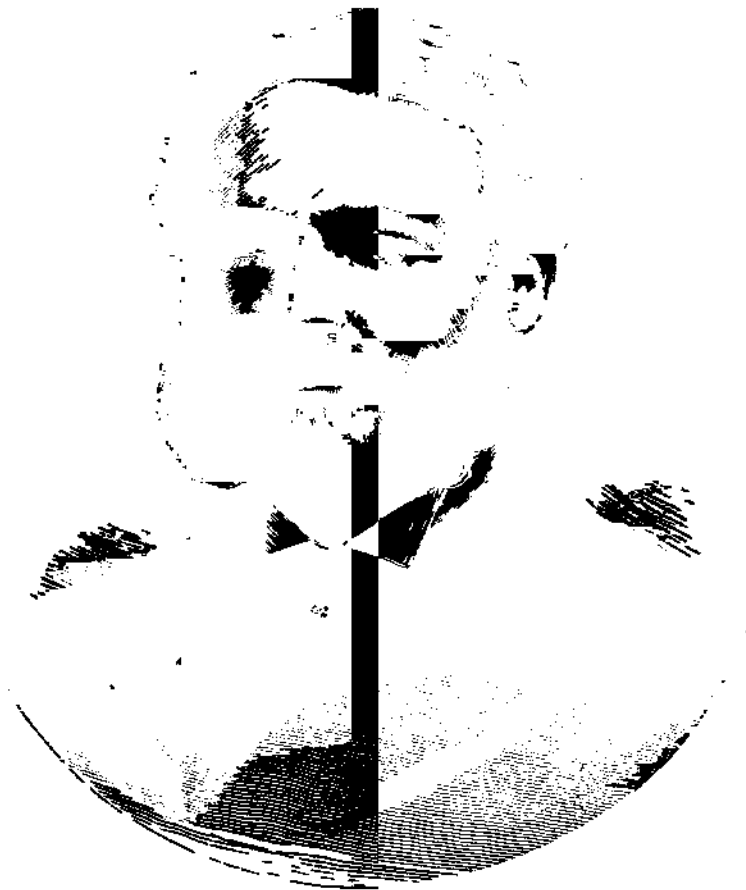
“A section of hon. members on the Opposition side of the House below the gangway, having miserably failed in their attempts to denounce this Bill in Ireland, now seek, by offering an obstructive opposition, and by attempting to attach to this emigration clause impossible conditions, again to set up their reputation among their own countrymen as men who really and truly demand what is for the good of Ireland; and this, as we well understand, is their capital, their method of repairing and making good the damaged reputation which they now bear in their own country. At length, the avowal of these facts is torn from me. I cannot refuse to make it. I have sat here in patience from day to day, witnessing with pain not to be described—I admit the success of that small handful of members in this respect—witnessing with a pain not to be described the degradation that has been inflicted on this noble assembly.”

Mr. Healy rose to order. He wished to know whether the remarks of the right hon. gentleman were in order.

The Chairman called upon

Mr. Gladstone, who continued as follows :—“The degradation that has been inflicted on this noble assembly, whose main study for generations and for centuries has been to adapt every one of its arrangements to the defence of the rights of minorities, to secure liberty of speech, and to prevent the oppression of those who might have reason on their side. Now we have seen every one of these admirable rules systematically perverted for the sake of intercepting, by mere persistence and by words multiplied without a thought, or without an attempt at persuasion, the deliberate convictions of this House, and of taking the legislative function out of the hands of the great mass of the members of the House of Commons in order to place it in those of a minority reduced from day to day by the defection of its more moderate members, subject though that minority has been from time to time to the reproaches of those who will not go to the measureless extremes of the handful that I have in view. This is the state of things in which the House has to determine whether it will succumb to the attempts made from such a quarter, in such a spirit, with such openness; it will this night, by carrying forward to its conclusion, and taking the definite judgment of this House upon the clause relating to emigration, assert and vindicate its normal rights against the unworthy efforts by which they are sought to be defeated and destroyed.”

The intense feeling created by this protest of the Prime Minister was strengthened by the remark of Sir R. Cross, that a policy of wilful obstruction was being pursued, and by the declaration of Mr. Jesse Collings that he could no longer support the Home Rulers. Mr. Parnell and his clique were evidently cowed, and the motion to report progress was withdrawn. Subsequently, on Mr. Forster's statement that only £200,000 was to be spent on emigration by the Commission, the Irish members were jubilant, and the Con-



EARL COWPER.

servatives depressed. The clause was finally carried by 125 to 23 votes, and the sitting came to an ignominious end a little before 4 a.m. by a count out.

Let us change from grave to gay.

On another occasion (writes the *Daily News*), a speech was made by the Prime Minister, which will not appear in the Parliamentary reports. The right hon. gentleman went out to dinner shortly before nine, and returned at twenty-five minutes past ten. At this moment Mr. Healy was addressing the House on the question of the resumption of leases, which had been started nearly three hours earlier. As the Premier entered and sat down with weary air between Mr. Forster and the Irish Attorney-General, he exclaimed, in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard all over the House, "Here we still are." Nor is it much to be wondered at, under the circumstances, if his patience rather gave way.

We have no desire to exalt the Prime Minister (wrote the *Pall Mall Gazette*), immediately after the debate on the Land Bill had terminated, but it is well known that he is the architect and builder of the fabric—and that he alone has a complete grasp of the principles on which it has been reared, and of the vast mass of its detail. People have complained that the Bill is complex—and one speaker said that he was ashamed to confess that he had been obliged to read it thrice before he could understand it, just as if an agrarian code were like a leading article. Simplicity, as Mr. Disraeli once said of a Reform Bill, is only a merit in legislation when the matter is of a kind that admits it, and the weightiest legislative undertakings are precisely those which least allow of it. It is only a violent revolution that could settle the Irish Land Question, simply. A parliamentary and pacific settlement of any such question must necessarily be complicated—intricate; contain balance, and all the other things which have been matter of accusation against the framework of the Bill. The conception and elaboration of such a measure shows an intellectual energy—a

hard and solid power which has nothing to do with stump oratory and exuberant rhetoric. Charles Fox was a statesman of magnificent genius—but he was obliged to get another genius as magnificent as his own to frame his Indian Bill for him.

In an equally eulogistic and yet sensible strain, the writer continues:—"The framing of this Bill is the least part of it. It had to be explained to an Opposition, who found it marvellously difficult to understand. It had to be defended against moderate Whigs and immoderate Home Rulers. It had to be modified and altered, so as to conciliate rightful claims and to meet good objections. All these things have been done, and they have been done with as definite success as ever attends the complex and obscure business of politics. There have been changes in the Bill, and important changes. But the Bill is substantially what it was; there is no alteration in the structure. It is safe to say that no Bill covering so much ground has ever emerged from the ordeal of criticism—the House of Commons—with so few changes."

The writer thus leads up to the conclusion of the whole matter. He is of the opinion—an opinion almost universally entertained—that there would be no more decisive testimony to the strength—the completeness—the full mastery by Mr. Gladstone of his own idea of what the measure should be; never, probably, has a Prime Minister had harder work or performed it more effectually. Never, certainly, was one so old so put upon his mettle during the many and protracted and tedious debates to which it gave rise. At his advanced age he was evidently more than a match for the sturdiest of his opponents, and all round displayed, undoubtedly, his thorough mastery of the Bill. The writer already referred to adds, Mr. Gladstone received useful assistance from Mr. Law; but when handsome allowance has been made for that, everybody sees that it is Mr. Gladstone who has carried on the fight. If he ventured to go out for half-

an-hour to eat some dinner, things went wrong or business came to a standstill. No colleague could take his place, not merely because he only had full authority, but because nobody else both knows the Bill and is an equal master of the art of rapid, firm, and strenuous argumentation. Unlike the majority, not only of the House of Commons, but of the human race, Mr. Gladstone knows how to distinguish. He can not only mark differences (which seems so simple, but is so rare), but when he sees a difference he is able to see it in all its bearings. The House of Commons has certainly not seen in our day any piece of advocacy so impressive and commanding. For what is extraordinary in Mr. Gladstone is the degree in which he unites acumen, grasp, and argumentative resource with moral vigour and eloquence. In Committee nobody sticks closer to the point or despatches work with livelier expedition. One night last week, it is true, he flamed out into a vivid protest against obstruction, and all who heard it agree that a more effective interposition was never made. It is not merely his own followers, it is the whole House, who feel on such occasions how powerful a leader he is, how worthy of his position. Even Conservatives and Irreconcilables are alive to the incomparable ability, the splendid energy, with which the Prime Minister has fought his battle under the most harassing circumstances, and after forty-nine years of ardent Parliamentary life. For Mr. Gladstone preserves just the qualities which the House of Commons is most calculated to deaden and benumb. The most enthusiastic young Liberal who has just got a seat has not a keener freshness of spirit than Mr. Gladstone, who has sat through eleven complete Parliaments. Experience always ripens the faculties of capable men, but it nearly always slackens the intensity of their interests, and cools their ardour for improvement. In Mr. Gladstone's case just the opposite of this has happened. If we want to know the secret, one part of it is certainly to be

found in the fact that Mr. Gladstone, if he has been a great member of Parliament for nearly half a century, yet has all that time been habitually looking outside Parliament. He has become one of the strongest leaders that the House has ever had, because he never allowed it to limit or master the ideas and the interests, intellectual and moral, with which he chose to live.

In the House of Commons no new reputation seems to have arisen this session. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, has made in one sense a sort of new reputation. He has adapted himself to a new style of speaking, suited to his failing strength of voice. We cannot say that he seems to have fallen off in any other particular, but his voice has not the resonance and the magnificent clearness which at one time made his lightest word heard in the farthest part of the House. Instinctively or deliberately, he has suited his style to this physical change, and he has spoken in a careless, easy, playful way, full of humour and quiet sarcasm, and happy little artistic touches of point and piquancy. If we were asked to name any one who has gained by this session, we should say that Mr. Gladstone is the man; not merely because of his great achievement, the Land Law Act, but also because of the new resources of eloquence and argument which he has been able to display. But the session was not favourable for the birth of new eloquence. New members, if they were English, Scotch, or Welsh, had for the most part to sit silent and patient, without much chance of distinguishing themselves, or even of intervening in debate. Their duty to their party was one of self-constraint. "Thou shalt renounce," says Faust, is the maxim the world teaches to men. "Thou shalt renounce for the present the opportunity of distinguishing thyself" was the maxim which party obligation taught to ambitious Liberals during this session. The session was borne in bitterness and nurtured in convulsion. Its career comes back on the memory with recollections of all-night

sittings, of the suspension of members individually and *en bloc*, of Mr. Bradlaugh's raid, and Mr. Speaker's sudden assumption of despotic authority. Now that it is drawing towards its close, that the lights are going out, and the last few guests are straggling wearily away, we cannot exactly feel sorry that it is so nearly over. "Ah, surely," says Byron, "nothing dies but something mourns." If that poetic dictum be true, then we are compelled to admit that somebody or something must now be mourning the dying of the session of 1881.

The House of Commons was densely crowded in August in anticipation of the task before it of considering the Lords' amendments to the Land Bill. The crowd in the strangers' gallery completed the general appearance of animation, whilst the benches in the gallery allotted to members of the other House were filled shortly after the Speaker took the chair. Amongst the Peers who watched the Commons making short work of the serious amendments of their House were the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Carlingford, Earl Spencer, Lord Monck, Lord Greville, Lord Ellenborough, the Marquis of Waterford, Lord Houghton, Lord Brabourne, the Earl of Limerick, the Earl of Galloway, and Lord Kenmare. The preliminary proceedings did not occupy much time, and at a quarter to five the Premier was moving that the Lords' amendments be now considered.

The first two amendments, being simply verbal, were, on the motion of the Attorney-General for Ireland, agreed to. The first fight arose on the amendment best known as Mr. Heneage's, which, in a slightly altered form, was introduced in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll, and which provides for the exclusion from the operation of the Bill of English managed estates. Mr. Gladstone, whose first interposition at this stage of the measure was hailed with loud cheers, said that with certain amendments he should advise the House to agree to this amendment, though he did so distinctly as a concession to the other House. His amendment, which was agreed to by

the House without a division, provided that landlords might keep their estates outside the Bill only where permanent improvements were made and were "substantially maintained" by them. The words in quotations were Mr. Gladstone's addition. Mr. Parnell, who had proposed to amend the amendment in another sense, withdrew with the prospect of obtaining the support of the Radicals to an objection to the amendment as a whole. In this he succeeded, the Irish members and the Radicals walking out together in opposition to the amendment, which, nevertheless, was carried as amended by 258 votes against 100. In this division the Ministerialists and the Conservative party voted together, nearly the whole of the members below the gangway on the Liberal side making common cause with Mr. Parnell and his friends.

On the Duke of Argyll's amendment to Clause 1, providing that the landlord should be entitled to apply to the court to have paid to him out of the purchase-money of tenancies sold under the Act any sums paid by him or his predecessors for the purchase of tenant right, Mr. Gladstone unhesitatingly pronounced a *non possumus*. Apart from the principle of the proposed amendment, the verbal inaccuracies in it were, he said, so gross as to require alteration even to make the amendment intelligible. Mr. Gibson supported the clause, and Mr. Newdegate made a lament over the Party of Progress, who, he said, were reverting to the feudal tenure of Charles II. "I am accused of being antiquated," he said, amid a storm of friendly protestations in the negative, "but I am too modern for the Party of Progress." On a division, in which the whole of the Liberal party voted in conjunction with the Irish members against the Conservatives, the amendment was disagreed with by 272 votes against 145. Earl Cairns's addition at the end of Clause 1, providing for the security of rent due to the landlord in case of the sale of a tenancy under a judgment or other process of law, was agreed to by the

Government with verbal alteration. It was opposed by the Irish members, who found some support from below the gangway opposite. On a division, the Lords' amendment, as amended, was agreed with by 347 votes against 87. On Clause 4, the Marquis of Lansdowne's amendment, prohibiting subdivision of a holding or the erection of new dwelling-houses without the consent of the landlord, gave rise to a prolonged discussion. Mr. Gladstone moved to amend the amendment by leaving out the section which prohibits the use, as a dwelling-house, of any building which at the time of the passing of the Act was not so used with the consent of the landlord. The Conservatives opposing this were defeated by 219 votes against 93. The Irish members, who had voted with the Government on this question, with great impartiality opposed the amendment as amended, and, dividing the House, found themselves in a minority of 67 votes against 265.

About 10 o'clock, just as the House was embarking on a discussion on wild duck and ground game, some excitement was created by the discovery of a "stranger" on the floor of the House. This turned out to be a colossal blackbeetle, whose devious course across the matting was watched with absorbing interest by the crowded House. When the stranger was first "spied" he was standing almost in the centre of the House at the gangway. His first movements were made in the direction of the corner below the gangway to the left of the Speaker, where the Fourth Party sit. Abandoning his evident intention to join this party, he returned across the floor and made straight for the front bench below the gangway on the Ministerial side. Mr. Charles Russell, seated at the corner, skillfully baffled his intention of joining this section, the proceeding being watched with growing interest by the large number of members who had observed the stranger, and with marvel by the rest of the House, who could not make out what was the matter. Mr. Cartwright, entering and crossing by the gangway, very nearly

brought the incident to a close by treading on the stranger. A little later a member coming from the benches below the gangway deliberately trampled on the intruder, the tragedy being hailed with a prolonged moaning cry of "Oh, oh." At this moment the Attorney-General for Ireland, who was not in the secret, was addressing the House explanatory of Ministerial intention on an amendment to the fifth clause. The right hon. gentleman, thinking he had inadvertently said something that shocked the House, stopped in his speech, and turned round with inquiring glance; whereupon the cry of execration changed to a burst of laughter, and it was only after Mr. Gladstone had laughingly explained to his colleague where the fun lay that Mr. Law went on with his speech.

After this little episode the House returned with great gravity to further consideration of the Lords' amendments, and reaching the 7th clause a debate arose on the question of the circumstances under which the landlord might enter the court. A long and intricate discussion took place, chiefly on points of order. This resulted in Sir Stafford Northcote's moving an amendment, by which the landlord might go into court to have a judicial rent fixed in the case of the tenant having claimed a reduction of rent which the landlord refused to concede. On a division the amendment was rejected by 279 votes against 168. The debate was, at twenty minutes past one o'clock, adjourned, the House remaining full to the last.

It is impossible to go over the ground again, to repeat the oft-told story, how objections were made and replied to, and how passion and party spirit on both sides ran high. These things are written in the *Chronicles of Hansard*, and to them we must refer the reader, desirous for further and fuller information on the subject. The debates on the Irish Land Bill are quite useless to ordinary readers. It suffices to say that in time the Bill was passed.

The Provincial Press had much to say in favour of the Land Bill for Ireland.

The *Leeds Mercury* considers that it is not too soon to say that the Bill has been framed in the boldest and most liberal spirit, and that it bids fair to be received not merely with satisfaction, but even with enthusiasm, by those for whose benefit it is intended. Certainly it must be said at once that the Irish people must be hard to

The *Manchester Examiner* said :—We purposely abstain, as a matter of decency, from pronouncing any final opinion ; but we may at least bear testimony to the comprehensive and generous spirit in which the measure is framed, and express a fervent hope that the intentions of the Government, so eloquently expounded by



W. P. ADAM.

satisfy if they are not content with this measure. For the future, if this Bill should be passed in anything like the shape in which it was last night introduced to the House of Commons, there will hardly be a tenantry in Europe who will have reason to consider themselves more favoured than those of Ireland.

XXIV.—VOL. II.

Mr. Gladstone last night, may meet with their deserts in the contentment and prosperity of Ireland.

The *Sheffield Independent* observed that part of the disappointment arising from the original Act was, as Mr. Gladstone reminded his hearers last night, due to the changes introduced into it in the House of

S

Lords. It should be the object of the Liberal majority and of the country to guard against any such emasculation of the present measure. It must not be made less, whatever happens. Whether it needs to be enlarged we shall soon see.

The *York Herald* remarked that no Minister can expect to sketch a scheme that will satisfy everybody, or pass precisely as he has drawn it. But, regarded as a whole, relatively to the Act of 1870, to the proposals of the two Commissions, to the hopes of moderate reformers, and to the real wishes of the Irish people, Mr. Gladstone has propounded a broad and noble series of reforms, in a calm and conciliatory spirit, and with a purpose worthy of his fame and his avowed desires. Criticism may do much to assail it, but when it has done its worst there will still remain the monument of a patriot's generosity and a statesman's wisdom.

The *Western Mail* said:—It will be found that this latest illustration of paternal government will do just as much, and just as little, good for the Irish tenants as did Mr. Gladstone's former Act of 1870. That it will in any way serve to allay the popular discontent that prevails in the sister island we do not believe.

The *South Wales Daily News* considered that a Land Bill like this should silence all opposition on the part of the Land League. After this it will be, in the last degree, ridiculous, not to say wicked, to charge Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues with being unfriendly or unjust towards the Irish. We do not see what more liberal offer they can have or expect to have. If they will still hold out and kick against the present Government, we can only come to the conclusion that their disease is a form of incurable insanity. Englishmen and Welshmen would rejoice to have a tithe of the advantages offered under this Bill. If Irishmen should still persist in crying "give, give," we fear we must allow them to experience the inevitable disappointment of an insatiate appetite.

The *Manchester Guardian* said:—The

real conflict will take place upon those parts of the Bill which imply a serious limitation of the prescriptive rights of the landlords to deal in their own way with their own property. The conflict is perhaps inevitable, but we may hope that even those whose interests appear to be menaced may summon to their aid some considerations of patriotism. They will do well to remember that there are cases—and this is emphatically one of them—in which, in the words of the wise man, the half is more than the whole.

The *Yorkshire Post* remarked:—When the landlords are being systematically robbed, and deliberately put to every possible expense and hardship in order to get their rents, is it not the most blundering folly or the most wanton wickedness to bring forward legislation by means of which the grip of the landlords on their own will be loosened, and the grip of the rebel on what is not his own strengthened? Mr. Gladstone's Bill may be a mild and moderate measure; but if there be any force and efficacy in it, the tendency which, in the present state of things, it must have, is a tendency to evil.

Some of the utterances were discordant. For instance:—

The *Manchester Courier* wrote:—It is sufficient to show that the iniquitous socialistic measure which was, last night, introduced to the House of Commons is directly in the teeth of the pledges which were given by the Premier when he was trying to persuade Parliament that the economical offences he was proposing to commit, in 1870, were such little ones that it would have been absurd to treat them as serious crimes.

But generally the verdict was one of approval.

The *Manchester Daily Gazette* said:—It may prove to be a mere mockery of the demands of the Irish peasantry, or it may turn out an absolute snare for the Irish landlords—it may amount to nothing worth speaking about, or to a very great deal—and that it is, or may prove to be, no one

outside a lunatic asylum can profess to understand. What it all means, or what it will all come to, is difficult to say or surmise at the present moment, but it may at least be safely predicted of the scheme shadowed forth last night in the House of Commons that it will not satisfy the Irish tenants nor reconcile the Irish landlords, and will very likely fail to secure the appreciation of those who belong to neither class, but would, nevertheless, be well content to see this troublesome question settled in some rational fashion.

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* said :—The principle of "free sale," however carefully hedged about—and Mr. Gladstone has hedged it so carefully that it is little likely to satisfy the Irish people—would undoubtedly tend to make the landlord a mere annuitant. So far as the Bill tends to encourage the reclamation of waste land, to give the small tenant that State aid which has long been at the command of the landlord, and to facilitate emigration, we sympathise with Mr. Gladstone's proposals.

The *Western Daily Mercury* said :—Close examination of the details of the Bill may reveal points upon which we may find occasion to express adverse comments, but such examination is certain also to reveal many more points in which we shall find that the Ministry have whole-heartedly set themselves to deal with a great question, and have done so satisfactorily. The ability and thoroughness with which the Government have accomplished this gigantic task makes us sanguine that they will be able to administer remedy for the other ills of Ireland.

The *Glasgow Herald* said :—It is to be hoped that the Bill will have the effect of removing that chronic misery and discontent in Ireland which has reached the magnitude of a grave political danger ; but, whether it does so or not, it interferes, as no previous legislation in this country has ever done, with all our ordinary conceptions of the rights of property. Sacrifices of the few for the sake of the many have

often been made elsewhere on a large scale, and on a smaller scale even here. It will generally be allowed, we think, that the necessity had arisen in this case, and what has to be seen to is that the demand is not made for too great, or too small, a sacrifice.

The *North British Daily Mail* declared that the Bill, on the whole, appears to be a most comprehensive and satisfactory measure, and it ought to satisfy all reasonable demands. Some of its details may be open to criticism, but if its general principles be excepted, it may prove the means of restoring harmony and prosperity to Ireland, and of reconciling her people to the present position which she occupies as an integral portion of the United Kingdom. Should Mr. Gladstone be successful in carrying a measure which will bear this fruit, he will merit the everlasting gratitude of the whole nation.

Parliament was prorogued on Saturday, Aug. 27th, when the Lord Chancellor took his seat on the Woolsack at half-past one o'clock, the Peers present being the Earl of Cork and Lord Carrington. Prayers having been said by the Bishop of St. Davids, the Lord Chancellor retired, and soon afterwards returned with the other Royal Commissioners, who were Earl Spencer, the Earl of Kenmare, the Earl of Cork, and Lord Monson, their lordships being habited in their scarlet and ermine robes.

The Royal Commissioners, having taken their seats in front of the Throne, which, as customary, was uncovered, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Sir W. Knollys, was directed to request the attendance of the House of Commons to the Bar of the House. In obedience to the summons, the Speaker, attended by the Black Rod, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons, accompanied by members of the House, came to the bar.

The Royal assent was given to the following Bills :—Appropriation Act, Leases for Schools (Ireland), Statute Law Revision and Civil Procedure, Veterinary Surgeons, Expiring Laws Continuance, Central Criminal Court (Prisons), Regula-

tion of the Forces, India Offices (Auditor), Newspaper Libel and Registration, Sunday Closing (Wales), Irish Church Act (Amendment), Fugitive Offenders, Highways and Locomotives (Amendment), Pollen Fishery (Ireland), Supreme Court of Judicature, Petroleum (Hawkers), Erne Lough and River, and Solent Navigation.

The Commission having been read, the Lord Chancellor read the Royal Speech, which was as follows:—

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The

the Government of France; and I have received satisfactory assurances from the Republic as to the rights secured to me by Treaty with the Bey, and as to the relations between the Regency and the neighbouring Ottoman territory of Tripoli.

"The Convention has been signed which secures to the European population of the Transvaal, subject to important conditions therein set forth, a complete internal self government. It awaits ratification by a Representative Assembly of the people. I



RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL.

time has arrived when I am at length enabled to release you from your unusually severe and protracted labours.

"My relations with all foreign Powers continue to be amicable and cordial.

"Progress has been made since I last addressed you in the territorial arrangements of the Levant. A Treaty has been concluded, with the sanction of all the Great Powers, for the cession of Thessaly to the Greek Kingdom; and its peaceful execution has begun.

"Recent events in Tunis have led to communications between my Government and

trust that, when confirmed, it will contribute effectually to the tranquillity of South Africa, and to stability in its affairs.

"The hopes in which I indulged on the last occasion of my addressing you, with respect to the war in Basutoland, have been fulfilled; and I have to notice, with much satisfaction, the termination of hostilities in that country.

"In the month of April my troops were withdrawn from Candahar, and the government of Southern Afghanistan was assumed by the Ameer Abdur Rahman.

"I have no reason to anticipate any

disturbance of peace on the northwestern frontier of my Indian dominions from the contest with the Ameer into which Ayoub Khan has since entered.

"It will be my object, while respecting the independence of the Afghan people, to promote, by my friendly offices, as opportunity may arise, the restoration of peace.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I thank you for the supplies which you have provided to meet the public charge, and for the contribution you have liberally

be mainly raised, and for combining together more closely the several branches of my land forces. This completion of the series of arrangements adopted by a former Parliament cannot fail to render more efficient the military organisation of the country.

"I warmly appreciate the zeal and assiduity with which you have devoted yourselves to the task of maturing a measure for improving the relations between the owners and occupiers of land in Ireland,



RIGHT HON. F. HORSMAN.

made towards the expenses of the recent war in Afghanistan.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The commercial negotiations with France have been suspended; but I continue desirous on every ground to use my best efforts for the conclusion of a treaty on terms favourable to extended intercourse between the two nations, to whose close amity I attach so great a value.

"The Act for the Regulation of the Forces gives full legislative effect to the plans approved by Parliament for connecting regiments with the districts in which they will

and for otherwise bettering the condition of its agricultural population. It is my earnest hope that the new law may be productive of benefits commensurate with the care you have bestowed upon its enactments.

"I regret that it has been found impossible to proceed with many measures on subjects of importance, which have been, or were prepared to be, submitted to you; and that, notwithstanding exertions almost unparalleled, you have been unable adequately to provide the country with legislation adapted to its growing wants.

"It has been my study to use the exceptional powers confided to me in Ireland by two Acts of this session with vigilance and firmness, but with discrimination; while I earnestly desire that the condition of that country may so improve as to enable me to dispense with, or to abate, the use of temporary and exceptional provisions.

"Finally, I ask you to join me in imploring the blessing of the Almighty on our united efforts for the peace, greatness, and happiness of the Empire."

The Royal Commission of the Prorogation of Parliament having been read, the Lord Chancellor, in her Majesty's name and at her Royal command, declared Parliament prorogued until the 12th of November.

In the House of Commons the Speaker took the chair at ten minutes to two o'clock, when there were only about 30 members present.

On the motion of Baron H. De Worms, a new writ was ordered to issue for Cambridgeshire, in the room of Mr. Hunter Rodwell, Q.C., who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod (General Sir W. Knollys, K.C.B.) entered the House just before two o'clock, and summoned its attendance in the House of Peers.

The Speaker left the chair, and, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms carrying the mace, was followed to the House of Lords by about 40 members, including Sir F. Herschell (Solicitor-General), Mr. Courtney (Under Secretary for the Colonies), Lord Kensington, Sir A. Hayter, and Mr. Cotes, Messrs. Potter, Warton, R. N. Fowler, M. Henry, Finigan, Borlase, Hutchinson, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Baron H. De Worms, Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, Mr. Briggs, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. D. Grant, The O'Gorman Mahon, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Biggar, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and Mr. Hopwood.

When the House returned from the Lords there were present besides those already named, the Solicitor-General for

Ireland, Sir W. Palliser, General Burnaby, Mr. Healy, and Mr. Callan.

The Speaker did not return to the chair, and, contrary to custom, did not read the Queen's Speech, but simply stood at the table and bade farewell to hon. members by shaking hands with them.

The House adjourned at twenty minutes past two.

In one of the divisions in the House of Commons, on August 9th, 438 members took part. It is stated that the division lists show that for many years past the House of Commons has not contained so many members within its walls on the 9th August.

The number of Acts which received the Royal Assent in the late Session was 287, of which 72 were public, 219 local, and 6 private. In the previous session the number was 67 public, 211 local, and 5 private, making 283.

The number of private Bills put forward in the House of Commons last session was 226. Of these 188 eventually received the Royal Assent, leaving 38 which, from a variety of causes, were not proceeded with. The Bills related for the most part to railways, tramways, gas and water supply, and town improvements. The London and North-Western Railway succeeded in carrying three of their Bills, but did not proceed with that for the Rickmansworth, Amersham, and Chesham line.

During the long session many changes, arising from various causes, took place in the composition of the House of Commons. Five of its members vacated their seats on being appointed to offices which rendered necessary their withdrawal from Parliamentary life. Sir Henry Jackson was elevated to the judicial bench only a short time before his death; Sir Henry Have-lock-Allan received a military commission; Mr. Grant Duff succeeded the late Mr. Adams as Governor of Madras; the Lord Advocate of Scotland took a judgeship in the Court of Session; and Mr. E. F. Litton accepted one of the Commissionerships created by the provisions of the Irish Land

Act. Two members have resigned their seats, viz., Mr. Duncan M'Laren and Mr. J. W. Foley. Thus far, during the present year, no vacancy has arisen through accession to the peerage, although when the session opened, on the 6th January, one existed at Wigan in consequence of Lord Lindsay having been summoned to the House of Peers in succession to his father, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. There have been seven deaths, and the members thus removed were:—Major Cartwright, 58; Sir R. Musgrave, 43; Sir Charles Reed, 62; Sir Philip Egerton, 75; Mr. Hermon, 61; Colonel Joicey, 64; and Mr. Laycock, 48. The deceased gentlemen were in the proportion of four Conservatives to three Liberals. No Home Rule member has died.

The constituencies called upon to elect new members through different causes were Wigan, Edinburgh (twice), New Ross, South Northampton, East Cumberland, Coventry, St. Ives, Sunderland, West Cheshire, Knaresborough, Northampton, Preston, Elgin burghs, and Leeds, while North Durham, North Lincolnshire, and Tyrone remain to be filled. At Wigan, Mr. F. S. Powell, a Conservative, was elected on the 18th January, in succession to Lord Lindsay, but was unseated on petition, and no new writ has since been issued. Amongst the most recent debates in the House of Commons have been those on the proposition of the Attorney-General to appoint a Royal Commission of Inquiry, which the House of Commons, by the narrow majority of 6, declined to sanction, and on the propriety of issuing a new writ, which still, however, remains suspended. On the 27th January, Mr. John M'Laren, who then held the office of Lord Advocate of Scotland, was returned for that city in succession to his father, Mr. Duncan M'Laren, who had retired in his favour. The appointment of the Lord Advocate to the Scottish Judicial Bench rendered another election necessary, when Mr. T. R. Buchanan, a Liberal, was returned without opposition. At New Ross, Mr. J.

E. Redmond, a Home Ruler, succeeded Mr. Foley, of the same political party, on his acceptance of the Chiltern Hundreds. In South Northamptonshire, Mr. Pickering Phipps, who represented the borough of Northampton in the Conservative interest during the last Parliament, took, without opposition, the seat rendered vacant through the death of Major Cartwright. In East Cumberland, Mr. George Howard regained the seat which he lost at the general election. At Coventry, Mr. H. W. Eaton, a former Conservative member, was elected by a considerable majority over Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth, the Liberal candidate. The next contest was that at Northampton, following a decision of the Court of Appeal; and Mr. Bradlaugh, having resigned his seat, was re-elected by a majority of 132. At St. Ives, Mr. Charles Ross, a Conservative, filled the seat which had been occupied by Sir Charles Reed. At Sunderland, Mr. Samuel Storey, a Liberal, succeeded, without opposition, to the seat vacated by Sir H. Havelock-Allan. In West Cheshire there was a contest on the death of Sir Philip Egerton, which resulted in the return of Mr. H. J. Tollemache, a Conservative, by a majority of 382. A new writ having been issued for Knaresborough, on the report of the Royal Commission that corrupt practices had not extensively prevailed, Mr. T. Collins, a Conservative, was returned, in succession to Sir H. Meysey-Thompson, who had been unseated on petition. At Preston, Mr. W. F. Ecroyd, a Conservative, was elected upon the death of Mr. Hermon, also a member of the Opposition. In the Elgin burghs, Mr. Alexander Asher took the seat which had been so long held by Mr. Grant Duff, and was re-elected without opposition on his appointment as Solicitor-General for Scotland.

The net gain to the Conservative party upon the elections of this year is two seats. They have lost East Cumberland and have gained Coventry, St. Ives, and Knaresborough. Last year, in the numerous elections which succeeded the meeting of

the new Parliament, from petitions and other causes, the Conservatives gained seats in Buteshire and at Oxford, Sandwich, Wigton Burghs, Berwick, Liverpool, and Evesham. The Liberals gained a seat at Bandon. Of the Conservative victories, however, those at Oxford and Sandwich were subsequently nullified on petition; and, deducting these from the actual strength of the Opposition in the House of Commons, their net gain last year was four seats. Two having been added this year, it follows that thus far, during the present Parliament, six seats represent the net Conservative gain. Excluding the seat at Wigan, where there can now be no new election until next year, three seats are to be immediately filled up, all in counties, and each representing a Liberal triumph at the general election.

Several changes have taken place in the ranks of the Ministry outside the Cabinet. Early in the year Mr. A. W. Peel resigned the Under-Secretaryship for the Home Department. This was taken by Mr. Courtney, who was moved a few months afterwards to a similar position at the Colonial Office, on the appointment of Mr. Grant Duff as Governor of Madras. The Lord-Advocate of Scotland, after a few months' tenure of office, accepted a judgeship, and was succeeded by the Solicitor-General, whose place was taken by Mr. Asher. The late Solicitor-General, Mr. Balfour, already held office under the Crown, and on his elevation to the higher position of Lord-Advocate, had no occasion to appeal to his constituents for re-election. It may be noted that both the Scottish law officers now occupy seats held by Governors of Madras appointed by the present Premier; the Lord-Advocate sits for Clackmannan and Kinross, for many years represented by Mr. Adam, and the Solicitor-General sits for the Elgin Burghs, recently vacated by Mr. Grant Duff, who succeeded Mr. Adam on his lamented death. It may also be pointed out that contrary to the experience of many Administrations, all six law officers of the

Crown for the three kingdoms are members of the House of Commons—the Attorney and Solicitor-General for England, the Lord-Advocate and Solicitor-General for Scotland, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General for Ireland. The constituencies thus represented are—Taunton, Durham, Clackmannan and Kinross, the Elgin Burghs, the county of Londonderry, and the borough of Mallow. Amongst other changes in the subordinate offices of the Ministry were the appointment of Mr. Herbert Gladstone as an unpaid junior Lord of the Treasury, which was ratified by his constituents at Leeds, and that of the Earl of Rosebery as Under-Secretary to the Home Department, in succession to Mr. Courtney. On the Marquis of Huntly resigning the post of Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, it was conferred upon Lord Carrington. The only alteration which has been made in the composition of the Cabinet was the resignation of the Duke of Argyll of the office of Lord Privy Seal on the 7th of April last, and the selection of Lord Carlingford as his successor.

Towards the end of the session, considerable interest was occasioned by the return of the Hon. James Lowther—a Tory of the Tories—for Lincolnshire, and of Sir George Eliot—another Conservative—for Durham. In both cases a Whig majority had been turned into a Conservative one; and in the case of Durham, the Irish element had contributed to the return of the Conservative candidate. In that of Lincolnshire an effort had been made to hint to the farmers that if a Conservative were returned something might be done for their benefit—which could not, or would not, be done, were a supporter of the Government sent to Parliament. The vacancy in the representation of the Elgin District of Burghs, consequent upon the appointment of Mr. Grant Duff to the Governorship of Madras, is the thirteenth which has arisen in the ranks of the House of Commons during the half-year. This is a small proportion, looking at the fact that last year, between the meeting of Parlia-

ment on the 29th of April and the prorogation on the 7th of September, twenty-five elections took place; while between the prorogation and the opening of Parliament on the 6th of January last, only six vacancies occurred, one of which was at Reading, where Mr. Shaw Lefevre was re-elected without opposition on his appointment to the office of First Commissioner of Works.

The twelve seats which have been filled during the six months in question, taking them in order, are Wigan, Edinburgh, New Ross, South Northamptonshire, East Cumberland, Coventry, Northampton, St. Ives, Sunderland, West Cheshire, Knarborough, and Preston. Seven Conservatives, four Liberals, and one Home Ruler have been returned, but of the Conservatives, Mr. F. S. Powell has been unseated. The causes which have contributed to these vacancies are five through death, three through appointments to offices incompatible with the holding of a seat in the House of Commons, two through resignation, one through succession to the peerage, one through the decision upon an election petition, and one—that at Northampton—through the judgment of a court of law. The Liberals, as the results of the half-year's contests, have gained a seat in East Cumberland, and the Conservatives have won seats at Coventry, St. Ives, and Knarborough.

All the while Mr. Gladstone himself, as regards Protection, retained an unchanged attitude. The sugar bakers, of whom Mr. Ritchie had been the champion in the House of Commons, were especially eager on the subject; and through one of his secretaries, Mr. E. W. Hamilton, he sent a long reply to the chairman of the Sugar Operatives' Committee, of London, on the policy of meeting the bounties on imported sugar by countervailing duties. After pointing out that the field of employment in the sugar trade had been extended and not contracted during late years, Mr. Gladstone says he has been advised on the highest legal authority that the imposition

of such duties would be inconsistent with what is known as "the most-favoured-nation clause" in our commercial treaties with foreign nations. The difficulty of discovering where each importation of sugar had been grown, which would be necessary if countervailing duties were adopted, is, in the Prime Minister's opinion, insuperable. Mr. Gladstone thinks it needless to revert to the economic objections to the proposed policy, which have been often stated, and in conclusion regrets that no good is likely to result from continuing the correspondence.

It appeared that after the Land Bill had gone through both Houses, a comparison with the chronology of the measure of 1870 was drawn up. That Bill was introduced into the Commons by Mr. Gladstone on February 15th, and was read a first time the same night. On the 7th of March the debate on the second reading commenced, and was concluded on the 11th. On the 28th March the Bill was taken in Committee, there being already 340 amendments. On the last day of the month Mr. Gladstone proposed a morning sitting. On the 30th May the Bill was read a third time, and on the 17th June, after three days' debate, it was read a second time in the Lords. On the 4th July it passed through Committee in the Upper House, and on July 12th reached the Commons for consideration of the Lords' amendments. On August 1st the Bill received the Royal Assent. In respect of its progress through the Commons, it should be borne in mind that in the same Session the House passed the Education Bill and a Peace Preservation Bill, besides other measures of lesser moment.

The Chairman of Committees, towards the end of the Session, made an interesting calculation, which shows that, inclusive of Friday night, the House of Commons had already sat that Session for 143 days. The sittings reached in the aggregate 1,310 hours, of which 230 were spent after midnight.

An important factor in the political

world was thus referred to in the *Lancet*. In August, that learned journal wrote as follows on the subject of Mr. Gladstone's health:—"Apart from all political and party feelings it is but proper to express our satisfaction at seeing Mr. Gladstone, at the end of a Session almost unprecedented for length and for those influences which harass and exhaust, in a state of admirable health and spirits. It was a physiological and psychological marvel last week to see him rise and show reasons for disagreeing with the Lords' amendments, not in any hasty or excited mood, but with perfect serenity of intellect and temper, with absolute mastery of details, and appealing to all that was best in his opponents. This is a feat which in our judgment exceeds the felling of many trees, and almost crowns Mr. Gladstone's many claims to distinction. The last straw breaks the camel's back, and it would have been excusable if the obstructions of August had elicited peevishness, and intelligible if they had produced exhaustion. But both strength and temper are intact, and Mr. Gladstone goes to his holiday with a stock of energy which many younger men would be glad to return with, and which is no mean guarantee for future service to his Queen and country."

The total number of divisions taken in the House of Commons on the various stages of the Irish Land Bill last session was 124, viz. —On second reading, 2; in committee, 73; as amended (including new clauses), 9; on consideration of Lords' amendments, 23; on consideration of Lords' reasons and further amendments, 8; and on third reading, 1. The House also divided 73 times on the Coercion Bill, 5 times on the address to the Crown on the opening of Parliament, and 7 times on the suspension of members. The total number of divisions during the session was 411.

In commenting on the Queen's Speech, the *Times* remarked that at the beginning of the session the Transvaal was still in a flame, the Basuto war was going on,

English troops were still in occupation of Candahar, and the territorial disputes arising out of the Treaty of Berlin had only been partially settled. On all these points there is a distinct advance shown. The war in the Transvaal is at an end, and a Convention has been signed, which we are led to hope will contribute effectually to the tranquillity of South Africa. The Speech notices further the satisfactory termination of hostilities in Basutoland. The English troops have withdrawn from Candahar, and India has been set free from a dangerous connection with a troublesome and disturbed neighbour. With the territorial arrangements in Southeastern Europe good progress has been made. In January there seemed every prospect of a war between Greece and Turkey. This grave risk to the peace of Europe has been averted by the Treaty to which the Royal Speech refers, concluded with the sanction of the great powers for the cession of Thessaly to the Greek kingdom. The French invasion of Tunis has been the most disturbing incident of the year. It has led to communications between France and England, but these the Speech declares have been satisfactory at every point, so that relations with all foreign Powers continue to be amicable and cordial. The Queen's Speech thus far is contented with summoning results. Of the difficulties experienced in attaining them it says little or nothing. But when we turn to home politics the difficulties are the chief part of the story, and the results almost *nil*. The session of nearly eight months has produced but four legislative measures, to which the Queen's Speech refers. The Act for the Regulating of the Forces is one of them. The three others are Acts relating to Ireland. There is a hint in almost every line of the trouble which these three Acts have cost. We hear of the many important subjects with which it has been found impossible to deal; of the almost unparalleled exertion which Parliament has made, and of the almost total want of success which has attended them. The

history of the past session justifies these comments. It has been laborious and it has been sterile. The Queen's Speech at the opening of a session is always sure to present some contrast with the speech at the close. Anticipations are never realised. Some good work which was to be done, and which to all appearance could be done, is found in the end not to have been done. The present session is no exception to the rule. Modest as was the programme set before Parliament in January, it has proved to have been too ambitious.

As to the nature of the difficulties that have beset Parliament in its legislative efforts, the Queen's Speech is silent. It would not have been easy to go into particulars about them without some descent of style, some loss of the traditional decorum which royalty is bound to observe. "If you had talked less, you might have been able to do more," would have been a remark out of place in the Queen's Speech, but it would have been a simple expression of fact. The language of the Speech is more polite than this. It lays no fault anywhere. It speaks of difficulties and impossibilities as though they were in some way inherent in the nature of things; some sort of mysterious entities beyond human control. The case is a good deal in reality more simple than this. It is not only in Parliament that excessive talk is found to be a hindrance to work. It is a law indeed of all human affairs, from those of schoolboys upwards. If the session of 1882 is to show any improvement upon the last, it must be because a different spirit has been infused into the Legislature. "There must be wish to work and the determination to work upon a plan. Garrulity, whoever is guilty of it, must be felt equally to be an offence and an obstruction to work. There must be an end not only to the random talk, but to the random, abortive efforts, which are doomed to be futile from the first. There must be a set purpose to go to work on an intelligent plan, and an impatience of everything that interferes with it or tends to defeat it. The Parliamentary

atmosphere, if we may so term it, must change. There must be discipline voluntarily submitted to in the place of disorder, and the existence of such discipline implies a suppression of not a few of the most marked Parliamentary faults. As far as the country wishes to be left alone there will be no objection felt to the disturbed, fitful, irregular course which Parliamentary business takes, and which makes it impossible for Parliament to do either much harm or good. But it is, even so, a little too bad that there should have been insuperable obstacles in the way of the two or three simple measures which the country most needs. A reform of the bankruptcy law, or a plan of county government, it may be beyond the power of the Legislature to grapple with. An Act for the prevention of river floods is a much smaller affair. We may fairly complain that we are about to enter on another season of floods with no help from the Legislature to enable us to cope with them. The want is imperative. The subject has been discussed a dozen times over, inside and outside Parliament; there is a substantial agreement about the few requirements of the case. But nothing has been done. To make provision for deepening a new channel, or for removing obstacles from its course, has proved to be too difficult a matter for the first legislative assembly in the world. This is really a test instance. We shall hail the passing of a Floods Preventive Act as a proof and instalment of genuine Parliamentary reform. Let us hope that when the next blessing is implored upon the united efforts of the Legislature, a Flood Prevention Act may be included in the subjects to which the prayer refers."

Speaking of the allusions to the Commercial Treaty with France, a writer in the *Times* remarked:—"The desire on all hands to conclude a treaty on terms favourable to extended intercourse between England and France may be assumed. The only question can be, whether a Commercial Treaty can be of any help towards this. The country, we believe,

does not wait anxiously for a renewal of the suspended negotiations. The Treaty must be a very favourable one if it is to have a warm welcome given it. It must contain some great and unexpected concession on the part of France. A Treaty that was no better than the present would be received with very scanty favour. It would be open, in any case, to the grave objections which Lord Grey's letter urged against the theory and practice of Commercial Treaties. The best possible Commercial Treaty is, from Lord Grey's point of view, condemned. It needs no such appeal to principle to make out a case against an inferior Treaty. The country has no wish for this, and had better be without it. He has given the heads of his indictment. We are glad to have obtained this strong confirmation of the view which we took when the original Treaty of 1860 was under discussion, and which we have seen no reason since to alter. The Treaty, as Lord Grey points out, has not done the kind of good predicted from it, and it has done a good deal of accidental mischief. A bare, most-favoured-nation clause would be Treaty enough. To this there would be no objection, and as Sir Charles Dilke has hinted, it may not impossibly be the form which the new Treaty will take." A Treaty to supply France with coal—our stock-in-trade—in order that we may indulge in the luxury of cheap claret and the ingenious trifles known as articles of Paris, bears on the face of it its own condemnation, it must be admitted ; but when it was made France was an Empire, and it was felt it was worth something to insure that the Empire should be at peace. It was for this purpose Mr. Cobden was sent to Paris to negotiate, and Mr. Gladstone carried the original Treaty of December, 1785. Mr. Eden—afterwards Lord Auckland—was appointed one of the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade and Plantations, and was named Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Versailles for the purpose of concluding a Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France.

That Treaty was accomplished and signed September 26, 1786. "People in general," wrote the Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden, "are very much pleased with your Treaty ; the principal merchants in the city don't choose to give an opinion about it ; anything, if novel, is apt to stupefy merchants. They think if they go out of the beaten track they must be losers." Lord Sheffield, a higher authority, wrote :—"I have letters from all parts of this island, and as yet there seems to be general approbation, but that need not be very flattering. Scarce anybody knows enough, or will know enough, to find out defects for some time. . . . I, however, have been so simple a politician as to state that you had done your business well, but I have always declared much depends on what administration may further do." Administration in a little while broke up the Treaty and went to war.

Under the date of 1787, Mr. Eden writes in defence of his Treaty :—"How can you twist and pervert your own superior understanding so as to affect even to give countenance to all the anti-Gallican nonsense which is encouraged in England ? It does well enough in House-of-Commons speeches, when the subject furnishes nothing better ; but, further, when the feelings of coffee-houses and tavern meetings are in question, it is a poor business. I am not so respectful, however, towards my countrymen as to deny that it is possible to persuade a great number of them that the Treaty of Commerce has repealed Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus, and has actually introduced an universal excise and wooden shoes. But it will be the nonsense of a few weeks, and they will afterwards consider it with the same sneer with which you would do if you were at the opposite side of this table, and were talking fairly about it with me. I certainly do not pretend to see to what this new friendship between the nations may tend ; possibly to something bad in the course of time. Still less do I pretend to foresee to what the contingencies of the

old system of commercial hostility would have tended ; probably, also, to something calamitous, and that soon. But, in the meantime, I am satisfied by all the sound principles of national policy that I can trace in the writings of David Hume, Adam Smith, Lord Sheffield, M. Necker, etc., that it not only would have been absurd, but immoral in the extreme, to have de-

resolutions to which my old friend, Mr. Walker, has been induced to sign his name, though they are grossly the reverse of anything that is called either wise, or acute, or ingenious."

University Education in Ireland was one of the questions on which the Government were allowed to legislate. A Bill was introduced by Lord Carlingford in the



WELLINGTON'S BIRTHPLACE, DUBLIN,
Where Irish Land Commissioners held their first sittings.

clined the present experiment, great and precarious as it may be. In the present moment it gives bread and employment and prosperity to millions, and as to futurity the prospects are at least as good as they seemed for my creed ; at the same time I have perfect charity towards those who either think, or pretend to think, otherwise. I can even read with complacency those

Upper House to enable the Senate of the Royal University of Ireland to carry into effect the Irish University Act of 1877. The Bill went down to the House of Commons at a critical moment ; the Lords' amendments to the Land Bill were under consideration, and all attention was concentrated in that tremendous issue. When the danger of conflict had passed the

energies of Parliament were plainly exhausted. The Royal University Bill could only be passed by not having discussion upon it, and thus it became law. Nevertheless, if the session had allowed of debate on subjects—especially Irish subjects of secondary importance—the Royal University Bill would have deserved some notice. It is in effect the completion of the policy adopted by Parliament two years ago, when the Conservative Government proposed, with the assent of the majority of the Liberal Party, to abolish the Queen's University, and to substitute for it an Examining Board, empowered to confer degrees on all comers. Though the leaders of the Liberal Opposition did not oppose the Bill of 1879, they were not enthusiastic in its favour, some of them, like Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster, having views of their own which they would have preferred to carry out. The debates in Parliament showed that the dangers of the question of Denominational Endowment and the difficulties of settling a curriculum likely to be accepted by all creeds and classes in Ireland, was as serious as in 1873. The risk of the inconvenience of the reappearance of old disputes was evaded by giving the Senate of the new University to be constituted under the Act a blank cheque to fill up. To the Senate was left the settlement of the scheme of studies to be enforced; of the method in which the examination tests should be applied; of the status and remuneration of the Examiners, and of the prizes to be awarded to successful students. But the Act of 1879 contained no provisions of public money for giving effect to the plans adopted by the Senate. It was obvious that when the Senate had completed its preliminary work it would be necessary again to appeal to Parliament for setting the new machinery in motion, either in the shape of a rate to be placed annually on the Estimates, or as a fixed and permanent grant. Accordingly, the Bill placed at the disposal of the Senate for the purposes distinctly stated in the Act of 1879, an endowment of £20,000 a

year, chargeable upon the Irish Church surplus. The expense of carrying out the scheme as originally drawn up by the Senate would have amounted to a good deal more than this, but the Government declined to allocate a larger sum for the maintenance of the University, and intimated that the Senate would have to cut its scheme according to its cloth. The amount required for office expenses and the examining staff, as the Standing Committees of the Senate have urged in their recent correspondence with Mr. Forster, cannot be materially lessened, so that the burden of reduction must fall upon the system of rewards. It is, perhaps, not an unmixed gain to learning that the direct rewards of success in examination should be multiplied. The working of the intermediate education system in Ireland has developed some unsatisfactory results. In the report of the President of Queen's College, Cork, lately issued, there are some striking remarks on the subject. Dr. Sullivan complains that the expected improvement in the youths leaving school has not followed the introduction of the intermediate examinations. "School work," he says, "is being reduced to an organised system of cramming the clever boys, capable of winning prizes for themselves, and result fees for the schools, while the majority who cannot do this receive little or no attention. It is not to be desired that the multiplication of prizes for those who pass the examinations of the new University should aggravate the evil. A moderate provision of rewards for the most successful students may stimulate intellectual activity, but it would be lamentable to bring into existence a class of mere bread students, as the Germans call them, to whom the prizes would be everything and the learning nothing." When the system of examination for degrees was fairly set to work, and students were admitted to competition for certificates and prizes without any restriction as to the places of education, the Queen's University was merged in the Royal University—a consummation

achieved in the autumn of 1881. It is natural, however, that those who have laboured for the success of the non-sectarian and collegiate system should deplore a change destructive of the principles upon which the Queen's University was founded; the principle of united secular and separate religious instruction has been abandoned by Parliament as the condition of State recognition and State aid to education in Ireland. The principle that university degrees should be granted, not merely upon examinational tests, but after a course of collegiate training, has also been set aside. The Queen's University can point, says the *Times*, with legitimate pride to the practical achievement of the system which is to be supplanted. From the annual reports of the Presidents of the Queen's Colleges, we derive some interesting information as to the results worth recording. Of Belfast College we need say but little. It has always been a flourishing institution, which can be but little affected by any legislative innovation. But the Cork and Galway Colleges have been constantly denounced, or derided as failures. Some figures from the report of Dr. Sullivan on Queen's College, Cork, and from that of Dr. Moffat on the Queen's College, Galway, may be placed on record. During the session of 1880-81, there were 120 new entrances in Queen's College, Cork. The total number of students attending lectures in 1876-77 was 232; the next year it was 257; the year after, 300; and, in the last year, 327. This remarkable and steady increase, it must be remarked, has taken place during the crisis through which the education controversy has passed, and in the distracted social condition of Ireland. In Galway, the centre of the poorest and least advanced of the Irish provinces, the progress of the Queen's College has been equally unexpected and equally satisfactory. There were 105 entrances in 1880-81. The total number of students had risen from 167 in 1878-79 to 180 in 1879-80; and to 203 in 1880-81. These statistics prove that the non-sectarian system, if it left

some educational gaps to be filled, was not, as it has often been so idly asserted, wholly rejected by the people of Ireland. In the new university system the Queen's Colleges will continue to fill an important place. Trinity College, Dublin, is excluded from the scope of the Act, and outside Trinity College only the Catholic College on St. Stephen's Green, and the Queen's Colleges can be said to be giving a real University education to any large number of advanced students. It will be to the interest of the Catholic College and the Queen's College to keep the examinations of the Royal University from degenerating into mere cram work, and to maintain a liberal standard of general culture. It is to be hoped that the Senate will be firm in resisting the temptation to please everybody by an excess of generosity in rewarding merit. Profuse expenditure on prizes can only tend to encourage mere grammar schools or theological seminaries, to set up for procuring academic degrees for their students without the equivalent intellectual or material necessary for a true University training.

But to return to the Land League. As soon as the Irish Land Bill was passed, Mr. Parnell and his followers acted as it was natural they should. The Irish Party, as it is called, exist by agitation. Its leaders have been bitterly disappointed at their impotence in the House of Commons. They were checkmated there by the resolute determination of the great majority of members — Whigs and Tories, Radicals and Liberals, Irishmen and Scotchmen — not to submit to the dictation of a handful of avowed obstructives. They found themselves unable either to coerce the Government into adopting their policy, or to avenge their rebuff. Naturally, the organisers and spokesmen of the League felt sore and restless. They have, it is evident, a direct personal interest in the maintenance of an organisation which elevates them out of the obscurity under which previously they had long rested, and which places in their hands, while its

power endures, the disposition of borough and county seats throughout the greater part of Ireland, and the control of large funds, chiefly contributed by sympathisers in the United States. If the Land League were to be dissolved, or even to lapse into quiescence, Mr. Parnell's authority as Grand Elector would vanish, and the supplies from America would drop away. It is idle to affect surprise or indignation at the conduct of a school of politicians whose record for two years past is that of the Irish party. A fear was expressed in certain quarters that the continuance of the agitation might in time compel the Government to give way. People were frightened not a little when, immediately after the passing of the Bill and the proroguing of Parliament, Mr. Parnell repaired to Ireland to further bring down the rents, in order to take the lowered rent as the basis for buying out the landlords, to proclaim war to the English manufacturer, and starvation to the English labourer, by Boycotting all English goods; and to win for Ireland the very doubtful blessing of Home Rule. In a letter by Auberon Herbert, this doubt was clearly and forcibly expressed. He finds that there is "a new Liberal copying machine, or kind of hektograph, for expressing, with great force, the suitable popular sentiment whenever a Minister's finger, either in London or Birmingham, presses the spring." Those who believe that Liberal opinion has been thus organised until it ceases to deserve the name of opinion, not to speak of principles, may feel uneasy at Mr. Parnell's activity. They may argue that an all-powerful and impressionable Minister, finding the Irish agitation embarrassing, may become suddenly convinced of the necessity of surrendering to it, and may press the spring of the great machine for manufacturing public opinion, as it was pressed more than once during the past Session. "These fears," said the *Times*, "truly imply a profound distrust of the independence of the English character, which Liberals especially claim as their

own. We should be sorry to share Mr. Herbert's scepticism. We believe the apparent power of mere agitators would immediately collapse if an experiment such as Mr. Herbert describes were to be actually tried. The Minister might press the spring, but the hektograph would not work. This is most assuredly the case with respect to Ireland, though Mr. Parnell, it will be seen, expresses his firm belief that the Government will be forced to consider the demand for Home Rule. The people of England and Scotland are weary of the Irish question, and disgusted with the proceedings of Irish politicians. The Land Act was passed with the assent of the great majority, chiefly because there was a conviction that this large measure of justice, and something more, to quote Lord Hartington's words, took away the last shadow of a legitimate Irish grievance. It would not be tolerated that the extraordinary concessions made to the claims of the Irish tenants should be made the starting point for new proposals of revolutionary change, as if the Land Act of 1881 were an obsolete relic of feudal privilege and English conquest. No Minister would be able to force a policy of this kind on the English nation. It may, indeed, be suspected that the mischievous activity of the Irish party, the waste of time, due to deliberate obstruction, and the disproportionate share of Parliamentary attention exacted for Irish business during the past two sessions, will even injure the chances of some practical matters relating to Ireland, on which legislation is needed. Nothing has been more remarkable in the history of the Land League than the failure of Mr. Parnell to elicit the sympathy for his violent and revolutionary appeals among the rank and file of the English democracy. Even the demonstration at Newcastle, at the end of the Session, could scarcely be called an exceptional instance. It was due to the personal influence of Mr. Cowen, whose popularity with his fellow countrymen is not commensurate with his weight in national politics. The adherence of one eloquent

eccentric to the League only throws into more conspicuous relief the refusal of all other Radicals in England and Scotland to join with Mr. Parnell in his demands for the expropriation of Irish landlords, and the restoration of Irish independence. O'Connell had a large English following, Parnell has none." But then how changed is Ireland since O'Connell's time. "It is impossible, I think," wrote Mr. Lecky, as far back as 1871, "not to be struck with the contrast which Ireland presents to England. If the one country furnishes us with an admirable example of the action of a healthy public opinion, the other supplies us with the most equivocal symptom of its disease. The Imperial Parliament exercises for Ireland legislative functions, but it is almost powerless upon opinion—it allays no discontent, and attracts no attention. Political talent, which for many years was at least abundant among Irishmen, as in any equally numerous section of the people, has been steadily declining; and the marked decadence in this respect among the representatives of the nation reflects but too truly the absence of public spirit in their constituencies. The upper classes have lost their sympathy with, and their moral ascendancy over, their tenants, and are thrown for the most part into a policy of mere obstruction. The genuine national enthusiasm never flows in the channel of Imperial politics. With great multitudes sectarian considerations have entirely superseded national ones, and their representatives are accustomed systematically to subordinate all party and all political questions to ecclesiastical interests, and while calling themselves Liberals, they make it the main object of their home politics to separate the different classes of their fellow countrymen, during the period of their education, and the main object of their foreign policy to support the temporal power of the Pope. With another, and a still larger class, the prevailing feeling seems to be an indifference, to all Parliamentary proceedings; an utter scepticism about constitutional means of realising

their ends—a blind, persistent hatred of England. Every cause is taken up with an enthusiasm in exact proportion to the degree in which it is supposed to be injurious to English interests. An amount of energy and enthusiasm which, if rightly directed, would suffice for the political regeneration of Ireland, is wasted in the most insane projects of disloyalty; while the diversion of so much public feeling from Parliamentary politics leaves the Parliamentary arena more and more open to corruption to place humbug and imposture."

In the Session of 1881 the Conservatives, as we have remarked, sided with the Liberals. They had no alternative. To have acted otherwise would have been suicidal. As soon as the session was over it was made clear to the country that this wise policy had been exchanged for one of a totally different character. Sir Stafford Northcote long resisted the influence brought to bear on him from below the gangway by politicians of the order of Mr. Gorst and Lord Randolph Churchill. It was probably with a feeling of profound gratitude that he welcomed the timely assistance unexpectedly supplied to law and order by Mr. Parnell and his friends, in the foolish demonstration that resulted in the expulsion of the party *en bloc*. But for that ebullition of passion Sir Stafford Northcote would not have been able to resist the influence of the irregular forces of his party, and must needs have joined in obstructing the revision of the new rules. The happy consequence of this unparalleled demonstration temporarily subdued even Lord Randolph Churchill, and in a single sitting the new rules were passed. Later in the session this temporary influence had become dissipated, and when fresh proposals were made from the Treasury benches, under the dire necessity of making progress with public business, the Parnellites found themselves loyally supported, not only by the irregular forces of Opposition, but by the regular forces. Lapse of time has confirmed that policy

and we may be sure that in the session of 1882 we shall see the Government opposed by a coalition of Conservatives and obstructives on the question of confirming the rules of the House of Commons. At the Newcastle demonstration in the autumn, while Lord Salisbury had represented Mr. Gladstone as traitorous in the Transvaal, criminally scheming for his own ends in Ireland, weak in India, and truckling in Egypt, Sir Stafford was able to draw an entirely new portrait of the Prime Minister as attempting to tyrannise over the House of Commons. Replying to the toast of the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Northcote admitted that that illustrious assembly was "at the present time going through a period of trial and anxiety, such as has seldom been witnessed within the memory of the existing generation." But the time of trial, according to the leader of the Conservative Opposition in Parliament, will be quite a comfortable period of probation compared with "the greater trial to be suffered under remedies we may be called to endure." "Nobody can deny," continued the speaker, "that the action of the House of Commons has been, and I fear that it will be, greatly impeded by extraneous influences and operations; but let us beware of this lest in endeavouring to free ourselves from the tyranny of the lawless and irregular members of that assembly, we hand ourselves over to a worse tyranny—the tyranny of the Minister of the day." Had the Minister of the day chanced to have been Lord Salisbury, or Sir Stafford Northcote himself, the prospect would have been less dark. It is possible that the Conservative party could face without a tremor the prospect of being handed over to a tyranny of that kind. But with Mr. Gladstone firmly seated in power matters are different, and the representatives of a political party, as the *Daily News* well put, which since its inception in a period of darkness, now happily past, has exerted all its energies, and employed all its talents towards the creation and maintenance of personal government, shuddered over their

walnuts and wine at the picture evolved from the lively imagination of Sir Stafford Northcote.

At the end of the session, the following new peerages were announced:—

William Montagu Hay, tenth Marquis of Tweeddale, one of those upon whom Her Majesty has conferred the dignity of a peerage of the United Kingdom, is the third son of the eighth marquis, having succeeded his brother, the ninth marquis, in 1878. He was born on the 27th of January, 1826, and married, on the 18th of May, 1878, Candida Louisa, third daughter of Signor Vincenze Bartolucci, of Rome. He was educated at Haileybury, and after entering the East India Company's service at Bengal in 1845, became Deputy Commissioner of Simla, and Superintendent of the Hill States in Northern India. From 1865 to 1868 he represented Taunton, in the Liberal interest, in the House of Commons. In 1868 he contested Haddingtonshire unsuccessfully against Lord Elcho. On the death of Sir H. F. Davie, in the summer of 1878, he was elected after a contest for the Haddington Burghs, but shortly afterwards succeeded his brother in the marquissate. The minor titles held by Lord Tweeddale are the Earldoms of Gifford and of Tweeddale, the Viscounty of Walden, and the Barony of Hay—all in the peerage of Scotland. The marquissate dates from 1694, being conferred on John, second Earl of Tweeddale, who was Lord Chancellor of Scotland. The father of the present peer was Governor of Madras and an aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington.

William Ulick Tristram St. Lawrence, Earl of Howth, Viscount St. Lawrence, and Baron Howth, in the peerage of Ireland, was born on the 25th of June, 1827, and succeeded his father as fourth earl and 30th baron on the 4th of February, 1874. He formerly sat in the House of Commons as member for Galway. The original surname of this ancient family was Tristram. Sir Amoricus Tristram, the brother-in-law

and companion-in-arms of Sir John De Courcy, effected a landing in Howth, and, gaining a victory in the neighbourhood, obtained the lands and barony of Howth as a reward for his distinguished valour during the conflict. He was subsequently, with all his knights, slain by O'Connor, King of Connaught, and the sword with which the founder of the family fought still hangs in the hall of Howth, where the family has resided during the period of six centuries at least. Various succeeding holders of the title emulated the deeds of the founder of the family. The 15th baron, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1483, married Joan, second daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and by this marriage Lord Howth's descendants derived descent from Edward III., and became inheritors of the blood royal. The 16th baron was rewarded for his fidelity to Henry VII. He also took part in the famous battle fought in Connaught at the beginning of the 16th century. A hundred years later—in 1600—Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, the 22nd baron, took part in the battle of Carlingford under the Lord Deputy Mountjoy against Tyrone. The 25th baron sat in King James's Parliament of 1689, as he did in 1692, and signed the declaration in defence of King William and the succession. In 1767 the 27th baron was created Viscount St. Lawrence and Earl of Howth, and in consideration of this own and his ancestors' services a pension was granted.

Donald James Mackay, 11th Baron Reay, of Reay, county Caithness, in the Peerage of Scotland, was born at the Hague in 1839, succeeded his father in 1876, and in 1877 married Fanny Georgiana Jane, daughter of the late Mr. Richard Hasler, of Aldingbourne, Sussex, and widow of Mr. Alexander Mitchell, M.P., of Stow. Lord Reay is a baronet of Nova Scotia and Baron Mackay of Ophemert, in the Peerage of Holland. He was naturalised by Act of Parliament in 1877. The first peer was an active supporter of Charles I.; the tenth (the father of the present baron) was successively a member of the Second Chamber of the

States-General, Vice-President of the Council of State, and Minister of State in Holland. Lord Reay, since his naturalisation in this country, has taken a prominent part at the gatherings of the Social Science Congress, of which he was president last year. He was also president of one of the sections of the British Association, which met at York.

Sir Harcourt Johnstone is the son of Sir John Vanden Bempde, the second baronet, by the second daughter of the late Archbishop (Harcourt) of York. He was born in 1829, and married, in 1850, Charlotte, second daughter of Sir Charles Mills. The first baronet was a cadet of the house of Johnstone of Westerhall, and received his title in 1795. The second baronet sat in the House of Commons as member for Yorkshire, and afterwards for Scarborough, holding a seat for nearly 40 years. The new peer's eldest son was born in 1851, and married, in 1880, Ethel, eldest daughter of Mr. H. Strickland Constable. Sir Harcourt Johnstone was well known as a member of the House of Commons from 1869 down to the last general election. He was one of the claimants to the Annandale peerages, and during the late session the Committee of Privileges of the Upper House decided that the claim had not been made out.

Sir Henry James Tufton is the eldest son of the first baronet by his marriage with Adelaide Amélie Lacour. He was born at Paris in 1844, and married, in 1827, Harriet Alice Argyll, second daughter of the Rev. W. J. Stracey, of Buxton, Norfolk. He was naturalised with his father by Act of Parliament in 1849. In 1868, and again in 1874, he contested unsuccessfully East Kent as a candidate for parliamentary honours, and at the last general election he stood in the Liberal interest for Westmorland, but he was defeated. In 1874 he was appointed High Sheriff of Westmorland.

Sir Dudley Counts Marjoribanks, of Guisachan, Inverness-shire, is the second son of Mr. Edward Marjoribanks, of Greenlands, and Ewden, Hambledon, Bucks. He was born in 1830, and created a baronet in

1866. In 1848 he married Isabella, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir James Weir Hogg. He was educated at Harrow and at Christ Church, Oxford, and called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1848. He is a magistrate and deputy lieutenant for Middlesex and for Inverness-shire. From 1853 to December, 1868, he sat in the House of Commons for Berwick in the Liberal interest, and he was again elected at the general elections in 1874 and 1880.

The six new Peerage creations bring up the number under Mr. Gladstone's two services as Premier to 46, including the promotion in dignity of the Marquis of Westminster and Earl de Grey and Ripon. The only Peerage bestowed in Mr. Gladstone's first year (1868) was that received by the late Sir W. Page Wood, who became Lord Hatherley; but in the year following there were 11 creations—Lords Acton, Balinhard (Earl of Southesk), Castletown, Dunning (Lord Rollo), Greville, Hare (Earl of Listowel), Howard of Glossop (Lord Edward Howard), Lawrence (Sir John Lawrence), Penzance, Robartes, and Wol-

verton. In 1870 Lord O'Hagan was the only creation; in 1871, the Marquis of Ripon, Earl Dufferin, Lord Blachford, Lady Burdett-Coutts, Lord Sandhurst; in 1872, Lords Ettrick (Lord Napier), Hammer, and Selborne; in 1873, Lords Portman, Aberdare, Breadalbane (Earl of Breadalbane), Somerton (Earl of Normanton), and Waverley; and in 1874, Lords Moncreiff, Coleridge, and Emly, the Duke of Westminster, Earl Sydney, Viscount Cardwell, and Lords Stafford (Lord Enfield), Carlingford, Cottesloe, and Hammond.

Since the present Government was formed, till the announcements just made (October, 1881), the only creations have been those of Lords Sherbrooke, Mount Temple, Brabourne, and Ampthill. The creations under the late Lord Beaconsfield were 48, or two more than under Mr. Gladstone as yet. The most notable were the Duke of Connaught, Duke of Abercorn, Marquis of Abergavenny, Earl of Beaconsfield, Earl of Northbrook, Earl of Lytton, Duke of Gordon, Lord Napier of Magdala, and Lord Cranbrook.



EARL SPENCER, K.G.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE IRISH LAND ACT.



THE following statement of the benefits conferred on Irish tenant farmers by the Land Act (Ireland), 1881, has been issued by the Irish Land Commissioners:—

The new Land Law effects a great and most beneficial change in the position of Irish tenant farmers.

The benefits it confers may be briefly stated as follows:—

Fair Rent.—Every existing tenant from year to year in Ireland of an ordinary agricultural or pastoral holding is entitled to have a fair rent fixed for his holding, either by the County Court Judge or by the Land Commission, or it may be settled by agreement with the landlord, or by arbitration.

Security of Tenure.—Whenever a fair rent is fixed, either by the Court or Commission, or by agreement, or by arbitration, the rent cannot be raised or altered for fifteen years, nor can the tenant be disturbed during that period. In the last year of the fifteen years the tenant can again get the rent settled and a new term of fifteen years granted, and so on. It is not, therefore, merely a term of fifteen years which the tenant gets, but practically a term renewable every fifteen years. It amounts to this, that the tenant paying a fair rent and treating the land in a proper tenantable way, and not subdividing or sub-letting his farm, will be safe from eviction or arbitrary increase of rent, and his rent cannot be increased by reason of his own improvements.

Sale of Tenancies.—Every tenant may sell his tenancy to one person at the best

price he can get, but the landlord is to have first the right of buying, at a price either agreed on between the parties or to be fixed by the Court.

Acquisition of the Holding Out-and-Out by the Tenant.—There are provisions in the Act authorising the Land Commission to advance money to tenants to enable them to purchase their holdings and become absolute owners of them.

Fixed Leases.—There are also provisions enabling tenants for life and other limited owners to give leases in perpetuity to tenants.

These provisions will now be explained more in detail.

FAIR RENT AND SECURITY OF TENURE

Every tenant from year to year, whether he holds under written agreement or not, has acquired the following rights:—

1. If the landlord demands an increase of rent, however small, the tenant may adopt any of the following courses:—

(1.) The tenant may agree to the increase, and then he is entitled to hold for fifteen years (called a statutory term), during which term the rent cannot be increased, and during the last twelve months of the time he may apply to have a fair rent fixed and get a fresh term of fifteen years and so on from time to time.

(2.) The tenant may decline to pay the increase, and may at once apply either to the Civil Bill Court or the Land Commission to fix a fair rent, and he thereby gets a statutory term of fifteen years at the fair rent so fixed, with the like right to a fresh term if he pleases to apply at the end of the fifteen years at a fair rent to be then fixed, and so on from time to time.

(3.) He may refuse to agree to the increase, and may not care to go to the Court to have a fair rent fixed, in which case he may either (a) sell his interest in his holding, or (b) if compelled to quit he will be entitled to compensation for disturbance, which has been largely increased from what it was in the Land Act of 1870.

2. But, although the landlord may not demand an increase of rent, the tenant may consider his present rent too high, or the landlord may consider it too low. In such case (1) the tenant alone, or (2) the landlord and tenant together, or (3) the landlord, after demanding an increase of rent, or after failing otherwise to agree with his tenant, may apply to the Court to fix the fair rent, and in such case the tenant will acquire the statutory term with the like benefits as before. It is to be always remembered that by "the Court" is meant either the Civil Bill Court or the Land Commission, at the choice of the person applying.

The fair rent when fixed is called a judicial rent, and it is to be ascertained after hearing the parties, and having regard to the interest of the landlord and tenant respectively, and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and district. No rent is to be made payable in any proceedings under the Act in respect of improvements made by the tenant or his predecessors in title, unless the tenant has been paid or otherwise compensated by the landlord for such improvements. Thus it follows that—

No tenant can have an arbitrary increase of rent put on him, and that—

No tenant can have his rent increased by reason of any improvements he or his predecessors may have made, unless he has already got the value of them from the landlord.

No tenant can be disturbed in his holding during a statutory term so long as he pays his rent and observes the statutory conditions.

Every tenant can sell his holding for the best price.

The Court may require the tenant to sell his holding, or a part of it, to his landlord, receiving full compensation as may be agreed on, or if necessary fixed by the Court, when it is required for the good of the holding or estate, or for building ground, or for labourers' cottages, or for places of religious worship, schools, dispensaries, or residences for clergymen or schoolmasters.

The statutory conditions on which the tenant is to hold his farm during the statutory term are the following:—1st. The tenant must pay his rent. 2nd. He must not commit persistent waste. 3rd. He must not, without the consent of the landlord, sub-divide or sub-let, or erect additional buildings. But manured conacre or letting the grass of lands is not to be considered sub-letting. 4th. He is not to do an act whereby his holding becomes vested in an assignee in bankruptcy. 5th. He is to permit the landlord to enter for the purpose of mining or quarrying, cutting timber, etc., on the terms of the landlord paying for any damage done to the holding. He is also to let the landlord and persons by his authority come on the lands for sporting purposes. 6th. He is not to open a public-house on the holding without the consent of the landlord.

If he fails to pay his rent the landlord may bring the ordinary ejectment for non-payment of rent, but the tenant will have the usual right to redeem for six months after the actual execution of the decree.

The observance of the above conditions will be of the utmost importance whether the tenant has a statutory term or not, as, if he is obliged to sell by reason of non-payment of rent or not observing any of the other conditions, the purchaser from him will not have the right to have a fair rent fixed, but may hold on for the rest of any existing statutory term.

If he violates any of the other conditions the landlord may serve notice to quit, but the Court has power to stop any proceedings on such notice to quit, allowing the landlord damages.

As has been stated, the tenant may proceed to have his case heard in the Civil Bill Court before the chairman; or, if he prefers, he may go to the Court of the Land Commission in the first instance; moreover, if the landlord takes the tenant into the Civil Bill Court the tenant may apply to have the case referred to the Court of the Land Commission. And it is always open to landlord and tenant to settle the fair rent between themselves, or by arbitration, with all the ensuing advantages of security of tenure.

ARREARS OF RENT.

Provision is made in the Act (Sec. 59) to help tenants who owe arrears of rent. They must be tenants of holdings valued at £30 or under.

If they pay or settle with their landlord for one year's rent to the gale day prior to the 22nd of August, 1881, the landlord and tenant may jointly apply to the Commissioners, who may advance one-half of the previous arrears (the advance not exceeding a year's rent). All other arrears which may be due beyond the amount advanced will be thereupon swept away.

For the sum advanced the landlord must pay interest to the Commissioners for fifteen years, at the rate specified in the Act; and the interest during that term is added to the rent. After the fifteen years are out, then no further payment of interest is required.

This provision, which is intended to free tenants from old arrears and enable them to start fresh, applies also to tenants who have been evicted for non-payment of rent since May 1, 1880, where the landlord agrees to reinstate them in their holdings.

All applications must be made before the 28th February, 1882, under this section.

PENDING EJECTMENTS.

In all cases where ejectments have been brought by landlords prior to the 22nd August, 1881, and which are still pending, or in which decrees have been, before that date obtained against the tenant, the tenant may sell his interest:

Provided he does so before the decree has been executed, in the case of ejectments founded on notice to quit, or, in case of ejectment for non-payment of rent, provided he does so before six months elapse from the execution of the decree, and the Court may extend the time in fit cases for sale or redemption.

When the decree or judgment in ejectment has been obtained before the 22nd of August, 1881, and has not been executed, or even if executed, in the case of non-payment of rent if the six months have not expired, the tenant may apply to the Court to fix the rent. The effect of this will be to preserve to the tenant his tenancy.

In cases where proceedings are pending to evict a tenant, whether taken before or after the 22nd of August, 1881, and before judgment has been obtained, the Court may suspend the proceedings to enable the tenant to have the fair rent fixed.

When a tenant has once obtained a statutory term by having his rent fixed, if the landlord serves a notice to quit or brings an ejectment in consequence of the tenant violating any of the statutory conditions, then the tenant may apply to the Commissioners, and the Court has power to stay the proceedings if the conduct of the tenant be fair and reasonable, compensating the landlord for any damage he may have suffered.

LEASEHOLDERS.

Tenants who hold under lease will be entitled, on the expiration of the lease—provided the lease expires within sixty years from the passing of the Act, that is, before 1941—to hold on as present tenants, and thus to have all the benefits of the Act.

UNFAIR LEASES.

Where leases have been taken by tenants since the passing of the Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, containing unreasonable or unfair provisions, and such leases were accepted by the tenant under threat of eviction, or through the undue influence of

the landlord, the tenant is entitled, at any time before the 22nd of February, 1882, to apply to the Court to be relieved from the lease, and to hold as present tenant, with all the rights and privileges of such tenant.

Henceforth no tenant holding a farm valued at less than £150 can contract himself out of the Act by written agreement or otherwise.

JUDICIAL LEASES.

Provision is made whereby a landlord and tenant may agree the one to grant and the other to accept a lease for any term of years exceeding thirty-one years, on such terms as they may agree upon. The lease must be settled by the Court, and unless it be for a term over sixty years the tenant, on its expiration, will be a present tenant, and have all the rights of free sale, fair rent, and security of tenure, conferred on a tenant from year to year.

FIXED TENANCIES.

The landlord and tenant may also agree that a tenancy may become a fixed tenancy—that is, that the tenant shall hold for ever, either at a rent agreed upon once for all, or else, if the parties wish, subject to revision every fifteen years.

The lease must be approved of by the Court where the landlord is only tenant for life, or otherwise a limited owner.

LABOURERS.

The Court may sanction the resumption by the landlord of part of the holding for the benefit of labourers in respect of cottages, gardens, or allotments, on such conditions and terms as it may think right, including full compensation to the tenant.

A tenant may, after notice to his landlord, let any portion of his land not exceeding half an acre for each labourer, and not exceeding one letting for every twenty-five acres of the tenant's holding, subject to selection and arrangement as to rent by the Court, with or without dwellings, to labourers employed on the holding.

In fixing the judicial rent, the Court

may require cottages to be built and allotments made, and determine the rents to be paid for same, for labourers.

Tenants will be entitled to apply for an advance of money for the purpose of building dwellings for labourers under the Landed Property Improvement Acts.

ACQUISITION OF LAND—PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

1. A tenant may agree to buy from his landlord his holding. The agreement may be negotiated and completed through the Commission at a fixed price. The Commission may advance three-fourths of the purchase money, and the landlord may agree to leave the remaining one-fourth due upon the security of the premises.

2. If a competent number of tenants on an estate are able and willing to purchase their holdings, the Commission may purchase the estate, and sell the holdings to the tenants, and advance three-fourths of the price, which shall cover all expenses.

3. All advances must be repaid by an annual sum for thirty-five years, at five per cent. At the end of that period the holding will be the tenant's property for ever, rent free. The tenant may pay off the sum due to the Commissioners more rapidly on terms favourable to himself, if he find it convenient.

4. So long as any holding is subject to any advance made by the Commission, the proprietor must hold it subject to the following conditions:—

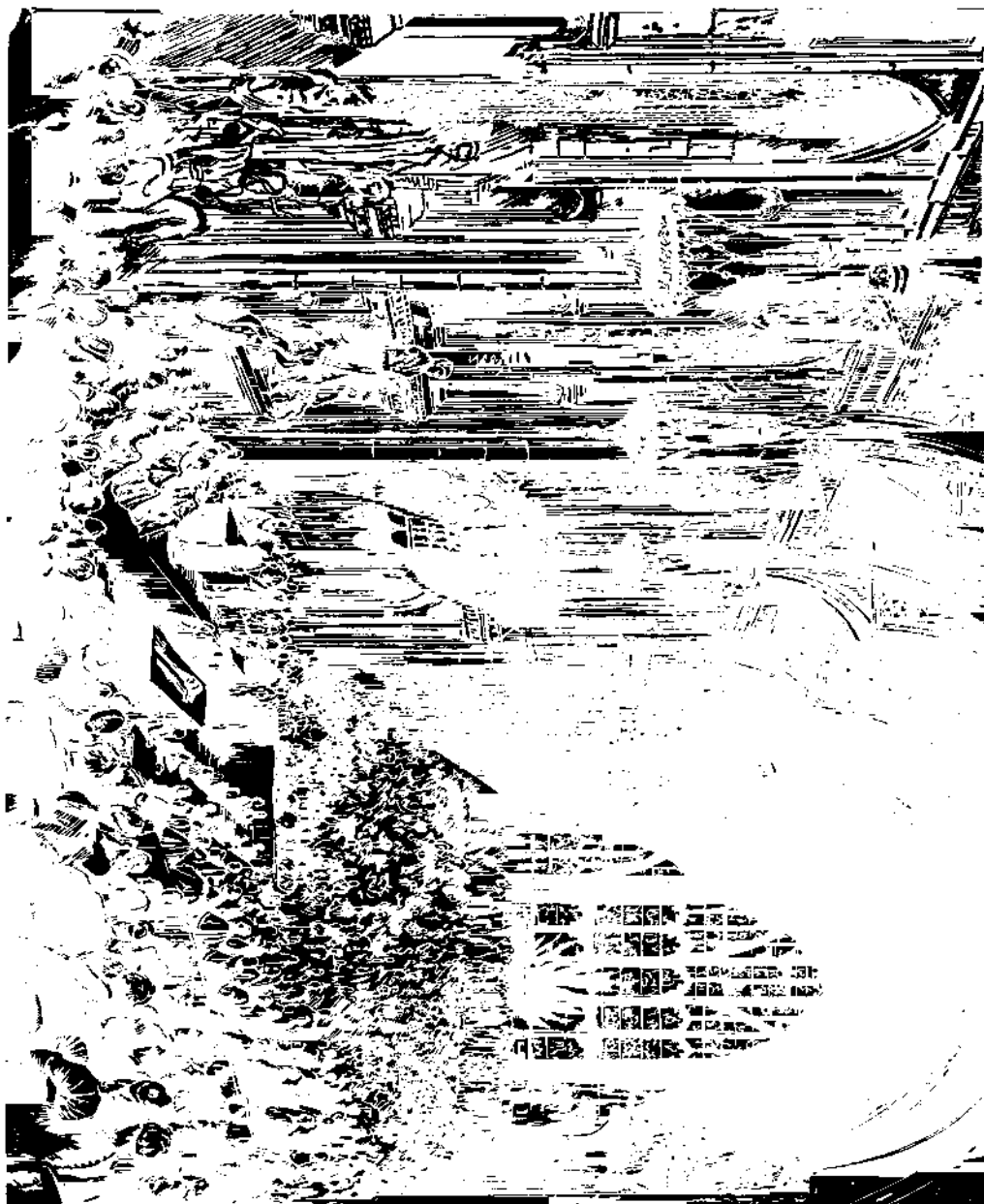
(a) He shall not subdivide or sublet it without the consent of the Commission, but he may sell.

(b) If he becomes bankrupt the Commission may sell the holding.

(c) On the death of the proprietor if the holding should become subdivided by devise or intestacy, the Commission may require the same to be sold.

EMIGRATION.

When a sufficient number of persons in any district may desire to emigrate, the Commission has power to advance money to assist emigration, especially of families



from the more thickly-populated districts. The Commission will secure the satisfactory shipment, transport, and reception of the emigrants, and will see to their proper care and comfort in all cases in which they give assistance for the above purpose.

The above are some of the great advantages conferred on Irish tenant farmers by the Land Act (Ireland), 1881, which provides for all security in their holdings, the fixing of fair rents, and the right of free sale; and affords the opportunity to occupiers to become the owners in fee of their holdings.

It is not intended by the foregoing statement to set forth or include all the provisions of the Act, but only to afford a general view of its more important provisions.

Any person requiring information can apply (by letter) to the Secretary, Land Commission, No. 24, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.

Was the Act thus explained to have a fair trial? was a question anxiously asked in many quarters. Tenants were cautioned not to avail themselves of it, and the nation was asked by Mr. Parnell at once to give up articles of English manufacture; a nice return this to the English democracy, ever ready to act, when called upon to do so, in support of Irishmen and the Irish cause. The *Freeman's Journal*, and other Irish papers, argued strongly for the release of the suspects, and warned the Government against leaving a wanton irritant stinging the country during the approaching winter, and at the National Convention which was called in Dublin, the attacks on Ministers were of the most violent character. The message of peace was received with defiance and scorn. Nothing less could have been expected. It was not in human nature that the men who had been posing before their countrymen and women as patriots, who had been dragged from their native obscurity, and enriched by means of the Land League, could make up their minds quietly to abdicate their power and to retire into private life. It

was true that the Irish farmer had got all he wanted, and far more than he could ever have hoped for, but if the Land Bill acted fairly the men of the Land League felt that it was all up with them, that Othello's occupation was gone indeed, that Ireland would be peaceful and prosperous, and that under British rule, a consummation by no means devoutly to be wished. Under the Land League crime had increased. From a Parliamentary return just issued it appears that indictable offences for jury trial in Ireland have increased for four years in succession. In 1876 they were 6,261, and in 1880, 8,607. The most serious class of offences, those punishable only after trial by jury, were last year 5,312, this number exceeding the English proportion for the same population—4,500 to 743. Offences of intimidation in Ireland in 1880 numbered 1,876, as compared with three in England and one in Scotland. There were 1,139 malicious offences against property in Ireland, 88 in England, and 149 in Scotland. And the rowdy and criminal were the loudest to cheer the leaders of the League. At a meeting to promote an Exhibition of Irish industry, only men who were supported by the Land League were allowed to be heard. Inflammatory speeches and proclamations increased. For instance, the following placard published in Castlebar:—"Freedom or Blood—Now or never—To arms! Nihilists of Castlebar, shirk not from your duty, you know when and where.—Perdition to Victoria. CAPTAIN (on behalf of the Irish Nationalists)." Several other placards, we are told, were pulled down, couched in similar inflammatory language.

Equally decided was the action of the League. They declared against alien rule; denounced the Coercion Act; called for the release, without delay, of the pioneer of the Land Movement, Michael Davitt; asserted that while one man remained in prison they could not consider the Land Act meant to effect any improvement in the condition of the Irish people. Further, they declared that no settlement short of

the abolition of landlordism, root and branch, will suffice, a joint proprietorship being neither wise nor just, or final. Farmers were asked to show sympathy with the labourer, and an intention was expressed of creating, in connection with the League, industrial and labour departments to promote home manufactures. Mr. Sexton, M.P., said at one meeting, "Landlordism must cease." Mr. T. H. Sullivan, M.P., told his hearers that British legislation had been the death of Irish manufactures. Another speaker told how Irish landlords gulped down salmon and trout, while their tenants starved, and there was a cheer as he proceeded to declare that landlords were devils. An Irish landlord might well write: "In the meanwhile the malice of the Land League is shown to be not abated in a fresh batch of cases to-day of intimidation and crime. Boycotting, trampling down crops offered for sale, under pretence of viewing the quality of the crops—or passing a stone roller over them; carrying off crops bought by the Emergency Committee by night; farmers and traders fearful to side with law and order; boiling water thrown over people, and their sight destroyed by lime; stone-throwing, carts and horses thrown into lakes and rivers, burning turf saved for fuel; members of the police force debarred from joining in athletic sports; shooting at haymakers, and such like enormities, all directly or indirectly traceable to the Land League. The 600,000 uneducated tenant farmers of Ireland were becoming rapidly demoralised by the success they had already gained and the license they had already won. To such, it is needless to observe, Mr. Parnell never appealed in vain. The usual defences of order and prosperity and civilisation entirely broke down. Trial by jury, under the circumstances of the case, was a mockery and a lie.

The most alarming feature in the whole affair was the mischievous popularity of Mr. Parnell. The scene in Dublin, writes a newspaper correspondent, on the occasion of the recent welcome to Mr. Parnell, was of an extraordinary nature, the streets

being so crowded that the few reporters admitted to the Land League rooms were precluded from telegraphing any adequate description of the state of affairs. A correspondent now writes from the capital that the city was practically surrendered to the mob, the police scattered through the crowds were powerless for the protection of any persons unfortunate enough to incur the displeasure of the *de facto* masters of the city, but there were large bodies in reserve at the various stations. The mob used their license with the utmost freedom, and for any respectable person to attempt to pass through the streets on the route of the procession was hazardous in the extreme. Mr. Parnell executed what he thought was a clever stratagem by having his carriage turned out of the procession midway, and driving by bye-streets to Britain-street, whence he thought he could easily reach the head-quarters, but Britain-street was blocked also, and for an hour he was hemmed in by the mob, who, in their eagerness to see and welcome him, rendered his progress impossible; he left or was taken out of his carriage, and half carried, half walking, made his way to the rooms, which he reached at 10 o'clock, dishevelled, with coat torn and cravat awry, minus his hat, and gasping for breath. It was not till long past midnight that the city resumed its wonted tranquillity. The military were confined to barracks, the guards were doubled, and the sentries reported to each other every half hour, as in time of war. Several people were seriously injured by being crushed and trampled on. The greatest mischief was done by the carriage in which Mr. Parnell was carried. The horses were unyoked, and crowds of men rushed forward to draw it, and in this way a number of men and women were badly crushed and otherwise injured. A woman named Egan sustained a series of lacerated wounds on her right leg, which was broken; the men drawing Mr. Parnell's carriage brought it too close to the flags, and it went over the woman's legs. John Feehan had his foot

badly crushed by the carriage. Francis Hitchcock had the wheels of the carriage, while at the corner of Harcourt and Cuffe-streets, pass over his body, inflicting internal injuries, breaking his right leg and left ankle. John Skerritt had his right foot crushed and broken by the carriage wheels in Stephen's-green. John Delahaye, a lacerated wound on his right hand and wrist, the flesh being torn from the bones. He fell, and was trampled upon, and his hand came under the wheels of the carriage. At Jervis-street Hospital there are four cases of a serious and three of them may be of a fatal character. The police brought in a child, about eleven years of age, who had been picked out insensible from under the feet of the crowd in Sackville-street. A man was carried to the same hospital on a stretcher, suffering from concussion of the brain and spine. It is supposed that he fell from the top of a crowded tramcar in Sackville-street, and was trampled under foot by the crowd. Patrick Callaghan was brought in insensible. He fell and was trampled on by the crowd. As the procession passed through Sackville-street, a respectably dressed man, who, it appears, came from Rathdrum, was carried into the Gresham Hotel in a state of insensibility, and bleeding from a wound in the leg; he was also run over by a carriage.

Now and then came a voice of sympathy and gratitude to Government, but it was weak and almost inaudible. The Roman Catholic prelates went so far as to recommend the Land Bill. But the amusing dread which Mr. Parnell openly displayed lest the Act should really benefit the objects of his patriotic affection is the best practical commentary on what Parliament has done, and upon what the Land League desires. The American Irish, who sent over the funds for the support of the Land League, were against any tampering with the Land Bill. The cry to be raised was no rent; a cry more or less attractive to the dishonest or the ill-disposed. Meeting after meeting was held, and at each the talk against Government and their Bill

was more emphatic, and hostile, and dangerous. Mr. Parnell assured the people that, if they would adhere to the two main principles of the Land League—that no man should pay a rack-rent, or take a farm from which a tenant was evicted—in a very short time they would secure the land for the people. When coming to Dungarvon he told the people he saw land for which twenty shillings was paid, though the landlord was not entitled to more than one or two shillings for it. It was reclaimed by the tenant, and the landlord was only entitled to its worth in its unreclaimed condition. He advised men not to use the Land Act where it would weaken the cause. The Land League would test it, and he advised them, in the meantime, not to enter the court, or trust any piece of legislation of the Saxon Government, but to pay the shopkeeper, and pay the labourer decent wages, and thus raise themselves from the state of degradation which alien rule cast them into. The farmer who paid unjust rent, robbed himself and his family, and the entire community. He advised them to struggle on till they obtained self-government. Mr. O'Donnell, M.P., at the same meeting, told the people they had two Governments—one Mr. Gladstone, which nobody minded, and the other was the Irish National Land League, which the people would obey, and which required no buck-shot or bayonets. The mocking cry of the English press was always, How could Irishmen govern themselves? but the problem was now solved, and they had a power in Ireland far in excess of the Saxon Government. He looked upon the Land Act as a snare to the Irish people, and it was only by adhering to the principles of the Land League that they could escape the snares set before them, and, before long, they would hear the thunders of the Irish artillery welcoming a Parliament in College Green. At a banquet in the same place, in the evening, in responding to the toast of "Prosperity to Ireland and the Land League," Mr. Parnell said that previous to this the toast was coupled with another

name, that of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but now it was coupled with a name of far higher power, that of the Irish National Land League. It had been often said by their enemies that the Land League injured a class of the community, the artisans and shopkeepers; but while he admitted that it injured them to some extent, he should also remind them that Ireland should be worse before she was better, and the Land League was necessary to sweep away the fabric of Irish landlordism, upon which the institutions of the country depended. Referring to Irish manufactures, he advised them to Boycott English manufactures, and in future to use none but their own. Before long they would have national independence, which was the ultimate object of the Land League. Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Healy, Mr. Leamy, and Mr. Power, also spoke, urging the people to stick to the Land League as the only means of freeing themselves from the alien rule which had kept them in serfdom so long.

At the great meeting of the Irish Land Convention, over which Mr. Parnell presided, Mr. Sexton, M.P., read a large number of telegrams, chiefly from America. One was from the "Land League of America" to Mr. Parnell, as follows:—"The Irish National Land League of the United States, one thousand branches, send earnest greetings to their brethren in Ireland, congratulating them upon the work already done, and accept it as earnest of renewed effort ending in the ownership of the land by its tillers, and the government of the people by themselves. Ireland united and resolute will win the great battle in the fierce fight of the nineteenth century. Old vicious systems shrivel, and the conspiracy of the few to own all fails when many rush forward for the Irish land, goods, and government." Mr. Forde, editor of the *Irish World*, telegraphed:—"Pennsylvania says 'No rent, no compromise'; let the Convention declare that the land belongs to the people." O'Connor, secretary, Manchester, New Hampshire, says:—"The League demands the land for the people;

hold the harvest, no rent." M'Gahan, president, Somerset, New Jersey, greets the Convention. O'Connor, secretary, Middletown, Connecticut, asks Convention to declare that "God made the land for the people; hold the harvest, no rent, and if needed double subscriptions; but if you submit to Gladstone's sham, subscriptions will cease." The Parnell Land League of Albany, State of New York, telegraphed:—"Strict adherence to the Land League principles, or no more help from here." The Michael Davitt branch, Gloucester, Massachusetts:—"We send greeting; be steadfast in the right."

But all Irishmen did not think so. For example, at a meeting of Delegates from the different Tenant Right Associations of Ulster, it was resolved:—"1. That as the coercive legislation now in force in Ireland was caused by agrarian agitation, consequent upon unjust land laws, and as the present Government has, by an effort, for which the country is grateful, passed into law a Bill which we believe is calculated to remedy most of the existing evils, we desire to urge on the tenant farmers of Ireland their duty and privilege of giving this great remedial measure a fair and patient trial; 2. That as we believe that peace and prosperity will result from the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, we earnestly urge the Government to remove one conspicuous cause of pain and discontent, by the immediate release, not only of the persons who are still imprisoned under the Protection of Life and Property Act, but of Michael Davitt, whose imprisonment resulted from his connection with the land agitation; 3. That we call on the Liberal members for Ulster to apply to the Government to act on this resolution, and request Thomas A. Dickson, M.P., and John Givan, M.P., to communicate at once to the Government the strong feeling entertained on the subject at this meeting and throughout Ulster." Amongst those who took part in the proceedings were delegates from the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, and Tyrone, several of them being magistrates.

Under these circumstances, the reader can well imagine the sense of relief which was felt all over the country when it was known that Mr. Parnell had been arrested. The *Saturday Review* observed:—"The announcement made on Thursday last of the arrest of Mr. Parnell had been long desired in the interests of law and order, but by most people was hardly expected when it came. How long the satisfaction now generally felt and expressed may continue undiminished it is impossible yet to judge. The Government must certainly be congratulated upon having at last done what they ought to have done long ago; yet the congratulations cannot but be mixed with reflections upon the dangers of tardiness. It is, we fear, an unfortunate accident that, while Mr. Parnell's influence and teaching only led to the Boycotting, starving, and shooting of landlords, the carding of process-servers, and of any tenants who dared to be honest, and the mutilation of horses and cattle, no special notice was taken of Mr. Parnell; but that the necessity of arresting him became evident as soon as he put himself in a position of special antagonism to the Land Act. The coincidence has already been ungratefully made use of by Mr. Dillon, and is not likely to be lost sight of. There was a certain *naïveté* in Mr. Gladstone's announcing at this stage of affairs that his Government 'had taken the first step towards the vindication of law and order, and of the rights of property'—the existence of which Mr. Gladstone has thus tardily and suddenly remembered; but, the first step having been at last taken, it is to be hoped that others will follow, and that the Cabinet will do its best to atone for its previous shameful vacillation. To have arrested Mr. Parnell is to have done so far well, if it is not quite the feat of daring that it might be thought from Mr. Gladstone's appeal at the Guildhall for encouragement and support. But, Mr. Parnell arrested, there remain others who are prepared to take his place and to make capital out of his arrest. The fact is, that

an organised scheme for destroying law and order, which might at one time have been checked with comparative ease, has been allowed to flourish, and grow into alarming proportions. The beginning of its end has now been made, and it is to be hoped that the Government will no longer hesitate as to the course to be pursued."

The *Spectator* pointed out that the long-enduring patience of the British Government and people has been worn out at last. We have ourselves no sympathy with the storm of exultation which arose in the Guildhall as the arrest of Mr. Parnell was announced—no feeling as regards the event, except that it is a most sad necessity. But while we deplore, we admit the necessity to the full. Mr. Parnell, from whatever motive—whether hatred of England, as we think was the case, or misdirected love of Ireland, or only personal ambition, or all three—had assumed an attitude which made the Government of Ireland on the principles of civilisation quite impossible. He had so inflamed one part of the people with promises of "plunder"—of obtaining the land at a sixth of its value—so cowed another part with thinly-veiled menaces, and with a terrorism half-popular and half-organised, and so broken down all habitual respect for law, that Ireland was falling into anarchy, and it would have been necessary all over the country at last to enforce the law by blood. He made no secret of his purpose, but avowed, and gloried in the avowal, that he had organised his party till the law was powerless, till the true Government was his society, till in a short time all Ireland would be united in a single demand for the dismemberment of the Kingdom. It was indispensable to dissipate that illusion, and to show the whole world that Mr. Parnell was not master of Ireland, but a citizen misleading the people, as completely within the grasp of the representative Government as the humblest of his followers. To arrest humble followers, yet spare the leader who avowed that he led them, became, as Mr. Parnell's language grew bolder, an injustice

and a scandal, and after a display of patience which astonished Europe, the leader was arrested, to the satisfaction of all men who believe that neither in Ireland nor elsewhere in the world can anarchy be right, any more than it can be beneficial; that rebellion, with its strict laws, is better morally, as well as economically, than a national con-

Gladstone by infuriated Irish writers and speakers. He was, according to Miss Parnell, a hoary-headed old miscreant; and other terms equally uncomplimentary were used. The Irish are great proficient in invective, but, as Mr. Disraeli remarked on a memorable occasion, of Lord Salisbury's invective, it wanted finish. Even

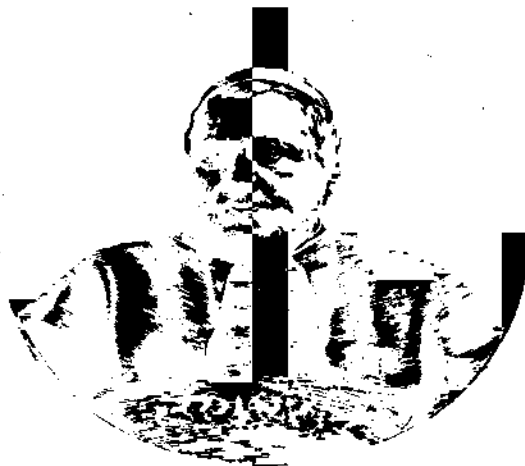


FIGURE IX.

dition of contempt for law. With what reluctance the Government acted is evident from its long endurance, from its careful and protracted consultation, from its calm under defiance; but its duty became at last clear, and it was performed.

It is almost impossible to conceive of the calumny and abuse heaped upon Mr.

Miss Helen Taylor, an English lady of Radical proclivities, and one of the members of the London School Board, went so far as to call Mr. Gladstone a dastard and a recreant. Mr. O'Donnell, M P, declared Mr. Gladstone was a Judas, who had betrayed Ireland by the kiss of peace to the persecutor and tormentor. In Philadelphia the

effigy of Mr. Gladstone was burned by a crowd of fifteen hundred Irishmen, under the direction of the League leaders. The effigy was first placed in a room, and the crowd filed past, shaking their fists in its face. It was then taken to an adjacent field and burned amidst groans for Mr. Gladstone and cheers for Mr. Parnell. Irish rage seemed to be boundless, and, as usual, where Irishmen are concerned, it takes the shape of brute violence.

In October, we read in the daily papers, so elaborate are the precautions of the Flintshire constabulary for the protection of Hawarden Castle and its grounds, that it seems probable that the Home Secretary is in possession of news concerning possible attacks by Irish malcontents. In addition to the four additional constables voted by the Flintshire Court of Quarter Sessions for protective purposes, the chief constable has stationed an additional posse of police in and about the grounds, every avenue being carefully watched to prevent either attack or surprise. All suspicious persons in the neighbourhood are carefully watched. In all the towns where the Irish congregate, abuse of Mr. Gladstone became the fashion, and it was almost difficult in some quarters to say a word in his praise. An Irishman can never understand that a man may have a different opinion to himself, that there may be two sides to a question, and that it is well to understand a subject before you make a speech about it. It is to be feared religion also steps in and aggravates the difficulties of the situation. The Roman Catholic priests have no love for Protestant England. They envy her, her intelligence and wealth. If Ireland was as industrious as England, Ireland would be just as well off; but the popish priest and the Irish demagogue manage between them to put the people on a false scent, and thus every day matters get worse instead of better. Practically, the answer of the popish priest and the Irish demagogue to Mr. Gladstone's message of peace was rebellion: not an open and manly one, but

the rebellion which shoots its victim from behind a hedge or when he is unarmed and unprepared. The sin of Mr. Gladstone was that he had carried a Land Bill, which was to place the Irish farmer on a footing superior to that of any of his class in any quarter of the globe, and that he had imprisoned Mr. Parnell and the leaders of the Land League; and had put down the Land League as an illegal association, by public proclamation and in other ways. Government had not done this a moment too soon. The Irish farmers were ordered not to resort to the court—to keep their lands and to pay no rent. In Ireland the Land League had ruled the country by terror. No man was safe; it marked down whom it pleased for assassination; its armed emissaries ravaged the country by night, inflicting all sorts of cruelties on unoffending cattle; burning the crops and barns of all who paid rent, or who were in any way obnoxious to the Land League. The tradesman, the publican, the car-driver, were completely under its thumb. It set all law, all order, all civilisation at defiance. In Ireland never before did there exist an organisation so admirably contrived to rouse the worst passions of the people, and to reduce the country to a state of barbarism. All respectable people were in despair; the wonder was, not that Government interfered, but why it had not interfered before. There were many who argued, not without some show of reason, that Mr. Gladstone had been very remiss in the matter, that he had allowed the Land League thus to become mischievous and overbearing. It was argued, in many quarters, that if when he came into office he had renewed the Coercion Act of the late Government, the Land League would have never become big enough to beard him or his Government. But naturally he was desirous to show that Ireland would be prosperous and contented under Liberal rule—and Mr. Bright was by his side to declare that force was no argument—and Mr. Forster was a Liberal of Quaker origin, naturally too ready to assume that all men

are more or less peaceful, and so the mischief was allowed to grow and ripen till it threatened altogether to destroy the existing government in Ireland. Perhaps the mistake Mr. Gladstone made was natural. But it had terrible results. He might have learned that an Irishman is a bully and a coward, and only to be ruled by force. Once upon a time the writer was sojourning in the ancient city of Galway. One morning, as he was seated at the hotel, he heard the head-waiter blowing up his under-servants ;

to support his policy, as well as Mr. Bradlaugh himself.

It is time that we now say a few words about Mr. Parnell, whose hatred of England seems to be as malignant as it is intense. Mr. Parnell was born, in June, 1846, at Avondale, County of Wicklow, and is the fourth son of John Henry Parnell and Delia Steward, a daughter of Commodore Steward, of the American Navy. This officer took part against the British in the war of 1812. Another of Mr. Parnell's maternal ances-



HENRY FAWCETT, ESQ., M.P.

after they had left the room, the individual in question, approaching the writer, said, in an undertone : " You see, sir, I am obliged to be a little stiff wid 'em. They wouldn't mind me a bit if I warn't. The fact is, sir, you must trate 'em like slaves." I fancy that old Irish waiter knew better how to deal with the Irish than Mr. Gladstone and all the wise men of the Cabinet. For once, when Mr. Gladstone did have recourse to action, he found himself supported by all politicians, whether Whig, Tory, or Radical. Mr. Burt, the working-man's candidate, had the good sense and courage

tors, Judge Tudor, took part against the British in the American war of Independence. Again, on the paternal side, he is the lineal descendant of Sir John Parnell, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1780, who, when the idea of the Irish Union was broached, said, " It would be a ruinous measure for Ireland." Mr. Parnell evidently has drunk in hatred to England with his mother's milk, and is so far a Conservative and an enemy to new ideas. Like the Stuarts, he learns nothing and forgets nothing. He made his first appearance in public in 1874, when, on the occa-

sion of Colonel Taylor taking office under the Government of the day, he opposed his re-election for the County of Dublin, being championed by the late Isaac Butt, and the leaders of the Home Rule Movement, then comparatively a new point of departure. The result was a foregone conclusion, but the struggle was bitterly fought. Being defeated, Mr. Parnell again retired into private life, and did not reappear until Mr. Mitchell was proposed as a candidate for the representation of Tipperary, when he wrote to the newspapers advocating his cause, and subscribing £25 towards his expenses. Mr. Mitchell was returned, but never sat, and when Mr. John Martin succeeded him, a vacancy being created in the representation of Meath, Mr. Parnell was nominated for the vacancy and elected. Of his career in the House of Commons the reader will by this time have had a clear idea. His sister in Ireland is quite as much of a power as himself; while over the water, Mrs. Parnell, the mother, devotes herself to arousing that bad feeling which Irishmen and degenerate Americans think it right to cultivate where England is concerned. When the news of Mr. Parnell's arrest reached America, the old lady regarded it as a hopeful sign—as she deemed it would give fresh impetus to the Irish Land agitation by drawing sympathy to the Irish cause. The American Irish, it may be as well to add, are the most munificent supporters of the Land League. In Ireland it exists by levying blackmail. The shopkeepers support it because they know they would be Boycotted and ruined if they did not; but the Irish Americans give freely and munificently, and are ready to come over to Ireland and fight, if the country is sufficiently advanced to greet them. As it is, they content themselves with sending over emissaries with dynamite with which to destroy the public buildings of such cities as Liverpool and London. As to the effect of his arrest on the League itself Mr. Parnell had little fear. "I do not think," he said to a reporter who interviewed him in his cell at Kilmainham, "it

will have any prejudicial effect upon the movement. I had been able before my arrest to make complete arrangements for having test cases brought into court, and also for the proper organisation of the country. I think everything connected with the movement is now in a most satisfactory condition. All the measures necessary to guide and carry on the League have been arranged before now, and my presence, practically speaking, is not absolutely necessary any longer. Things can go on very well without me."

Mr. Parnell's last speech at Wexford, before he was arrested, may be taken as a fair illustration of his matter and manner. Of William Ewart Gladstone he said that "he was the greatest coercionist; the greatest and most unrivalled slanderer of the Irish nation that ever lived. Not content with maligning you, he maligns your bishops, he maligns John Dillon; he endeavours to misrepresent the Young Ireland Party of 1848. No misrepresentation is too patent, too low, too mean for him to stoop to, and it is a good sign that this masquerading knight-errant—this pretended champion of the liberties of every other nation except those of the Irish nation—should be obliged to throw off the mask to-day, and to stand revealed as the man who, by his own utterances, is prepared to carry fire and sword into your homesteads, unless you humbly abase yourselves before him and before the landlords of the country. . . . When people talk of public plunder, they should first ask themselves and recall to mind who were the first public plunderers in Ireland. The land of Ireland has been conquered three times over by the men whose descendants Mr. Gladstone is supporting in the enjoyment of the fruits of their plunder by his bayonets and his buckshot. . . . Then, again, Mr. Gladstone says, that 'I am afraid now that the Land Act has passed, lest the people of England, by their long-sustained efforts, should win the hearts of the whole of the Irish nation.' Long-sustained efforts in what? Was it in evicting the 2,000 tenants who have been evicted since January last?

In putting 200 brave and noble men into Kilmainham? Was it in issuing a police circular of a more infamous character than any which has ever been devised by any foreign despot? Was it in sending out hundreds of thousands of rounds of ball cartridge and buckshot cartridges to his Bashi Bazouks? Was it in sharpening the bayonets of the last issue of the Royal Irish Constabulary? or was it for all those sustained efforts—efforts which Mr. Gladstone has taken up nobly and well from his predecessors in the task of misgoverning Ireland? Again said Mr. Parnell, "The Government has no moral force behind it; the whole Irish people are against them. . . . He admits the contention what you to-day, in your overpowering multitude, have established, and, please God, will bring to a successful issue—namely, that England's mission in Ireland has been a failure, and that Irishmen have established their right to govern Ireland by laws made for themselves by themselves on Irish soil. And he wound up with a threat—'This man who has no moral force behind him; no fear of force, and no fear of union through force.' I say it is not in his power to trample on the rights and aspirations of the Irish nation with no moral force behind him. These are very brave words that he uses, but it strikes me that they have a ring about them like the whistle of a schoolboy on his way through a churchyard at night to keep up his courage. He would have you believe that he is not afraid of you because he has disarmed you; because he has attempted to disorganise you; because he knows that the Irish nation is disarmed as far as physical weapons go. But he does not hold this kind of language with the Boers. What did he do at the commencement of this session? He said something of this kind with regard to the Boers. He said that he was going to put them down, and, as soon as he discovered that they were able to shoot straighter than his own soldiers, he allowed those few men to put him and his government down;

and, although he has attempted to regain something of his lost position by subsequent chicanery and diplomatic negotiations, yet that sturdy and small people in the distant Transvaal have seen through William Ewart Gladstone, and they have told him again, for the second time, that they will not have it."

The Irish in all our large cities, as was to be expected, held indignation meetings to protest against Mr. Parnell's arrest. In the meanwhile the Government continued in arresting the leaders and active agents of the League, and suppressing its meetings. Mr. Sexton, M.P. for Sligo, Mr. Quinn, the assistant secretary of the League, and others, were thus incarcerated. The tone of Irish oratory, as was also to be expected, became more hostile and abusive than ever. At the great demonstration on the subject in Hyde Park, on Sunday, the 23rd of October, Mr. O'Donnell, M.P., said:—"He was an eye-witness of the brutality that was let loose upon the people of Dublin by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster. He saw with his own eyes respectable men and women and little children knocked down and kicked about the streets of Dublin by the semi-drunken police of buckshot-Forster. And when the Corporation of Dublin waited upon the Chief Secretary, and asked for some protection for the property and lives of the people of Dublin, what was the reply of Mr. Forster? That clearing the streets could not be a milk-and-water business. He hoped and trusted that that sneer might not provoke bitter retaliation at no distant future. In the name of their common liberties, in the name of the constitution of England, he asked if that sneer was not a deliberate provocation to outrage and crime? The spirit to which Mr. Forster appealed was the spirit of the infamous outrages of '98, and but for the counsels of the leaders of the people, and but for the self-command of the Irish masses in their hour of trial, there would have been blood shed like milk and water in the streets of Dublin. He came there in the

names of his colleagues in British gaols, in the name of the Irish people, in the name of them all, to declare that William Judas Gladstone, Iscariot Gladstone, for Judas Gladstone was his true name when he said at Leeds that Mr. Parnell and the Land League of Ireland were endeavouring to prevent the benefits of the application of the Land Act. That same Judas Gladstone calumniated the people of Ireland. That was the charge: that Mr. Parnell was an enemy of the people of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone might have taken a page from his own history. He must have thought that Mr. Parnell was capable of acting like himself. Mr. Gladstone must have thought that Mr. Parnell was the enemy of Ireland, as he, Mr. Gladstone, was the enemy of England. He must have thought Mr. Parnell was ready to sell Ireland to some foreigner, as he was ready to sell England. Mr. Gladstone accused Mr. Parnell of sedition. Did they not remember when Lord Beaconsfield was in power who was the great sedition-monger? Was it not Mr. Gladstone who endeavoured to weaken the Government of his own country? Was it not Mr. Gladstone that did the dirty work of the Czar of Russia? Was it not Mr. Gladstone that did all in his power to bring the Parliament of England into contempt? It was this sedition-monger in office, this political turncoat, who dared to villify the leaders of the Irish people. Even if there was any necessity for maintaining law and order in Ireland, it was not sedition-mongers like Gladstone, Bright and Forster, who possessed the moral authority to put it down. Upon his own responsibility, as a representative of the people, he declared that when Mr. Gladstone prevented the Irish farmers from bringing forward test cases in the Irish Land Court, Mr. Gladstone denied the possibility of justice being done to the Irish tenantry, from one end of Ireland to the other. Landlords were choosing test cases which would enable them to whittle away the benefits that might otherwise come to the tenants. There was no inter-

ference with the landlords, but the Irish farmers were prevented from doing their own business according to their own legal right. Why was Mr. Healy driven out of Ireland under pain of imprisonment in Kilmainham? Because he published a Tenants' Guide to the Land Act. Yet Mr. Gladstone said the Land League was preventing the people of Ireland from understanding the beneficial operation of the Act. William Judas Gladstone lied, lied, lied, when he accused the Land Leaguers of endeavouring to prevent the Irish people from understanding the beneficial operations of that Act." As an illustration of the love of fair play of the meeting, it may be mentioned Mr. Charles Murray, in seconding one of the resolutions, said:—"That if there were any Englishmen in their midst who wished to create a disturbance [that is, move an amendment], they will knock him down like a mad dog."

Two heavy blows were dealt at the Land League shortly after the arrest of Mr. Parnell—the Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, and the letter of Archbishop Croke. The proclamation was as follows:—

"Whereas, an association, styling itself 'The Irish National Land League,' has existed for some time past, assuming to interfere with the Queen's subjects in the free exercise of their lawful rights, and especially to control the relations of landlords and tenants in Ireland; and whereas, the designs of the said association have been sought to be effected by an organised system of intimidation, attempting to obstruct the service of process and execution of the Queen's writs, and seeking to deter the Queen's subjects from fulfilling their contracts, and following their lawful contracts and occupations; and whereas, the said association has now avowed its purpose to be to prevent the payment of all rent, and to effect the subversion of the law as administered in the Queen's name in Ireland; Now, we hereby warn all persons that the said association styling itself 'The Irish National Land

League,' or by whatsoever other name it may be called or known, is an unlawful and criminal association, and that all meetings to carry out or promote its designs or purposes, are alike unlawful and criminal, and will be prevented and, if necessary, dispersed by force. And we do hereby warn all subjects of her Majesty the Queen who may have become connected with the said association, to disconnect themselves therefrom, and abstain from giving further countenance thereto. And we do hereby make known that all the powers and resources at our command will be employed to protect the Queen's subjects in Ireland, in the free exercise of their lawful rights and the peaceful pursuit of their lawful callings and occupations, to enforce the fulfilment of all lawful obligations, and to save the process of the law and the execution of the Queen's writs from hindrance or obstruction. And we do hereby call upon all loyal and well-affected subjects of the Crown to aid us in upholding and maintaining the authority of the law and the supremacy of the Queen in this her realm of Ireland.

"Dated at Dublin Castle, this 20th day of October, 1881.

"By his Excellency's command,
W. E. FORSTER."

The following was the letter from Archbishop Croke, protesting against the Land League manifesto:—

"The Palace, Thurles, Oct. 19.

"My dear Sir,—I have just read with the utmost pain, and indeed with absolute dismay, the manifesto issued yesterday by the leading incarcerated patriots in Kilmainham Gaol, and publicly proclaimed to the country at large on their behalf from the Land League rooms in Sackville-street. Against the committal of the people of this country, even under still more exciting and critical circumstances than the present, to the doctrine of the non-payment of rent, though but for a certain specified time, I must and hereby do enter my solemn protest. At no time an enrolled member of

the Irish National Land League, I have been nevertheless a steadfast and uncompromising supporter of its public policy as a whole, believing the same to be thoroughly legal and constitutional, and calculated to lead to great national results. I am of precisely the same opinion still; but I have invariably, both in my published utterances and in private discourse, in Ireland and out of it, before lay folk and ecclesiastical men, whether of high or low degree, here at home on Tipperary soil as well as in lands beyond the seas, unequivocally stated that I stood out for fair rents and nothing more—for the safe foothold of the agricultural classes on Irish soil; that they should be wholesomely fed, fairly clothed, and suitably lodged; and that the absolute repudiation of rent, should it ever find public expression in Ireland, would meet with no sympathy whatever from me. Such are substantially my views, frequently expressed, and not unknown to more than one of the signatories of yesterday's manifesto. I shall say no more just now. I need not do so. I regret, indeed, to have been obliged to say so much. I hold to the original platform of the Irish National Land League. There is no more reason for abandoning it now than there was when Davitt took possession of a cell in Portland, or when Dillon, with his 200 compatriots, were committed to Kilmainham Gaol. It was a sufficiently elastic policy. It was a righteous policy, tested by experience and results. It was a successful policy as well. It welded bishops, priests, and laymen into one loving brotherhood of national work. It pains me, then, sorely to think that any attempt should now be made to displace the whole lines, especially by the very men by whom they were so judiciously laid down. Anyhow, I thoroughly believe in the policy of the past in all its substantial branches, and I quite as firmly believe that the policy now so impetuously recommended to the country instead, besides being condemned on the grounds of principle and expediency, can lead to nothing but disintegration and

defeat.—I am, my dear Sir, your very faithful servant,

"T. W. CROKE,
Archbishop of Cashel."

The *Freeman's Journal*, commenting on this letter, which it published, said:—

"This weighty pronouncement is deserving of the deepest consideration by the country, and we are sure that all will admit that it behoves the people to weigh carefully all the consequences before they enter on a struggle which would, indeed, be one of life or death, and from which so true and tried a friend as the Archbishop of Cashel so earnestly dissuades them. Certainly a factor governing popular action will be the proceedings at the Land Commission which to-day opens its Court. If the Commissioners boldly lay the knife at the root of these monstrous rents which weigh down agricultural Ireland, their action may weigh with the people in determining what course is to be taken at this most momentous crisis."

Mr. Gladstone's Government had not put its foot down on anarchy and violence and sedition one moment too soon. As an illustration of the state of Ireland, let us refer to the charge of Baron Dowse, in opening the Commission for the town and county of Dublin at the time. The learned Judge is reported to have spoken strongly on the subject of the increase of crime in that part of the country. "There had," he said, "been committed in the city not less than 1,498 indictable offences, within the last ten weeks, while the returns he had received as to the county showed that it was not much better than the city. There had been over 2,000 cases of drunkenness within the last ten weeks, and he believed that much of the crime was due to intoxication. One thing he was able to congratulate them upon, was that in only one case of crime in the city, and only one in the county, had any person refused to assist the police by giving evidence. That was a strong contrast to the state of things in other parts of Ireland. It was no use say-

ing that crimes were committed in other places as well as in Dublin; that crimes were committed in England as well as in Ireland. He had been told that 488 people were convicted last year of burglary in London alone; but London was almost thirteen times the size of the London Police District. When dealing with London they were dealing with millions instead of thousands. He wished he could say that the spirit alcoholism was the only evil spirit in Ireland. At the present time in Dublin there was a spirit of lawlessness, which was the cause of a great deal of crime. In the last ten weeks no less than ninety-eight attacks had been made upon the police in the execution of their duty. He knew from his own experience, and he had often said so in court, that policemen carried their lives in their hands, and the death of poor police constable Daly showed the accuracy of that description. Every man having the interest of his country at heart, should deplore the lawless spirit in the city of Dublin; but, however, they were there only to administer justice, not to make laws, nor to criticise the spirit in which laws were made. It was the duty of the Government to secure for every person in this country his liberty, and to protect his person and property, without which no Government can exist, and without which no country can be called free."

The firm attitude of the Government seemed to give fresh confidence to the law-abiding citizens, and to the propertied classes to attempt to shake off the thralldom under which they had groaned too long. An influential meeting of landlords, including over thirty magistrates, was held at Thurles the same day that Baron Dowse was delivering his charge, when a branch of the Property Defence Association was formed. The High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary occupied the chair, and resolutions calling upon all law-abiding citizens to support the Government, to carry out the provisions of the Land Act, refusing general abatements of rent as pernicious, and

pressing determination to assist all honest and well-disposed tenants against the terrors of intimidation, were unanimously passed. A resolution was also passed, we are informed, to concede one per cent. on property valuation—one-half to the Defence Association, and one-half for local purposes. At Ballina, the same day, a motion brought forward to censure the Government for arrests could find no seconder. At Westport, a similar intention was abandoned; and in Tuam a solitary guardian was dissuaded from giving any such notice. In Dublin itself a motion to confer the freedom of the city on Messrs. Parnell and Dillon, after no small amount of pressure had been exerted in its favour, was rejected by the casting vote of the Lord Mayor. Shopkeepers and others are now preparing, wrote the correspondent of the *Daily News*, to express their opinions, hitherto concealed from fear, the action of the Government having reassured them. The tenants upon many estates in the Tuam district have paid part of their rents within the last few days. At Irishtown, where the first Land League meeting was held, hundreds of tenants are preparing to go before the Land Court with a view to having their rents fixed. A freer air seemed to be breathed as soon as Mr. Parnell was sent to gaol, the clouds seemed to clear away, and if there was no sunshine, at any rate the outlook seemed less gloomy. In England there was also more disposition manifested to stand by the rights of property; and at Brighton, for example, a very successful meeting was held, and a large amount of money speedily collected on behalf of the suffering landlords of Ireland. Some sad tales were told at the meeting of ladies driven to the workhouse in consequence of the refusal of their tenants to pay rent. At the meeting of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland it was resolved: "That we, the clergy and lay representatives of the Church of Ireland, assembled in the Dublin Diocesan Association, on the 26th of October, 1881, having regard to the dangerous and dis-

loyal agitation in our country, feel it to be our duty to express our unchanged and unchangeable loyalty to the laws, the Constitution, and the Queen of England." On the same day a public meeting was held at Kiltegan, near Baltinglass, in support of the West Wicklow Loyal Association. There was a good attendance of tenant-farmers of the districts, says the *Daily News* reporter, there being about 300 present, all evidently respectable farmers, and of a class contrasting strongly in physique and in the respectability of their appearance with the average of those who, for the last year or two, might have been seen at the Land meetings. Not but that the the Land League meetings were attended by respectable and well-to-do farmers, but that at to-day's meeting there was an entire absence of the rough element, which was, in most cases, so prominent at Land League meetings. At the meeting, the Rev. Mr. O'Connor, a Protestant clergyman, said, on behalf of himself and his brethren in the ministry, that they were in the present movement, not because it was a landlord and tenant affair, not because it was a political business, but because, under the guise of politics, fraud was inculcated among the people. Dishonesty, outrage, violence, and even murder, were the weapons of the Land League; and when a clergyman saw such things going on, was he to refrain from lifting up his voice against a work which was manifestly of the devil? As an illustration of the latter remark, we may add that the next paragraph in the *Daily News* report referred to an attempted murder near Ballinmore, County Leitrim; and that the next paragraph to that contained an account of an inquest held in the County of Clare, on the body of a man, which ended in the jury returning a verdict of wilful murder against some persons unknown.

The great difficulty in dealing with Ireland, if we may use such an expression, is not Ireland itself, but America. It is by the Irish in America that the mischief is done; that bad feeling is created; that money is

subscribed for the purposes of an agitation, hostile to England and the best interests of the Irish themselves. Under the shelter of the American Constitution, citizens of the American Republic, which professes, and justly professes, to dwell at peace with its neighbours, have full liberty to plot and plan against the welfare of other nations. More than one attempt in this way was made in Canada, and when the seasons of bad harvests came, and the Irish were dying of starvation, or would have died, had not Englishmen subscribed freely for their benefit, they kept up the Fenian and Home Rule agitation, and supported, as we have seen, the Land League, in its most indefensible proceedings. To them we owe the late talk about dynamite; of an army of Fenians coming over to liberate Ireland, and such scoundrelly acts as the following, the account of which is extracted from the papers of October 27, 1881:—

“A startling affair came to light in Liverpool yesterday, and has caused considerable excitement on 'change. It transpired that, in a number of bales of cotton, sent from Liverpool to three different mills in Oldham, a quantity of cartridges were found, the number in one of the bales being stated to be nearly forty. Some of them were brought to Liverpool yesterday, and proved to be revolver cartridges of the ordinary bulldog pattern. With the exception of one instance they were discovered before the cotton was put into the beating machinery. In this case, however, they got into the machinery, and one of them was struck and a good deal dented. Fortunately, the concussion cap was not touched, or the cartridges would probably have exploded, and, in all probability, set fire to the mass of loose cotton. The bales had been warehoused in Liverpool, and were bought in the ordinary way of business, so that at present no clue can be obtained to the presence of the cartridges. At any rate, the idea of causing danger and death to unoffending persons appears, unfortunately, eminently Irish.” Ireland in America can keep no peace with England.

Thus we read in the papers of the date already referred to, “The Irish citizens of New York held an immense meeting at the Academy of Music, the Mayor of the City presiding. Speeches were made by the Irish leaders and Mr. Parnell's mother. Letters of sympathy were read from several members of Congress, and a few editors seeking to make capital by bidding for the Irish vote. The editor of the *Irish World* wrote that he would contribute a thousand dollars, and would thereafter give five dollars a week till landlordism was driven from Ireland.”

Again, we read:—“A meeting of the Parnell Central Land League was held in New York to consider the subject of an Employment Bureau for the members of the Irish Constabulary. It was stated that fully six hundred members of the force would resign and come to America if they could get employment. A dozen letters of inquiry had been received from them. Situations had been found for several, and three were present at the meeting unprovided for. It was decided to bring the question of dissolving the Constabulary by securing a general immigration before the proposed Land League Convention. It was announced that the gross receipts of Mr. O'Connor's meeting here was 623 dollars.” It is thus clear the agitation in Ireland is chiefly fostered, and maintained, and rendered mischievous by and from across the water. Ireland would very soon be quiet were it not for that richer and greater Ireland in America—an Ireland to which senators are compelled to pay respect, and which has in New York made that city its own.

In the meanwhile, it was clear the action of the Government had rendered it more popular than ever in Scotland and England. Of this fact we had abundant illustration in the hearty welcome given to Sir William Harcourt, the Home Secretary, on the occasion of his visit to Glasgow in the autumn to receive the freedom of that City, and at the Berwick election, which resulted in the return of Mr. Jerminham, the Liberal

candidate, by a majority of 517. The numbers, it seems, were—Mr. Jerningham (L.), 1,046; Mr. Trotter (C.), 529. The numbers who voted at the last bye-election in July, 1880, were as follows:—Captain Milne Horne (C.), 584; Mr. McLaren (L.), 582. The Liberal poll had thus increased by 484, and the Conservative diminished by 55. There was some excitement on the result of the poll being declared; and Mr. Jerningham delivered a short speech at its conclusion, calling for three cheers for the defeated candidate, which were heartily given. The return is the first response

reasons. The few Irish electors in the borough had been ordered to vote for Mr. Trotter, though some of them may have preferred Mr. Jerningham, as a Roman Catholic, and it is possible that Irish resentment may have done more good than harm to the cause against which it was employed.

In all parts of England public opinion rallied round the Ministry. For instance, at a meeting of the constituents of Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., in Merthyr, it was resolved: "That this meeting records its unanimous confidence in home and foreign



HENRY RICHARD, 189.

which has been made by any constituency to Mr. Gladstone's recent appeal. It would, of course, be easy to exaggerate the importance of a single election, but the exceptional character of the poll, as the *Daily News* remarked, deserves to be pointed out. At the general election of last year, two Liberals, the present Lord Tweedmouth, and the present Lord Belper, were returned by small majorities against two Conservatives—the numbers being: 687, 614; 552 and 457. So remarkable a victory as that achieved by Mr. Jerningham can scarcely be due to merely local or personal

policy of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, and the special satisfaction with which the firm attitude manifested by the Government in supporting law and order in Ireland." Addressing a meeting of Liberals, Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., said that he and other Trades' Union advocates in Parliament had been asked to endorse the action of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, on the ground that the Land League in Ireland was precisely what Trades' Unions were in England. He repudiated the simile with the greatest indignation, and wished it could only be compared with some such

organisation. It was nonsense for Mr. Parnell, or any other Land Leaguer, to call the Land League agitation simply an Irish strike in favour of bettering the condition of the people. The whole plan of procedure was altogether different. When Trades' Unions demanded less hours or more wages, they said to their employers that, unless they had them, they would not work; but they did not stop the work, nor did they damage the employers' machinery, nor did they prevent other people from working; but their operations had always been pursued within the four corners of the criminal and common law, with one or two exceptions, that could not be taken into account when considering the great work that Trades' Unions had performed. At the meeting of the Baptist Union, held in the autumn, at Southampton, it was resolved: "That this meeting of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, regrets most deeply the present state of Ireland, and deems the action of the Government, and the measures they have taken to secure the peace of the country, worthy the support of all citizens." Even in Ireland similar resolutions were carried. For instance, at a meeting of the county magistrates of Meath, it was resolved: "That while offering no opinion as to the justice or the necessity of the Land Act, they pledged themselves, now that it had become law, to carry out its provisions with fairness and impartiality."

In other ways, also, the Irish public, or the respectable portion of it, seemed to arouse itself to meet the emergencies of the time. A meeting, for instance, was held in October to inaugurate the formation of an association for ladies in distress, at the Palace, St. Stephen's Green, the Archbishop of Dublin in the chair. There was an extremely large attendance, particularly of ladies. Mr. W. Brooke stated the object of the association, which, he said, was purely charitable, and had nothing whatever to do with any political side or aspect. The non-payment of rent, which was so widespread in Ireland, had caused the

severest distress to families and individuals depending for their incomes on the land. Owing to this, it was determined to form the association, which had for its object the relief of widows and unmarried ladies whose income had failed, in whole or in part, through the cause mentioned. The association would consist of a patron (and the Archbishop had kindly granted his patronage), patronesses, of whom a considerable number had already been secured; a general and an executive committee, consisting of twelve names, six being ladies and six being gentlemen, besides the honorary officers. The executive committee would sit in Dublin, and their duty would be to examine into applications for assistance. That would be a very important duty, as no doubt a large number of claims would be sent in. Aid would be given to those who were found to be in distress, or loans would be advanced, repayable without interest, as many persons would object to charitable relief. An honorary undertaking to intimate the payment of rent, so that relief would be stopped. This would be only an honorary undertaking, as it had been determined that no agreement would be made which would entail recourse to the law. They would not be confined in bringing the objects of the association before the public in Ireland, as they would also be furthered in England. The association had already received considerable sums from England—in fact, the treasurer had already three or four hundred pounds in hand. It was proposed to purchase needlework from persons in distress, and the committee would also undertake the distribution of money committed to them on special trusts. He then proceeded, by way of showing the great necessity of such an institution, to read several instances of families who were suffering the severest distress by reason of their incomes not being forthcoming, in consequence of the non-payment of rent. Indeed, the distress thus created through the action of the Land League was of the most intense character, and permeated all classes of society.

In the meanwhile, the Government was not idle, and the papers had to condense their reports into the smallest possible space. For instance, on one day, October 27th, seventeen more suspects, we were told, were arrested in Ireland, and they were disposed of in the columns of the *Times* in as many lines. "All we hear now about a man," wrote the Radical *Echo*, "is that he was arrested and lodged in some jail. Whether all these men were guilty, or equally guilty, will never be known. But if the Government were to arrest seventeen dozen, or seventeen score a day, public opinion in this country would sustain the Government. We will go further still, and say that if more drastic measures were required, if every suspect were silently flogged in prison, the British public would cry 'bravo!' The Government rather lags behind public opinion than acts in advance of it, and if it were condemned at the present moment, it would not be for doing too much, but too little." This is true, and there is no stronger condemnation of the action of Mr. Parnell and his followers than by the system of terrorism they had evoked, by the violence and dastardly outrages and murders committed by their emissaries. The people of England, who had naturally a kindly feeling towards the Irish as the victims with themselves, but more than themselves, of bad land laws and harsh landlords, had become estranged, and that they were even more determined than the Government that life be secured, that property be preserved, that the land should be ruled by law, and not brute force.

But if the *Echo* had its censure for Government, it was left far behind by the *Newcastle Chronicle*, from which, by way of illustration, we quote an extract relative to Dublin and Mr. Parnell:—"Dublin is no ordinary city. It is the capital of Ireland, and holds the second rank among the cities of the empire. It has been from time immemorial a centre of opposition to every popular movement in the United Kingdom; it is little England to the bulk

of the Irish people; it is the headquarters of polite society, of commercial enterprise, and of learning; and there the castle, the courts, and the university dominate public opinion. In many of its aspects, and in relation to the rest of the country, Dublin has ever been regarded as almost as little Irish as London itself. When the corporation of such a town finds half the members capable of being brought together on an occasion so momentous, ready to confer the highest honour at its disposal upon men whom the Government of the country stigmatise as criminals, it is absurd for any one to ignore, much less to find comfort, in such circumstances." This was apparently intended as a reply to Mr. Gladstone's Liverpool speech in October, when he referred to the fact that the Corporation of Dublin, which had conferred on him the honour of its freedom some three or four years previously, had refused it to Mr. Parnell, at the very time when the mob had almost got possession of the city, and when hardly any man was safe who was known to be an enemy of Mr. Parnell. As it was, so great was the fear of the mob, that many of the members of the corporation stayed away, and voted neither on one side nor the other. The writer in the *Newcastle Chronicle* continues:—"Nor is this all. Dublin is now under a veritable reign of white terror. Great pressure was brought to bear by the authorities in order to prevent the discussion raised by Mr. Grey, and the first meeting, intended for the purpose, was actually frustrated. The Lord Mayor confessed that his presence on the occasion was due to external influences, and it is notorious that members of the council were threatened to be deprived of their functions as justices of the peace if they dared to support the motion. It is well known that this goes far to account for the number of absentees on the occasion. Yet, in the face of such obstruction, embittered by a number of possible details which the Castle has at its disposal, and the force of which only Dublin citizens can fully realise, the Metropolitan Corporation would, but for the Lord

organisation. It was nonsense for Mr. Parnell, or any other Land Leaguer, to call the Land League agitation simply an Irish strike in favour of bettering the condition of the people. The whole plan of procedure was altogether different. When Trades' Unions demanded less hours or more wages, they said to their employers that, unless they had them, they would not work; but they did not stop the work, nor did they damage the employers' machinery, nor did they prevent other people from working; but their operations had always been pursued within the four corners of the criminal and common law, with one or two exceptions, that could not be taken into account when considering the great work that Trades' Unions had performed. At the meeting of the Baptist Union, held in the autumn, at Southampton, it was resolved: "That this meeting of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, regrets most deeply the present state of Ireland, and deems the action of the Government, and the measures they have taken to secure the peace of the country, worthy the support of all citizens." Even in Ireland similar resolutions were carried. For instance, at a meeting of the county magistrates of Meath, it was resolved: "That while offering no opinion as to the justice or the necessity of the Land Act, they pledged themselves, now that it had become law, to carry out its provisions with fairness and impartiality."

In other ways, also, the Irish public, or the respectable portion of it, seemed to arouse itself to meet the emergencies of the time. A meeting, for instance, was held in October to inaugurate the formation of an association for ladies in distress, at the Palace, St. Stephen's Green, the Archbishop of Dublin in the chair. There was an extremely large attendance, particularly of ladies. Mr. W. Brooke stated the object of the association, which, he said, was purely charitable, and had nothing whatever to do with any political side or aspect. The non-payment of rent, which was so widespread in Ireland, had caused the

severest distress to families and individuals depending for their incomes on the land. Owing to this, it was determined to form the association, which had for its object the relief of widows and unmarried ladies whose income had failed, in whole or in part, through the cause mentioned. The association would consist of a patron (and the Archbishop had kindly granted his patronage), patronesses, of whom a considerable number had already been secured; a general and an executive committee, consisting of twelve names, six being ladies and six being gentlemen, besides the honorary officers. The executive committee would sit in Dublin, and their duty would be to examine into applications for assistance. That would be a very important duty, as no doubt a large number of claims would be sent in. Aid would be given to those who were found to be in distress, or loans would be advanced, repayable without interest, as many persons would object to charitable relief. An honorary undertaking to intimate the payment of rent, so that relief would be stopped. This would be only an honorary undertaking, as it had been determined that no agreement would be made which would entail recourse to the law. They would not be confined in bringing the objects of the association before the public in Ireland, as they would also be furthered in England. The association had already received considerable sums from England—in fact, the treasurer had already three or four hundred pounds in hand. It was proposed to purchase needlework from persons in distress, and the committee would also undertake the distribution of money committed to them on special trusts. He then proceeded, by way of showing the great necessity of such an institution, to read several instances of families who were suffering the severest distress by reason of their incomes not being forthcoming, in consequence of the non-payment of rent. Indeed, the distress thus created through the action of the Land League was of the most intense character, and permeated all classes of society.

In the meanwhile, the Government was not idle, and the papers had to condense their reports into the smallest possible space. For instance, on one day, October 27th, seventeen more suspects, we were told, were arrested in Ireland, and they were disposed of in the columns of the *Times* in as many lines. "All we hear now about a man," wrote the Radical *Echo*, "is that he was arrested and lodged in some jail. Whether all these men were guilty, or equally guilty, will never be known. But if the Government were to arrest seventeen dozen, or seventeen score a day, public opinion in this country would sustain the Government. We will go further still, and say that if more drastic measures were required, if every suspect were silently flogged in prison, the British public would cry 'bravo!' The Government rather lags behind public opinion than acts in advance of it, and if it were condemned at the present moment, it would not be for doing too much, but too little." This is true, and there is no stronger condemnation of the action of Mr. Parnell and his followers than by the system of terrorism they had evoked, by the violence and dastardly outrages and murders committed by their emissaries. The people of England, who had naturally a kindly feeling towards the Irish as the victims with themselves, but more than themselves, of bad land laws and harsh landlords, had become estranged, and that they were even more determined than the Government that life be secured, that property be preserved, that the land should be ruled by law, and not brute force.

But if the *Echo* had its censure for Government, it was left far behind by the *Newcastle Chronicle*, from which, by way of illustration, we quote an extract relative to Dublin and Mr. Parnell:—"Dublin is no ordinary city. It is the capital of Ireland, and holds the second rank among the cities of the empire. It has been from time immemorial a centre of opposition to every popular movement in the United Kingdom; it is little England to the bulk

of the Irish people; it is the headquarters of polite society, of commercial enterprise, and of learning; and there the castle, the courts, and the university dominate public opinion. In many of its aspects, and in relation to the rest of the country, Dublin has ever been regarded as almost as little Irish as London itself. When the corporation of such a town finds half the members capable of being brought together on an occasion so momentous, ready to confer the highest honour at its disposal upon men whom the Government of the country stigmatise as criminals, it is absurd for any one to ignore, much less to find comfort, in such circumstances." This was apparently intended as a reply to Mr. Gladstone's Liverpool speech in October, when he referred to the fact that the Corporation of Dublin, which had conferred on him the honour of its freedom some three or four years previously, had refused it to Mr. Parnell, at the very time when the mob had almost got possession of the city, and when hardly any man was safe who was known to be an enemy of Mr. Parnell. As it was, so great was the fear of the mob, that many of the members of the corporation stayed away, and voted neither on one side nor the other. The writer in the *Newcastle Chronicle* continues:—"Nor is this all. Dublin is now under a veritable reign of white terror. Great pressure was brought to bear by the authorities in order to prevent the discussion raised by Mr. Grey, and the first meeting, intended for the purpose, was actually frustrated. The Lord Mayor confessed that his presence on the occasion was due to external influences, and it is notorious that members of the council were threatened to be deprived of their functions as justices of the peace if they dared to support the motion. It is well known that this goes far to account for the number of absentees on the occasion. Yet, in the face of such obstruction, embittered by a number of possible details which the Castle has at its disposal, and the force of which only Dublin citizens can fully realise, the Metropolitan Corporation would, but for the Lord

Mayor's casting vote, have carried a vote censuring the Government, and honouring the untried, but unconvicted leaders of the condemned Land League. We repeat that the fact is significant." But the bitter animosity of Mr. Cowen to Mr. Gladstone, and to all his ways, is by this time notorious. More pertinent was the criticism of the *Times* on Mr. Gladstone's Knowleys speech. "It is remarkable," writes the *Times*, "that Mr. Gladstone protests against the statement that the passing of the Land Act was in any way due to the action of the League. When he introduced the measure he declared it was the business of Parliament in dealing with the question to look, not at the agitation, nor at the demands put forward under the cover of agitation, but at the actual relations between landlord and tenant, and to introduce into the law the changes which, upon the merits, would be required. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, asserted on Tuesday last that if the Land League had been suppressed at the beginning of the year, when it was open to all the charges brought against it by Mr. Gladstone, the Land Act would not have been carried. These are discrepancies which will perplex the future historian."

For a long time it seemed as if Ireland was equally divided between two contending parties: the friends of anarchy and patriotism on one side, and of law and England on the other. Even in jail, Mr. Parnell managed to send a letter to the papers protesting against the Gladstone policy, and intimating that he and his friends were quite ready to remain in jail any number of months or years that may be necessary. A heavy blow, however, was dealt to the Land League when, on the last Sunday in October, the pastoral of Archbishop MacCabe was read in all the Roman Catholic churches in the diocese of Dublin. "Only a little while ago," said the Archbishop, "our own city presented scenes of lawlessness which might disgrace an unchristian rabble. It is true the evil-doers were but a handful of misguided men and youths, but it is nevertheless true that the evil-doers are in our

midst, and that the youthful culprit of to-day may become in a few months the hardened profligate, if society fails in its duties to the rising generation. We feel ourselves, very reverend fathers, imperatively called on to enter our most solemn protest against another indignity which has been offered to the moral sense of our people in this city, the centre of Catholic Ireland. Only a few days ago, over-confiding men were startled from their dreams of security by the publication of a manifesto which at once assailed the external laws of God, and struck at the foundation on which society rests—the rights of property. Passing over all the other cases in which these rights are threatened, let us confine ourselves to one particular class of the community. There were, and are, as we all know, hundreds of honest and industrious men among us who, trusting to the faith of the public conscience, and calculating on the security which a justly constituted Government is able to afford, invested the fruits of their years of toil and self-sacrifice in property from which they hoped that they, and theirs, might draw the means of an honourable subsistence. But all this must be swept away by the breath of a handful of men, the bulk of whom have neither stake nor interest in the country. We disregarded the warnings which cautioned against danger that lurked in specious programmes pretending to aim at nought save the redress of the wrongs of an oppressed people; but now God's Providence from the lips of unsafe guides gives an avowal of their aims, and if notice to pay no rent be not the teachings of communism, communism is yet to be defined. Let no one suppose, reverend fathers, that we have a word to say in defence of the oppressors of the poor. We feel as keenly as the most outspoken of our brethren in the sacred ministry, the cruel injuries worked by bad laws on the defenceless tenants of Ireland; but we must not allow our abhorrence of injustice to betray us into a repudiation of the claims of injustice, and if God's blessing is to be invoked on our struggle for right, God's sacred ordinance must not be out-

raged in that struggle. If to-day the landlord's claim to his just rent be questioned, who will guarantee the tenant's right to his outlay of money and toil to-morrow? Injustice will repay his injustice, and in the day of retribution the wrong-doer will be laughed at when he seeks for sympathy in his troubles. The issue is now plainly put before our people. Which of the two will they follow? The men who have marked out a road that must lead to anger with God, and disgrace before the Christian world, or the bishops of Ireland, who, through a glorious and unbroken succession of fourteen centuries, are the heirs of those who encountered poverty, exile—nay, death in its most terrible form, for the people with whom their lives were irrevocably bound up." In well-considered words, the prelates exhorted their people to use the Land Act; to keep aloof from all secret societies; to set their faces against the tyranny which has been established in many parts of the country by the abuses of a system which may be called a social excommunication indicted by irresponsible, and, very often, by vindictive agents. The bishops also called upon the people to pay their just debts when they had the power, which certainly include just rents. But who will settle the question of what a just rent means? Surely no sane man will allow an individual, however upright, to be the judge in his own case; and if the bishops exhorted their people to avail themselves of the Land Act, they did so in the hope that under the courts established by that Act the unjustly-rented tenant would find justice and protection. This manifesto of the Archbishop's had greater weight, as he had been opposed to the Land League since it had assumed a position of defiance to the law, and can show how prophetic were his warnings as to the communism for which the Land League was preparing the way. We are told there were several demonstrations of disapproval in several of the chapels, when the Archbishop's pastoral was read. In Marlboro-street pro-cathedral about 150 persons, chiefly young men, who occupied

seats in the centre of the building, left their places and made a shuffling noise with their feet going out of the cathedral. There were similar manifestations of feeling at other Catholic places of worship, but on a smaller scale. It is believed that this form of protest had been agreed upon beforehand, as a Dublin evening paper of the previous Saturday contained an extract from the Pastoral, with an intimation that it would be read in the city chapels the next day.

At the same time the newspapers reported that the number of brutal and cowardly attacks on the police had increased very much in Dublin. A typical case was as follows. A constable was attacked by three men in a lonely street, who knocked him down, beat him on the head with his own baton, and tried to put the wheel of a cart over his neck while he lay on the ground. Their conduct was so brutal that, contrary to usual custom, the spectators interfered. One of the comical incidents connected with the affairs in Ireland, was, on one occasion, the mob made a furious attack on a party of police who were on their way to levy poor rates. One would have thought that even the most ignorant of Irish mobs would have had no objection to the collection of money for the relief of the poor.

On All-Souls' Day, a vast crowd filled the Tuam cathedral. After the last Mass, the Archbishop, Dr. MacEvilly, condemned the teaching of the new doctrine of "no rent" as being contrary to every principle of religion, and every dictate of morality. He looked upon those who followed that pernicious practice as being guilty of a breach of that law of God which says "Thou shalt not steal." He could not too strongly reprobate such evil advice. It was simply telling the people to be thieves and rogues. It was contrary to any principle of patriotism, and was subversive of the character and morals of the people. He rejoiced to see that the honest religious spirit of the Irish people in the diocese over which he had authority revolted against

such a doctrine of "no rent," convenient as its practice might be, and in that revolt all that was good and honest joined. In other parts of Ireland, Mr. Parnell and his doctrine of no rent seemed to become more popular after and in consequence of his imprisonment. For instance, while the Archbishop was addressing the people in Tuam, in Cork the members of the Chamber of Commerce unanimously elected him chairman of the Chamber of Commerce there. This was the more remarkable, as its doors were locked against him during his candidature for the representation of the city.

Outrage and crime seemed little affected by the repressive measures of Government, or by the appeals of highly-placed priests, or by the utterances of leading magistrates. As an illustration we quote from the papers of November 4th. A correspondent writes from Dublin:—"Another agrarian murder is reported, this time from the terrorised district of Loughrea, county Galway. The exact locality is about two miles from Craughwell, the station on the Ennis and Athenry line, which is nearest to Loughrea. The unfortunate victim is a respectable man named Doherty, about 28. It appears that Doherty, when retiring to bed about ten o'clock last night, had his attention attracted by a noise in the yard adjoining his house. Looking out, he observed that a horse, which had some time before been locked up in the stable, was wandering about. He went out to secure the animal, and, having done so, he was returning into the house, when a shot was fired at him. The bullet passed by him, but a second later a second shot was fired, the bullet from which passed through his temple, and, passing through his brain, caused instant death. The assassin then visited a cousin of the deceased, John Doherty, but failing to arouse any of the inmates, he fired several shots through the window, a bullet passing the face of Mrs. Doherty." A man of the name of Cunliffe has been arrested on suspicion. About eighteen months ago Cunliffe surrendered his farm to his land-

lord on the ground that the rent was too high, and Doherty became the tenant, in the belief, as he stated, that Cunliffe had surrendered it because he was not able to pay the rent. The matter was referred to the local branch of the Land League, and that body, as was to be expected, decided in favour of Cunliffe. The result was that he and his cousin were Boycotted, and notices were posted in the district cautioning people to have no dealings with them. We read, in the same paper, a novel case of Boycotting, reported from Glencowen, near Blarney. A large quantity of corn and oats, the property of a suspect in Kilmainham, is still in the fields rotting under the weather, owing to the impossibility of getting any one to save it. His relatives applied to the Land League for assistance, but they repudiated all connection with him. This change of front is owing to Heffernan, during his first term of imprisonment, having entreated the Chief Secretary to release him, acknowledging the land, and promising to take no further part in the agitation.

It is clear that while the high officials of the Romish Church held aloof from the cry raised of "no rent," there were not a few of the priests who headed the tenants in the audacious demand. Mr. Gaville, for instance, County Court Judge of Louth and Armagh, addressing the Grand Jury at Dundalk Quarter Sessions, animadverted in severe terms on the conduct of men professing to be christian ministers attending illegal meetings, and counselling the people to adhere to the advice given in the "no rent" manifesto of the Land League. Subsequently, the Rev. Mr. Kiernan, parish priest, entered the court, and addressing the judge in an excited manner, said:—"It is unmanly for any person to shelter himself behind his judicial position, and slander men behind their backs." This remark having been applauded, we are told Father Kiernan left the court. The language of the judge was justifiable when we find such paragraphs as the following under the head of Irish

Intelligence :—"One hundred and thirty of Count de Brosse's tenantry at Cool Meen and Cruna, headed by the parish priest, marched to Kildysart [to-day to interview the landlord's agent. They told him that no rent would be paid while Gladstone and Forster continued to mis-govern Ireland."

The Irish in England, especially in Liverpool and London, held meetings, and did all in their power to censure the action of the Government, and hinder the working of an Act which was such a boon as was never offered to tenants in any part of the world ever before. In some places the Irish characteristically took their revenge by returning Tories as councillors. Nor was this much to be wondered at when Miss Helen Taylor, the step-daughter of the illustrious John Stuart Mill, could go to Dublin, and standing by the side of Miss Anna Parnell, could talk such stuff as the following :—"Every Englishman, and every Englishwoman, who had the smallest respect for constitutional liberty, was morally bound to give the strongest protest against the iniquities which were now disgracing England and Ireland. She almost felt as if to those who were born in Ireland, the name of England must be a great ground for hatred and contempt, but she could assure them there were thousands of people in England, and there would be, before long, millions, who would make their voices heard unanswerably in protesting against these iniquities. She hoped punishment would soon fall on those who were oppressing Ireland. She did not speak of political oppression, but of the state of things in which young girls, old women, and blind boys, were put to death by the bayonet thrusts of the police, while the perpetrator escaped practically without punishment. It was not in the power of England to put an individual into prison for denouncing Mr. Gladstone as a wicked, unscrupulous, and cruel man." In such matters fair play seemed out of the question. The aim of each speaker evidently was, how best to

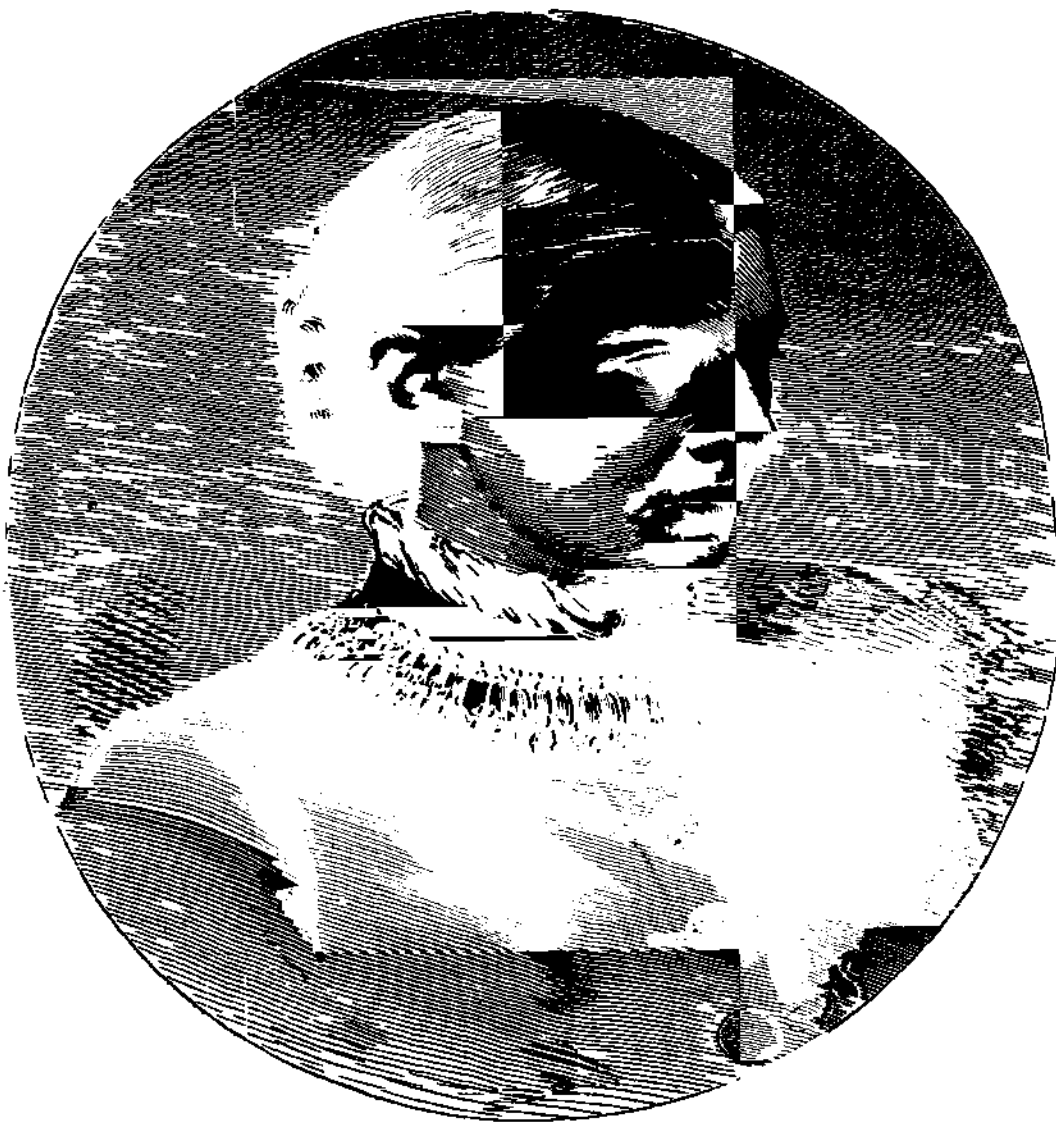
excite Irish discontent, and how most fiercely to arraign the Government. In introducing Miss Taylor, Miss Parnell had denounced the conduct of the police. As evidence of their brutality, she mentioned that a blind boy was pulled out of bed and was being taken off to the station under the belief that he was shamming. There was a miraculous escape from death by another boy, who had received two sword thrusts. Well, that is very probable. When an infuriated mob, that had been wrecking some of the best houses in Dublin, and pillaging some of the best shops, had to be dispersed by the armed police, one can well imagine, many people who were silly enough to form a part of it had some very narrow escapes. But Miss Taylor went even beyond her authority, in speaking of young girls, old women, and blind boys being put to death by bayonet thrusts, and it is difficult to conceive anything more wicked or atrocious than such conduct on her part. In England, in any respectable audience, such a remark would have created only laughter; to the excited and excitable Irish, it would only add fuel to the fire of Irish discontent; but it had long been manifest that Mr. Parnell and his followers were aiming at something more than tenant right. The *Boston Pilot*, the ablest Roman Catholic journal in America, hit the true nail on the head when it said :—"It is time for Irishmen to take their attention off the Land Act, and the no-rent policy. For good or ill, the Land Act is in operation. We trust it will be largely for good, and that every atom of its benefits will be used by the tenant farmers of Ireland; but even were the Land Act all that the League desired, it would be only a step onwards. The end of Irish agitation is Home Rule, and an Irish revolution and a separate independence. It is time to change the Land League, root and branch, into something larger. The outside world will sympathise far more with an open demand for Home Rule than with an organised war on landlords." Who can doubt that the writer of the above article

wrote truly? What the discontented Irishman seeks, is not tenant right, but Home Rule. In the meanwhile the officials connected with the Land League endeavoured to do their duty. The first case—that in Castle Blayney—resulted in a very substantial reduction of rent. The decision given was that the rent to M'Atavey's holding of ten acres had been reduced from £8 16s. 2d., to £6 6s., the landlord to pay half the county cess, the tenant having paid the whole of it before. As soon as the decision was known, and in fact while it was yet being delivered, the local band passed the court-house playing jubilantly. The Land Act sub-Commissioners were not slow in giving the tenants relief. In one of the earliest cases, the tenant had a reduction on the plea that he was old and infirm. It is to be questioned whether the force of kindness in such a case could further go.

At first it seemed as if there would be a breakdown in consequence of the extraordinary number of applications to the court for relief. The difficulty of getting the Land Commission into working order was forcibly illustrated at Armagh, where the sub-Commissioners were forced to make one day a *dies non*, in order to give even one day's notice of their intention to sit. Although seven cases were set down for hearing, not one was heard. Five of the cases were Land League test cases, of which Mr. MacGough, the solicitor of the Land League, had charge, but from which he had withdrawn. There was, therefore, no appearance on behalf of the tenants in these cases, nor did the tenants themselves attend until after the Court had risen, and after intimation had been conveyed to them (they being in town awaiting the result of their non-appearance) that the court had adjourned their cases and given costs in the smaller case of one pound, and in the larger case of two pounds, against them. They then professed to feel very much annoyed that they had not had notice of the sitting, and they added, when questioned, that they had not received

notice from Mr. MacGough, that he had retired from their cases.

The special correspondent of the *Daily News* writes:—"I do not by any means share the apprehension that appears to be entertained in some quarters with regard to a block in the working of the Land Act. It is obviously absurd to suppose that because so many thousands of notices have been served, therefore they will, or even a decent proportion of them, ever come to trial. For example, there is scarcely any likelihood that anything more will be heard of the test cases presented at Castle Blayney and Armagh. They were all cases of evicted tenants, who now being left to themselves, are not likely to proceed further in the attempt to fix fair rent. Their holdings will probably be sold, and the landlord will most likely be the purchaser, and the future fair rent will probably be arranged between the landlord and the new tenant, all that the Commissioners will have to do being to sanction the arrangement. Again, it is equally obvious that as soon as a few decisions have been given, and as soon as the tendency of the new decisions begins to be grasped by both landlord and tenant, an amicable arrangement of their differences will take place in a large proportion—it would probably be more correct to say, in an overwhelming proportion of cases. It was pointed out at Armagh that while a tenant may bring a landlord into court at an expense of a couple of shillings, it costs the landlord more than as many pounds to come in to meet the case sought to be made against him. This will account largely for the number of notices that have been served. But it should be remembered that this step on the part of the tenant is, after all, but an initiatory one, and that, although he can bring the landlord into court at an expense of a couple of shillings, he cannot meet him there for much less than the same amount as the landlord. It must also be remembered that the case is not necessarily at an end when the sub-Commissioners have given their decision,



COUNTESS COWPER.

and that if the tenants are to maintain any advantage they may gain at that stage, they must be prepared to follow it up to the end.

A difficulty in the way of the success of the Land Act, it must be admitted, however, is to be found in the magnitude of the task undertaken by the Land Court. The trial of a land claim, under the Act of 1870, was wearisome enough, but was simple work compared with that which has now to be got through. An example is afforded in the first case at Belfast. The landlord, a Rev. Mr. Crawford, having given a lease of a house and land to a tenant in 1842, for 21 years, and at the expiration of the term exercised the power, then unquestioned, of raising the rent, was brought into court to have it fixed, and to find that the tenant claims to be the owner of the improvements, and to be exempt from rent in respect of them. The landlord offered the lease and the covenants as evidence that the improvements were his, but the court demanded more distinct evidence, the Act having reversed the presumption of the Act of 1870, and laid the onus of proving the right to the improvements upon the landlord, who has no recompense for them, and never could have foreseen such an allegation. The principle involved is important, but the farm respecting which the question has been raised was a small one.

In deciding a batch of cases in Belfast, which all gave great satisfaction, inasmuch as the rents were reduced, Professor Baldwin, one of the sub-Commissioners, said:—"This judgment will be read with the deepest interest and scanned with care. We have reduced the rents because it has been proved that the improvements were made by the tenants. Several of the tenants have effected a great many improvements which gave them in equity and now in law a considerable interest in their holdings. On the other hand, many of the farms are neglected, and a few are in a shameful state. This Act, and our decision to-day, tells them that every bit of permanent im-

provement they effect in future shall be protected by law. It is hoped that this will give a new direction to their thoughts and industry, and thus speedily improve their own condition, increase the prosperity of the district, and promote the well-being of the State. The new rent was fixed from the 1st of November, and they gave the tenant the benefit of only paying half the county cess. The first benefit of the Land Act would be felt when the gale would be paid on the 1st of November, 1882." The Court then adjourned after having given the tenants their costs. The appeals to be heard will of course decide as to whether these reductions are fair.

In time it became apparent that the hopes created by the Land Act as to the diminution of the evil effects of the Land League were premature, and from England and Ireland a fierce cry came for firmer measures. And no wonder. In December one night's *Gazette* contained a return of the agrarian outrages committed in the month of November. The total number is 520, which includes the following:—Murder, 2; firing at person, 17; assault on police, 1; grievous assaults, 7; assaults endangering life, 6; assaults on bailiffs and process servers, 21; incendiary fires and arson, 46; firing into dwellings, 28; injuries to property, 38; injuries to railway trains or highways, 2; resisting legal process, 1; attacks on houses, 8; intimidation, 320; administering unlawful oaths, 4; robbery of arms, 7; wounding or maiming cattle, 15. The total for each province is:—Ulster, 44; Leinster, 129; Connaught, 110; Munster, 237.

Baron Fitzgerald, in opening the winter assizes for Connaught, addressing the grand jury, said he deplored the condition of their common country. There were forty cases to go before them; but this number afforded no indication whatever of the vast number of cases specially reported by the police authorities. The combination from which this class of crime resulted had lasted for four years. Since the last assizes the Legislature had admitted the grievance

of the tenants, and—it was not for him to say wisely or unwisely—in a large number of cases they had suspended existing contracts in the interests of the tenants, and had appointed in the administration of this new enactment not the ordinary judges of the land, but a number of men who should be free from prejudice, and what he might call the stiffness engendered by the administration of long-established law; and the most alarming feature in the condition of the country was, that in the face of the determined efforts of redress which the Legislature afforded the class of crime to which he alluded continued, increased, and was increasing. With such a condition of a country no Government could co-exist. It was not for him to devise the remedy, that might be termed the prejudice of an old man, but he should say that the system of trial by jury—the system of twelve men solemnly sworn before their God, in whom they professed to believe—was the best system that could be devised for the administration of justice tempered with mercy.

The following declaration was widely circulated and signed throughout Ireland:—“September, 1881.—We, the undersigned, declare that we will not visit the Exhibition of Irish Manufactures, which is proposed to be held in Dublin in 1882, if any member of the Royal or Viceregal family, or any agent of the Government, who may at any time have taken part in the oppression of the Irish people, be invited to open said exhibition, or allowed to have any official connection with it; and we also declare that we will not knowingly buy the goods of any manufacturer who may exhibit in said exhibition if it be held under the conditions to which we have objected.”

A novel method of keeping alive the spirit of the “no-rent” manifestowasadopted in some parts of Ireland. A pound promissory note, to be repaid when the suspects are released, has been circulated amongst the tenantry. One specimen ran as follows:—“I hereby promise to pay Ralph Decourcey, Naas, Co. Kildare, in his office

in Meath, £— on the day that Parnell, Davitt, and Brennan, and the other suspects, are set at liberty.” The tenant is to sign the note, which is dated the 4th November. It is questionable, however, whether many notes of this kind were taken up. The Irish are a shrewd as well as a noisy people—always saying a great deal more than they mean or feel, but with a very keen eye to their own interests, and quite able to take care of number one. There are innocent, simple, unsuspecting people whom you may take in, but certainly few such are to be found amongst the Irish people.

There can be little doubt but that the strong action of the Government succeeded for a little while in restoring order to Ireland. For awhile the discontents were paralysed. It may be that Mr. Gladstone's advent to power, and refusal to continue the Peace Preservation Act of his predecessors, and his known humanity and love of justice, gave an impulse to an undesirable organisation; but at any rate no one can deny that his removal of Irish grievances, before he resorted to force, left the Irish agitators without excuse. Nor were the coercive measures attended by the dangerous consequences at one time anticipated and predicted. At once, so far as outward appearances were concerned, the League collapsed when Mr. Parnell was lodged in Kilmainham. Miss Parnell still shrieked out her wild defiance of England, or her coarse abuse of Mr. Gladstone, but no rational person attached any serious importance to her opposition, or to that of the Children's League, which were the latest features in the movement. Agitation in petticoats or long clothes need not, it was felt, awaken any grave anxieties. We are not insensible to the mischief which may still be wrought, so long as America sends weekly contributions for the express purpose of promoting sedition; or as when the great American orator, Mr. Wendel Phillips, lends himself to the cry of “no rent” in Ireland; but it is to be expected

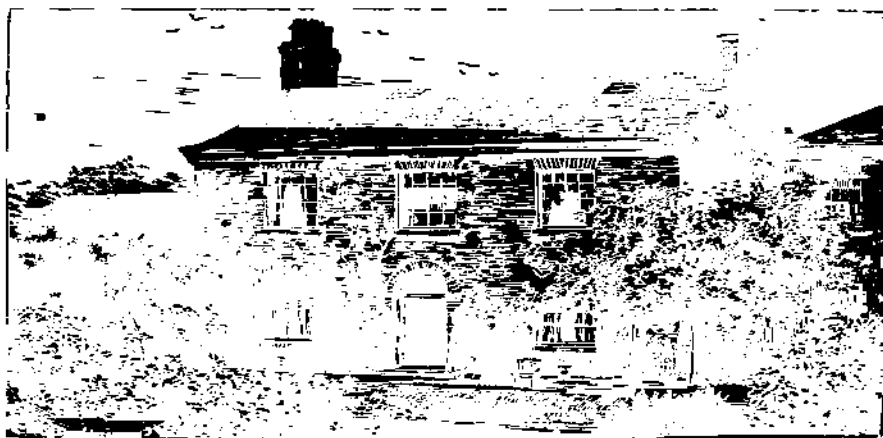
that American dollars will cease to flow and American orators to declaim, when it is clear that no practical result is to follow; and, in the meantime, it is satisfactory to observe that the Kilmainham protests and manifestoes, which managed to find their way into the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, fail to produce any visible effect on the popular mind. Of course we are told that we have not cured the malady, but only driven it inwards—that the suppression of the external manifestation means a more violent and dangerous, because obscure disease; that secret Fenian clubs will take the place of League meetings held in open day. However that may be, all must admit that the duty of the hour was the suppression of a state of disorder which was discreditable to British law and menacing to British authority; mischievous to every class interest in the country, and worst of all, to those who were being drawn, step by step, into a conflict with authority, the issue of which must have been their own destruction.

It was admitted on all sides—by Tories as well as Whigs—that the Government were bound to interpose as much for the sake of Mr. Parnell's ignorant followers as of the landlords and others who were engaged in the work of destruction. Boycotting—the destruction of property—the midnight raids of masked men—the reign of terror which was being established, were not only ruinous to trade and commerce, and unpleasant to the propertied classes, but were destructive to the poor and the perpetrators of such deeds of violence themselves. After reasonable demands had been met, and a method established which would provide for the redress of all real grievances, the Government had no option but to put down a movement which was leading rapidly to civil war. It had been a hard job to get the Land Bill through Parliament, and it was intolerable that, after it had been successfully carried, Mr. Parnell should put his veto upon it, as if he were the king of Ireland, to whom English Governments and Premiers were to submit.

It was all the worse that Mr. Parnell's opposition was based upon a principle which would be fatal, not only to all government, but to all property. Mr. Gladstone did not denounce the latest teaching of the League too strongly when he branded it as the Gospel of Plunder. The question which, therefore, the Government had to face, was one which any Government, having a claim to existence, and a right to legislate, could only meet in one way. A great confederation which existed for the purpose, avowed openly and publicly, of encouraging the spoliation of one class of her Majesty's subjects, could not be permitted. Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet met the crisis as it was expected to meet it: the action was prompt and successful. If, as a result, other dangers follow, they must be met in an equally prompt and satisfactory manner. The authority of Government must be vindicated and its power felt, the supremacy of law must be made clear, order must at any rate be enforced. We may well exclaim to the gloomy prognosticators of mischief in the present case—"Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." Apparently remedial measures are beginning to exercise their proper influence. There is every prospect that the tenants will, at all events, try what the courts will do for them. At first, the majority of applications came from Ulster, and the defenders of the Land League tried to show that it was only the well-to-do farmers who could or would take advantage of the Act. The suggestion was not, however, borne out by the full accounts we from time to time received. For instance, the special correspondent of the *Standard* thus described one of the earliest cases, which he inspected in company with the Assistant Commissioner:—"The farm, which is wretchedly cultivated, lies on a slope. The upper part is dark-coloured loam, on a light tilly subsoil, which must get rid of any quantity of manure. But the lower part is on clay, and might, Professor Baldwin thought, be made to render large return for tillage. This part, however, was

insufficiently drained. It was wet and sloppy, and a rank growth of rushes rose upon it. All the commissioners showed a keen and full appreciation of the state of cultivation in different parts of the holding, and I thought they seemed a little shocked at the obvious neglect on the part of the occupants of what might be made very good land indeed." This does not represent a prosperous farmer, and the whole report of this intelligent correspondent was at variance with the representations of

It was felt, even by those who were most convinced of the improvident and lazy habits of the lower order of Irish farmers, that, as a class, they had now a chance of starting, as it were, afresh, such as they never had before. And such was the general feeling, in spite of the wild invective of mature statesmen of the Lord Randolph Churchill type. It is a positive scandal that an Irish administration should be made the subject, not of party conflict, but of indecent and personal outbreak of



JOHN BRIGHT'S BIRTHPLACE.

the League. The fear which is reasonably suggested by the narrative is that unreasonable anticipations are rife. Many of the tenants commenced threatening their landlords with an appeal to the Court, in the hope to extort concessions from them. Others fancied that it would repair the fruits of their own improvidence and neglect and ignorance. The work of the Commission under such circumstances was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty, and it was watched with extreme interest by all true patriots and lovers of order.

personal hostility. At all events, while a conflict was going on between British authority and Irish sedition, common sense, as well as public decency, would prescribe cautious criticism, if not silence, from the champions of the Conservative cause. The ill-conditioned Radicals, who mean by Radicalism jealous distrust of all authority, abuse of the men whom they have placed in power, might be expected to make common cause with the League, and only such. In a speech delivered in the autumn at Hull, in order to keep up the spirits of

the Conservatives, Lord Randolph Churchill described Mr. Gladstone as one "who goes about shrieking," pursued by the "hosannas" of well-drilled "caucuses"; while on the other hand, Lord Salisbury complained of Mr. Gladstone's pulpit eloquence. "Again," remarked Lord Churchill, "Mr. Gladstone is like King Herod on his throne." His lordship's patter is rather mixed, and well deserves the taunt of music-hall oratory as applied to it by Sir William Hartcourt, and it is impossible to regard him as a serious politician. Lord Randolph Churchill accused Mr. Gladstone of having allowed much blood to be spilt, not that he might carry a certain measure, though that would be bad enough, but purely to minister to his own diseased vanity. "It was necessary," he said, "that much blood should be spilt that Mr. Gladstone might come forward and properly fill the part of the greatest statesman—the greatest legislator of society, the saviour of the age." That is to say, Mr. Gladstone allows much blood to be spilt that he may make an imposing entry on the world's stage. That seems fair, no doubt, to a party, one of whose journalists described Mr. Gladstone as a knave, and announced his election in the remarkable words, "Barabbas is released unto us." To accuse Mr. Gladstone of working commercial treaties for his own benefit; to be entirely actuated by personal hatred of his dead rival; to be a robber of churches, and so on—these, as a writer in the *Daily News* remarked, are the habitual ornaments of Conservative eloquence. Tory canvassers, Tory public speakers, like Sir John Holker, Tory journalists, all find one or the other of these accusations always at the end of their lips or pens. A short time ago, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright used daily to be called traitors by a journal at that period in Tory employ, and Mr. Bright used to be compared to a street-walker. Tory journalists have, at any rate, little reason to be horrified at the Billingsgate of their opponents, when Lord Churchill is permitted to talk, unrebuked, of Mr. Gladstone as "a dealer of savage and

treacherous tricks," or to describe the struggle between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell as one between the pot and the kettle. In a similar vein his lordship spoke of Mr. Gladstone as one who had attained the lowest depths of political cowardice and turpitude. In his aim to do justice to Ireland, it is clear the followers of the Tories rendered Mr. Gladstone little aid.

The friends of Ireland did all they could in England to render their cause distasteful. If at a meeting held on the subject by English branches of the Land League, or by so-called democratic confederations, a speaker attempted to say a word on behalf of the Government, he was threatened with personal violence, and his body, if not his life, was in danger. For instance, the Democratic Federation held a meeting one Sunday, on Peckham Rye. At that meeting a Mr. Davis, secretary to the Peckham Radical Association, moved—"That this meeting, while regretting the necessity of coercion, approves the action of the Government in advancing the cause of liberty in Ireland, by putting down a state of anarchy." The speaker, says the newspaper report, had spoken only a couple of sentences condemnatory of the absolutely false sentiments expressed on the subject, when he was obliged to stop. Several men with sticks began to climb up the cart, apparently to attack Mr. Davis, and only desisted when he was pulled back. It was so at other meetings. The terrorism of the Land League was to be transplanted by the democrats to English soil. On the same day another great Irish demonstration took place in Hoxton Square. There was a portrait of Mr. Parnell, a show of green banners, and the national flag of America. Amongst the speakers was Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, M.P., who said "that already in Ireland the Land Court had applied those principles which Mr. Gladstone held to be principles of public plunder. In Ulster it had reduced rents 30 per cent. Mr. Gladstone threw Mr. Parnell into gaol, but every

landlord knew that it was not the Premier who caused the landlord to take off 30 per cent., but Mr. Parnell. When that court endeavoured to conciliate the whole of the Irish Ministry, as it must conciliate them, if it was to have a chance of existence, it would have to cut down rents, not by 30, but by 40, 50, and perhaps 60 per cent. Before many years were past, instead of having 10,000 bloated landlords in Ireland, they would have half a million of sturdy peasant proprietors." He compared Mr. Gladstone to a political Mrs. Partington, who would no more be able to wash or sweep back the strong tide of Irish nationality, than was that old lady to repel the inroads of the Atlantic with a mop. Within a few months he predicted that Mr. Parnell would be liberated, to the great joy of his fellow-countrymen. "Where would Mr. Gladstone be then? He wished him a green old age, so that he might enjoy to his heart's content the bitter cup of humiliation in store for him."

At the time the Land Act came into operation, it appears the number of persons in gaol under the Coercion Act was 244, distributed as follows:—Limerick gaol, 61; Naas, 52; Galway, 49; Kilmainham, 47; Dundalk, 23; Carrick-on-Shannon, 2.

With the obstinacy of a defeated faction the Land League issued the following address, which was widely circulated, we are told, in all parts of Ireland, and which bore the signature of Pierce Egart, the treasurer: "The Government of England has declared war against the Irish people. The organisation that protected them against the ravages of landlordism has been declared unlawful and criminal. Meet the action of the English Government with a determined, passive resistance. The 'no-rent' banner has been raised, and it remains with the people now to prove themselves dastards or men. Pay no rent. Avoid the Land Court. Such is the programme now before the country. Adopt it, and it will lead you to free land and happy homes. Reject it, and slavery

and degradation will be your portion. Pay no rent. The person who does so should be visited with the severest sentence of social ostracism. Avoid the Land Court. Cast out the person who enters it as a renegade to his country and the cause of his fellow-men. Hold the harvest, is the watchword. To do that effectually you should, as far as possible, turn it into money. Sell your stock when such a course will not entail a loss; make a friendly arrangement with your creditors about your interest in your farms. A short and sharp struggle now, and the vilest oppression that ever afflicted humanity will be wiped away. No rent. Your brethren in America have risen to the crisis, and are ready to supply you with unlimited funds, provided you maintain your attitude of passive resistance, and pay no rent. The tenants of Ireland have still one tremendous move in their power, and that is, quietly to stop at home and pay no rent. I believe if they unitedly adopt a policy of passive resistance, which I do not see how it would be possible for the landlords to combat, it would lead to one of the greatest revolutions that Ireland has ever known. Nassau William Senior, Professor Political Economy, University of Oxford.—I do not suggest an impossible hypothesis to your Majesty when I state the possibility (I might state it more strongly) of the tenantry of the country refusing to pay tithes or rents. The clergy and the landlords might have recourse to the law, but how is the law to be enforced? How can they distrain for rent or tithes upon millions of tenants? The Duke of Wellington to the King.—The land, therefore, of any country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath.—Pay no rent.—By order."

It is clear the popularity of the Land League was a terrible blow to the professional agitators.

CHAPTER XLV.

MR. GLADSTONE IN THE CITY.



IN the summer of 1880, it was resolved by the City Corporation to confer on Mr. Gladstone a double honour; in the first place, by presenting him with an address; and, in the second place, by placing his marble effigy in an appropriate nook in the Guildhall. Some of the most memorable utterances which have fallen from English statesmen for many a long day have been delivered in the Guildhall, a place associated with great memories and interesting associations; a building which dates its origin as far back as 1411. The walls of the hall are four feet thick, supported by nine interior massive buttresses, of three stories on either side, and by four at each end, having octagon towers, one at each angle, surmounted by cupolas and vanes at a height of a hundred feet. Inside, the walls are divided into gothic compartments, and the roof handsomely groined with stone tiles, springing from six light circular columns, with octagon bases and capitals, and enriched at the intersections with sculptured bosses, the two principal ones having shields, the outer ones bearing the arms of Edward the Confessor, and the others those of Henry V. The hall is, in length, 153 feet, breadth 40 feet, and height 60 feet. The side walls are divided by seven clusters of circular columns, with octagon bases and capitals, enriched with gilt foliage. Beneath the eastern window are statues of King Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and King Charles I. At the east end of the hall is a raised platform hustings, and it contains the Earl of Chatham's monument, by J. Bacon, with

an inscription written by Burke; Pitt's monument, by Budd, with the inscription by Canning; Wellington's monument, by Bell; Nelson's monument, by Smith; Beckford's monument, by Moore, consisting of three figures, and representing him as delivering the celebrated speech to the king, engraved on the tablet, composed for him by Horne Tooke. At the far end stand Gog and Magog, put up in the year 1708, in the place of two old wickerwork giants, which it had formerly been the custom to carry in the procession on a Lord Mayor's Day. Many are the scenes connected with English history in this ancient hall. There, in 1494, Sir Simon Mountfort was tried for high treason. There came the sainted Jane Askew, in 1546, to be found guilty of heresy, a mortal offence in those hard and bigoted times. The unfortunate but noble Surrey was tried there for high treason in 1547. A few years later Lady Jane Grey and her husband were there tried for a similar crime, and sentenced to a similar doom. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton and the Jesuit Garnet had in the same manner to figure in that hall, to which came, at a later time, Charles I., to plead for the help of the city in apprehending Hampden and the four refractory M.P.'s. In such a hall, and before such an assembly as is there gathered together, our leading statesmen of all parties may be supposed to do their best, and Mr. Gladstone certainly may claim to have his orations in that illustrious chamber more specifically referred to than has hitherto comported with the scheme of our biography.

Mr. Gladstone has spoken at Guildhall seven times as Prime Minister, and once on the occasion of his opening the new

library, at no very distant date. It need hardly be said that all these speeches were good ones. In 1869 he had been Premier scarcely twelve months. It was, therefore, his first appearance in the hall in that capacity. It was the year of the inauguration of what he called his remedial policy for Ireland, and was listened to most attentively by a deeply sympathetic audience. "We have," he said, "been called to office in connection with that important crisis in the affairs of Ireland; that crisis to which the mind of the people of this country is now addressed more seriously than perhaps it ever was before towards dealing with that problem, and making manful and serious endeavours to see whether it may not at least be in our power to put an end to that which has been the opprobrium, the speck on the fair fame of this country in the sight of the world for so many generations. My Lord Mayor, we are glad and thankful to be cheered on by you, in what all must feel to be a noble task, while we do not disguise our inadequacy to its due performance—namely, the endeavour to give to this country that strength and unity which, in a large portion of the country, it already possesses, but to which we have to deplore that Ireland still forms a dread and melancholy exception. For that end we shall labour, encouraged and cheered by the generous support we have received at the hands of our fellow citizens."

At that time the Alabama claims, which were being ostentatiously thrust forward by Americans, some of them undoubtedly hoping the result would be war, were agitating the community. But the return, or rather the preservation, of peace, seemed to become clearer every day. The chance of an amicable solution had become more manifest; the prospect of an appeal to arbitration, instead of to brute force, was increasing. Mr. Gladstone touched upon the all-important topic. "There is no occasion," he said, "that I should refer to our relations with the United States in any terms except those of peace and concord. Were I tempted to depart from that friendly

strain, I should indeed be admonished to judge more correctly, and to speak more wisely, by an event which has happened in the city in the course of the last few days. Your quick associations will outrun my allusions. You will know that I refer to the death of Mr. Peabody, a man whose splendid benefactions, which, indeed, secure the immortality of his name in that which he regarded as his old mother country, but which, likewise, in a broader view, is applicable to all humanity, taught us in this commercial age, which has witnessed the construction of so many colossal fortunes, at once the most noble and needful of lessons—namely, he has shown us how a man can be the master of his wealth, instead of being its slave. And, my Lord Mayor, most touching is it to know, as I have learned, that while some might think he was unhappy in dying in a foreign land, yet so were his affections divided between the land of his birth and the home of his early ancestors, that that which has been his fond wish has indeed been realised—that he might be buried in America, but that it should please God that he might die in England. My Lord Mayor, with the country of Mr. Peabody we are not likely to quarrel." And we are pleased to remind our readers that Mr. Gladstone's auguries turned out correctly, and that within three years from the date of the utterance of those words, the arbitrators at Geneva had accomplished their work.

The utterances we have referred to were made when Mr. Alderman Besley was Lord Mayor; next year Sir Thomas Dakin was the head of the Corporation. At the banquet, again Mr. Gladstone was present as Premier, and congratulated the Lord Mayor, in the opening of his speech, "on the new splendour which this magnificent hall has received since last we gathered around the hospitable board of the Lord Mayor." Congratulating the assembled guests on a recovery of trade, Mr. Gladstone continued:—"We have no reason, as far as the prospects of the commercial world are concerned, to despond or abate, in the slightest degree,

those high hopes with which every one of us looks forward to the future of the United Kingdom." Referring to the unsettled dispute between England and America, he observed:—"If we Englishmen, when we read the criticisms now sometimes indulged in; when we read the cruel reproaches occasionally passed upon us; when we read the insinuations that we are a nation governed by no motives but those of the meanest convenience, and the most petty cowardice on the one hand, I think we may remain tranquil when we refer to the experience and testimony of the history of the past; and on the other hand, we may rest contented in the belief that these are but momentary and passing ebullitions—the natural, the necessary result of great and agonising struggles."

The next banquet was when Sir Sells John Gibbon was Lord Mayor, and was the second year of the Franco-German War, and, in his speech, Mr. Gladstone said:—"I rejoice, my Lord Mayor, to think it is most unlikely, except by our own fault, that we can be called on, or tempted to take any part in such quarrels. So, happily, are we exempted from most of the jealousies that prevail; so happily are we placed in regard to our local situation, that I think it seems as if Providence had marked out for us the happy and the lofty function of manifesting sympathy, and giving to that sympathy the form of action, yet of manifesting something like a position of independence." In that year, as we need scarcely remind the reader, there had been welcome succour liberally raised in England for the relief of the wounded in the war, and for those French who had suffered such an extent of distress of famine and want in consequence of war.

In 1872 Mr. Gladstone was unable to be present, and Lord Granville, in his usual happy manner, returned thanks for the toast of her Majesty's Ministers. In 1873, however, when Sir Andrew Lusk, M.P., was Lord Mayor, Mr. Gladstone was again present, and, as usual, responded. "I scarcely know," said he, "how to answer to

the courteous and frank invitation of my right honourable friend, the Lord Mayor, to disclose on this most appropriate occasion the secrets of the Cabinet. Now, I am, at any rate, ladies and gentlemen, showing my confidence in you, my confidence in your candour and your kindness, when I frankly make known to you that one of the understood duties of a Minister addressing such an assembly in the Guildhall on the Lord Mayor's Day, is the duty of trying, not how much, but how little he can say." However, he took occasion to inculcate peace and good will amongst nations, and to deprecate all jealousies and rivalries of an ungenerous kind. Mr. Gladstone continued:—"I heartily wish that we could find the tranquil and the stable conditions of the institutions and the society of this country reflected, as in a mirror, in the state of many countries in Europe. Unhappily, it is not so. In some quarters we find embarrassment; in others we find what amounts to political chaos. There have been times when the blind and inhuman superstition has prevailed, which has taught the citizens of each country to believe that their own country must be strong and powerful in proportion as other countries were distracted and weak. That superstition, at least, I trust, my Lord Mayor, we have long cast behind us. It is no pleasure to us standing on the shore to see others labouring in the storm." As if conscious of the coming fall of his party, as if to realise the truth of the language of the poet when he says—

"'Tis the sunset of life gives us mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before,"

Mr. Gladstone concluded with remarks that were quite prophetic, and which were not long in being realised. His had been the strongest Government since the time of the Reform Bill of Earl Grey, and yet, as the speaker seems to have known, the end was near. "Addressing your lordship," remarked Mr. Gladstone, "as the representative of what I am sorry to call an old, and

J
th
v
st
it
fan
to
hu
je
pl
I
ma
fur
gi
yct
of
nce
beer
Eng
th
st
a



COLONEL F. A. STANLEY.

some may be so irreverent as to term a decrepit Government. However that may be, I will venture to say we have endeavoured to conform in the exercise of the powers of office to the principles on which we obtained office; and I trust such as we have lived, such we shall continue to live, during the remainder of our ministerial existence, be it short or be it long, conscious of our responsibility to the Parliament of the country, content to abide by the judgment of that Parliament, as we are conscious of the responsibility of Parliament itself to the country at large, and to the posterity that will follow and pass judgment on its acts." This utterance was not that of the leader of a great party flushed with victory, and confident of future success. It was, it must be confessed, rather sombre and disheartening, and seemed to forebode defeat and decay, and it was the last speech at a Lord Mayor's banquet, as we all know, for a long while—that is, till Lord Beaconsfield had ruled the country six years, and the nation rose up in its wrath to reject him and his works and ways. Then, and not till then, did Mr. Gladstone reappear at a Lord Mayor's feast, when the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman McArthur, M.P., happily described him as one whose happy fortune it had been

"The applause of listening senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise;
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes."

In August, 1881, the Lord Mayor of London and the Lady Mayoress, according to custom, entertained her Majesty's Ministers, at the end of the session, at the Mansion House. The official list of guests included the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and Mrs. Gladstone, the Earl and Countess Spencer, the Earl and Countess of Kimberley, the Marquis of Hartington, M.P., and a large number of ladies and gentlemen of distinction. The usual loyal toasts having been proposed, and the Army and Navy duly honoured, the Lord Mayor then proposed the toast of her

Majesty's Ministers, and in reply to that toast Mr. Gladstone said:—"My Lord Mayor,—We have now been, no very long time been, in charge of the affairs of this great Empire; a charge too weighty for human strength, for I do not hesitate to say, that whatever may be the exertions, nay, the capacity of any Government, however favourably constituted, it must be unequal to the enormous calls that are made upon it by the interests of this extended Empire. But, my Lord Mayor, when I look back those fifteen months, I feel that they have been a period, though not long, yet of great, in some respects, perhaps, of painful interest, and that they have not been unmarked either at home or abroad." Mr. Gladstone then alluded to some of the difficulties with which the House of Commons has had to contend during the past session, and proceeded to say: "Something again of what we have been called upon to do, my Lord Mayor, has been the discharge of a duty most necessary, but yet, most painful to any Government, especially to any Government of a Liberal creed, because we have been compelled by a sense of duty to act for the purpose of a temporary restraint of liberty in one of the three kingdoms. My Lord Mayor, there is not one among those of our fellow-countrymen who have denounced those measures—who has more deeply lamented the necessity which has led to them—than the members of her Majesty's Government. There is no one less likely to mistake the true nature of these measures than we are, for we know that they have in them nothing of a character essentially remedial—that their necessary but humble and limited purpose is to bring about a state of things in which measures, truly remedial, may have scope to operate. And I trust, my Lord Mayor, that it may be permitted to us to add this year to the Statute-book. I must not speak with too great confidence of that which is still uncertain, and which depends in a great part on wills and judgments rather than on our own; but I trust it may be in our power to add to the Statute-book a

law which may have the effect of bettering the lot of millions of our fellow-creatures in Ireland; of improving the relations of classes, of bringing the people of the country into closer union with their institutions, and of thereby contributing to that great work—the promotion of the stability and the happiness of the nation to which we are all—whatever may be our differences of political opinion—sincerely and cordially attached. Such a measure, though I fear it will stand nearly alone, may not leave altogether unhonoured the history of the session of 1881. My Lord Mayor, it has sometimes been a matter of complaint that Liberal Governments gave too much of their attention to domestic legislation, and did not allot a sufficient portion of their time to foreign politics and questions over sea. I do not think that charge will be brought against the Government which is now in office. It has rarely happened that within the short period of fifteen months a greater number of subjects of difficulty and of interest have addressed themselves—aye, have forced themselves upon the attention of a Government—than those which it has been our lot to encounter. I cannot, of course, look with unmixed satisfaction upon events in different parts of the globe were we to record not merely the operations of peaceful and skilful diplomacy, not merely the friendly correspondence which obtains between different portions of this great empire, but likewise miscarriages in more than one part of the world which have had their history unhappily written in blood. Yet, my Lord Mayor, I am thankful to believe that we have been travelling at least on the way to peace, tranquillity, and the promotion of the general interest. If it is our lot to read from day to day accounts in part of actual strife, in part of strife anticipated in that mountainous country which borders on the north-west frontier of an Indian empire, yet surely we must derive from this experience some painful lessons. We cannot but feel strengthened in our conviction that it was a serious error to break up into pieces that which existed three years ago

in that quarter of the country—namely, a united and independent Afghanistan—and to do that with the result which has been most ingeniously recorded by Sir Frederick Roberts—namely, the result of writing once again in the heart of every Afghan in deep characters the records of a deeper hatred of the Englishman's name. My Lord Mayor, I trust that whatever we may do will have no tendency to imprint more deeply that painful record in the hearts of the Afghan people, but that they will only have to recollect from us indications of a sincere desire for their peace, their welfare, their independence, without jealousy, without apprehensions, but with as much respect for their rights as we desire them to pay to ours. My Lord Mayor, in another quarter of the globe, where we have had to face a difficult state of things, the convention which is to establish peaceful, and I hope permanent, relations between us and the European community of the Transvaal, has just been signed. And without too confidently reckoning upon the future, one statement I feel it my duty, and my pleasant duty, to make—namely this, that during a complicated negotiation, we have found, on the part of the trusted leaders of the Boer population, with whom our agents have been in constant communication, nothing but a loyal, a zealous, and an intelligent desire to knit closely, if they can, the bonds of amity and good will between those whom they represent and the Queen whom they still desire to revere and acknowledge, the relations which are now established between her and them. I am sure, my Lord Mayor, of this, that there are no rival interests between us and them. There is no reason why, if a sense of justice and right feeling prevail on the one side and the other, they should not grow up under the shadow and the external protection of this great and powerful empire, but with the enjoyment of the most perfect freedom in their own affairs, which, under another name, but under no other limitation, we practically accord to the people of every colony of this empire now in the enjoyment

of responsible government. And I am perfectly certain that our countrymen will never think that we have forfeited any title which we may possess to their confidence because, instead of paving the way to this result through bloodshed, and through events which must have left behind them bitter and painful recollections, we have sought, casting away every sentiment of false shame and false pride, to walk in the path which as we thought was open before us, and to concede to them, without strife and without bloodshed, the very thing which neither more nor less we should have been glad to concede to them after the greatest military efforts and the greatest military success." After some reference to events in Turkey, Mr. Gladstone continued: "But in the case of Greece we have witnessed that which must fill every mind with satisfaction—namely, a large and considerable adjustment of territory with the transfer of men under the yoke of despotic associations and an alien race to political fellowship with people of their own blood under representative institutions—under a system of freedom greatly analogous to our own, which has been accomplished, thanks to the firmness of the Powers, thanks to the concert of Europe, and thanks, I must also say, to the good sense of the Sultan of Turkey. Under these circumstances, it has been accomplished, I might almost say, without an angry word, but certainly without the shedding, or the apprehension of the shedding, of one drop of human blood. Having so much to confess in regard to the non-performance of much that we could have hoped to have accomplished we have also something to be thankful for in regard to the progress which we hope has been made towards the extension in the East of Europe of those institutions and of that method of government, and of that more natural union under one government, of races well adapted for the career of civilisation to which we must eventually look as the foundation of all stable hopes of peace and prosperity in that quarter of the world. My Lord Mayor, I have been

warranted, indeed compelled, by the toast you have been good enough to give, and by the special nature of this occasion, thus to run over in rude outline some of the transactions which have marked the interesting period since the present Government came into office."

In October of the same year, Mr. Gladstone was again in the city. Although the city proved, at the last election, to be the Conservative stronghold, it showed, as it has often done, that it can rise above the prejudices of party politics, and that in the presence of a great Englishman, it knew how to give dignified expression to the national admiration of splendid gifts devoted to the national service. Thus when in the month of September Mr. Gladstone visited Guildhall to receive the address which the Court of Common Council had previously resolved should be presented to him on behalf of the Corporation, the enthusiasm of the welcome was fully equal to that with which Lord Beaconsfield was greeted upon a similar occasion three years previously. It is well that the commercial heart of the Empire should beat with these healthy and generous impulses, and thus should show its appreciation of our public men. In the address which was presented, amidst all the surroundings of civic state, by the Recorder, Sir Thomas Chambers, M.P., something like a biography of the Premier was given. He was described as having sprung from the ranks of the people, and as having devoted his long life and great and varied gifts to the public service. To his cultured and highly endowed intellect, brilliant talents, profound scholarship, and unsurpassed eloquence, due justice was done. For fifty years, the address further stated, Mr. Gladstone had displayed in Parliament, and in the highest offices, and in the discharge of his duties, unremitting industry, keen intelligence, conscientious earnestness, and unflinching courage.

Quite a scene had been occasioned in the Court of Common Council when the question had first been mooted. Mr. Cox,

in moving the resolution, referred to Mr. Gladstone as follows :—

He was going to ask them to do this because the man whose name was before them was at the age of 72, and had given to the country fifty years of long and laborious service. Now, this Corporation had honoured in various ways princes of this and other countries, statesmen, philanthropists, and especially heroes by land and sea. He need not recite them. The honour was worthily bestowed, and worthily and gladly received. But Mr. Gladstone, not having had the opportunity of dying for his country, had lived for his country, and given to the country fifty years of a valuable life for the benefit of his fellow-men. He must just quote one phrase which forty or fifty years ago Mr. Gladstone offered to the public as his idea of what was the proper view and course for a man in public life to take. He said :—“ I think it to be the very first of my duties steadfastly to observe and to exalt in honour among men those great principles which are founded upon observation, reason, and experience ; and that those who rule or govern should do all in their power to gain the attachment of the people, for the attachment of the people to the throne, institutions, and laws under which they live, is after all more than gold and silver, more than fleets and armies—at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land.” He said for fifty years these principles had actuated the conduct of William Ewart Gladstone ; and with great earnestness, courage, fidelity, and eloquence, he had brought whatever he thought best to the minds and knowledge of his fellow-countrymen. He said also that Mr. Gladstone had shown such an amount of moral sensibility, such a high character for integrity, and so much discretion and wisdom, that he stood an example before the country of what a man should be and do. How much of time, how much of personal ease and of physical comfort he had put away, that he might go on labouring year after year, it was not for him to

say. He would not venture to tell them or recite therethe work he had actually done. The details he put on one side. He put it upon the principle of life-long work and good service done to his country. They had a very great respect for what Macaulay, one of the most brilliant essayists and reviewers, said. In his essay on Mr. Gladstone he said :—“ We believe we do him no more than justice when we say that his abilities and demeanour have obtained for him the respect and good will of all parties.” There was a man living at the present time whom they all respected—Sir Stafford Northcote—who said, amidst the ringing cheers of the Opposition, “ We are all proud of him.” He thought he had said enough to show that Mr. Gladstone was worthy to receive this honour. He said, do not wait. When a man was 72 there was not much time to wait. He had had severe illnesses, and they did not know one week from another what might happen. By what they had done that morning they publicly recognised the brevity of human life. Do not let them leave it, as they did in the case of Sir Rowland Hill, until he was on the verge of the grave, but let them do it now. It had been his intention to move that the freedom of the city should have been offered to Mr. Gladstone, but he found that the Prime Minister was a member of the Turners', the Fishmongers', and other companies, and had taken up his freedom modestly and unpretendingly by formally memorialising the Court of Aldermen, and by attending at the Guildhall. As that could not be done, he took advantage of what he read in the pocketbook had been done in the case of celebrated men. He found there that upon five occasions they had conferred various degrees of honour upon celebrated men, and it had always been appreciated. The form in which he asked them now to show their regard to Mr. Gladstone was that of an address to be presented in a gold box ; at the same time asking the Premier to sit for his bust, that they might have him amongst those around them who, once

living and active, had now passed away. He asked the Court to accept his request and pass that resolution.

The resolution having been seconded by Mr. Alderman Stone, as a Conservative, Mr. Phillips opposed the motion in a style that led to his being called to order. He had a serious objection to this resolution. It was ill-timed. He spoke as a Conservative. He did not wish it to go forth to the world that it was a unanimous vote of the Court. It was nothing of the kind. He should claim a division. There was no shadow of doubt that the right honourable gentleman was a very first-class man. He had nothing to say against the gentleman. The resolution said he was held in appreciation by the citizens of London. That was dangerous ground. They sent three Conservatives to Parliament, and if they had followed his advice, they would have sent four. He loved his party. He had met fifty men in the city that morning who had said, What is the Court coming to? He dared say Mr. Gladstone was a very great man, but the citizens of London did not believe in him.

Mr. Malthouse.—They do.

Mr. Phillips was surprised that members of that Court should pander to this contemptible Government.

The Lord Mayor.—I must say that I think the language the honourable gentleman is employing is not exactly in character with the subject, and I hope he will withdraw the word.

Mr. Phillips would withdraw the word "contemptible." Another thing was, how did they know the right hon. gentleman would accept the honour? He hoped he would not. The first time they had attempted to meddle with the Corporation of London was the downfall of Mr. Gladstone, and every time such an attempt was made he would fall again. He hoped he would get a seconder. The Conservative part of the city was seventy-five per. cent. in the hundred. They were trying to bribe the gentleman.

The Lord Mayor.—I understand the honourable member has said the Corporation of the City want to bribe the Government. Now I think that is an expression that should be withdrawn, as it is derogatory to the character of any public body.

Mr. Phillips.—My Lord Mayor—"Withdraw!" Let them give him a better word.

The Lord Mayor.—I wish to know emphatically whether or not the honourable member withdraws the expression?

Mr. Phillips said he would do so if his lordship thought he ought. He called Mr. J. Cox a weak-kneed Conservative.

Mr. J. Cox.—Do not call me that; I am not one.

Mr. Phillips was unable to continue on account of the noise which ensued, and concluded by moving the previous question.

The Town Clerk was putting the resolution to the Court, when

Mr. Shaw said he had thought some other member would have spoken on this question.

The Lord Mayor having ruled that the hon. member was in order,

Mr. Shaw continued. He expressed his regret for the expressions which had fallen from Mr. Phillips. He was quite sure there was no member of the Court who would question the fact of the eminence of Mr. Gladstone as a scholar and a statesman, but he apprehended they might have a high opinion of the excellence and genius of a man, and still as representative men doubt whether that was an opportune moment to take the course they were asked to adopt. They were in this dilemma. A member had taken certain action without consulting his lordship which he thought was generally admitted to be a most indiscreet action; and if they were to be bound to accept the act of an indiscreet member, he wanted to know where the independence of the Court existed. The attempt to sever the name of Mr. Gladstone from politics was one of the most ridiculous things imaginable. Were they to say that they were pleased to express their high opinion

of his abilities and qualities because of the articles which he wrote in a magazine called *Good Words*, or an article which appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, or the *Nineteenth Century*? He thought not. It was his eminence as a politician, as Premier of England, as the leader of a great party now in power, that they wished to do him honour, and the question they had to consider was whether it was opportune. A reference was made on the paper of business yesterday to a very important political event in which the Government and Mr. Gladstone were very much interested. He intimated to the Town Clerk that he should move the omission of that part, and it was agreed that that part should be omitted. But that did not altogether do away with his objection to this matter. He thought it would be admitted that their meeting yesterday was a "hole-and-corner" meeting.

Mr. Deputy Hammack and Mr. Greene rose to order.

The Lord Mayor asked the Town Clerk if the meeting had been properly summoned according to the rules of the Court?

The Town Clerk said no doubt the whole of the members were summoned to it.

The Lord Mayor.—I think after the explanation given by the Town Clerk, the hon. member will withdraw the expression. Mr. Shaw continued, however, and ended by moving as an amendment, that the words "citizens of London" be left out, and "corporation" used instead. The amendment having been seconded in due order, by Sir Thomas Dakin and others, Sir John Bennett pronounced a glowing and eloquent panegyric on Mr. Gladstone, and the result was, for the amendment 18, against it 102.

Mr. Boor wished to move an amendment that his Lordship be requested to summon a Common Hall, that the citizens might have an opportunity of expressing their opinion.

The Recorder said it was clear the amendment could not be put, because it was

irrelevant. It was not consistent with the passing of the original resolution.

On the original motion being put, Mr. Cross demanded a division. Some difficulty was experienced in obtaining a second teller against the motion, and afterwards considerable amusement was caused by the two tellers waiting at the door of the Aldermen's room for somebody to come in and vote against the motion. At length Mr. J. S. Scott and Mr. Game boldly stepped forward and were greeted with loud and ironical cheering. Several other members afterwards followed their example.

The result of this division was: For the motion, 104; against, 14; majority, 90.

In commenting on the discussion, the *City Press* wrote:—"Mr. Deputy Rudkin had some reason for saying in the Court of Common Council on Thursday that he was ashamed of the Conservative members of the Corporation. Certainly 'the extreme intolerance of a small Conservative section' displayed itself in a discourteous style throughout the whole of the debate on the motion of Mr. John Cox to present an address to Mr. Gladstone. To those who were spectators of the scene it seemed at one time almost a pity that the proposal had been brought forward, such a bitter and rancorous opposition did it provoke amongst a handful of members; but the good sense of an overwhelming majority prevailed, and the motion was carried with cheers. Of the conduct of one member it would be idle to speak; the best comment upon the inapposite remarks of Mr. L. H. Phillips was the storm of hisses which greeted him when he resumed his seat. The other members of the opposition played their part in a far more seemly style, profiting doubtless by the good example of Mr. Shaw, although from first to last the resistance offered was, to say the least, in questionable taste. Mr. Phillips and his friends appeared to think that the Corporation had never before conferred honour on a great statesman; that in selecting Mr. Gladstone they regarded him merely as the leader of the political party which is now in the ascen-

dant, and, stranger than all, that in asking him to accept a complimentary address at their hands they had some hidden and sinister purpose of getting into the good graces of his Government. They forgot

with the motive of the former—a simple and most laudable desire to recognise high genius and devoted service. Mr. Shaw tried to persuade the Court that what they proposed to do would not meet with the



LORD CRANBROOK.

apparently that but a short while before the Corporation had done signal honour to the great political opponent of Mr. Gladstone, the late Earl of Beaconsfield, and that the motive of this latter proceeding is identical

sanction or support of the body of the citizens, but Mr. Rudkin very tersely observed that those who said that did not understand the citizens, whose sympathies, he suggested, were of a wider and more

liberal nature. Again, it was urged that the time was inopportune; but we see no evidence of that excited condition of the country which was alleged by one speaker as a reason of delay. The country is calm enough at present, and has hardly made an end of congratulating the Prime Minister on the successful completion of the work with which he was occupied during the recent Parliamentary session. We do not know that a more favourable time could have been selected, for to wait until the next meeting of Parliament would be to run a risk of finding no opportunity at all. Mr. Gladstone will, we feel sure, accept with pleasure the gift of 'an address in a suitable gold box,' and will gladly see his name inscribed on the brilliant roll of the great men who have been similarly honoured before him."

Mr. Gladstone accordingly came, and, in his reply, after intimating that he complied with pleasure to the request, proceeded to say "that, although it was not literally true that he had completed fifty years of public life, it was literally true that he had completed forty-nine, and entered on his fiftieth. The twelve Parliaments in which he had sat," he remarked, "had surpassed all their predecessors in the amount of devotion, measured by time and actual expenditure of strength which they had given to the public service. Yet never, at any period of our history, had the legislation and the general business of the country been so lamentably in arrear." This prepared the way for a reference to obstruction, and to the declaration, which was loudly cheered, that the time had come when the House of Commons must, in a bold and manful spirit, consider how it may place itself in a condition of renewed capacity to pursue regularly and efficiently the performance of its great duties to the State. The subject of Municipal Reform, a question on which city people are naturally very sensitive, was next glanced at, and Mr. Gladstone did his best to reassure nervous hearers by stating that Parliament would sanction nothing that would not

secure for the Corporation new energy, new dignity, and a further enlargement of public confidence. But before the meaning of these words could be well weighed, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to deal with the grave question of the state of Ireland, and made the important announcement that the first step towards the vindication of the first elements of political life and civilisation had been made by the arrest of the man who had made himself prominent, beyond all others, in the attempt to destroy the authority of the law. This intimation of the arrest of Mr. Parnell, though his name was not mentioned, was received with tumultuous applause and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which lasted some time. Silence being restored, Mr. Gladstone continued to say:—"Of the people of Ireland the Government had no fear, but they were afraid lest some should be corrupted by demoralising doctrine, and more be terrified out of their great constitutional rights." An emphatic demand for support from the community at large followed. "From all orders and degrees of men, the Government claimed," said the Premier, "hearty and cordial support in a great national crisis for the vindication of the law of the land." "I have acknowledged," he said, "the duty and the responsibility of Government. I have even given you an instance, and a first proof of my assertion, that this is not a mere verbal acknowledgment. But, gentlemen, what is a Government? A Government is but a portion of the community, selected by that community for the purpose of discharging certain duties, but dependent for their efficient discharge upon the support which the Government receives from the community itself, and I appeal to the community in this matter. I ask them for support. I make not a petition, but a claim. I affirm that from the mere fact of our being charged with executive responsibilities, we are entitled to lodge the claim, and we do lodge it. We lodge it upon all orders and degrees of men, and without, in the slightest degree, desiring to limit it, or impair the field of criticism, or

even of accusation, if you like, against the Executive Government, for that has nothing to do with the matter." What I say is, we are the Executive Government, and we are entitled, and we are bound to claim from them, a hearty and a cordial support in a great national crisis for the vindication of the law of the land." Mr. Gladstone then went on to vindicate the conduct of affairs in South Africa. "The important reservations introduced into the convention to which, perhaps, some of our fellow-countrymen did not, a few months ago, attach all the value to which they were entitled, were introduced, not to please our fancy, or to save our character, but to secure the peace and tranquillity in South Africa, in relation to foreign affairs, against intrigue from whatever quarter. Above all, they were introduced from regard to considerations which we deemed to be sacred—namely, the rights of the hundreds and thousands of natives who, not less than the Dutch Boers, are inhabitants of the Transvaal. My Lord Mayor, I feel I have detained you. In the peculiar state of affairs, I have said more than I would have done under ordinary circumstances. There is only one other topic on which I shall say a single word, and I speak of it with unmixed satisfaction. We have observed with great pleasure the important progress which has been made towards a settlement of affairs in Eastern Europe, by the handing over the territory of Thessaly to the King of Greece. That is a change which, from every point of view, appeals in the most direct and liveliest manner to our national feelings of joy and satisfaction. An intelligent population, hitherto separated from its brethren in race, is about to be re-united with its brethren in race. I should hardly be going beyond the fact in announcing that."

A writer in the *City Press* observed:—"Mr. Gladstone, familiar as he was with demonstrative expressions of approval, seemed not a little taken aback when ascending the dais. He turned about and saw himself confronted and surrounded by

the three thousand who had risen simultaneously in their places, and stood there with hats held aloft, and handkerchiefs waving, stamping with their feet and clapping with their hands, for the space of nearly five minutes. The Guildhall, as is usual on such occasions, had undergone a process of transformation. The whole of the floor and the greater portion of the walls were concealed from sight; the principal entrance was draped with crimson velvet; banners hung from the high windows and the oaken ceiling, and the approaches and corridors were almost hidden from the eye beneath a profusion of ferns, palms, and hothouse flowers. Outside, the yard was gay with the uniforms of the London Rifle Brigade, and the 3rd City Rifles, and under the awning immediately in front of the principal entrance, twelve hundred persons waited patiently for an hour and a-half for the privilege of witnessing the arrival and departure of the Premier. An equal amount of endurance was shown by those who had tickets for the hall itself, and it was evidently a wise precaution, wise as far as their own interests were concerned, which the committee took when they informed their visitors, on the printed ticket, that no one would be admitted at an earlier hour than ten. Had they said six A.M., it is probable that the doors would have been besieged at an earlier hour. Each ticket bore the number of a corresponding seat, but the earlier comers had the best chances, and at half-past eleven there was not a chair to be had. The aldermen in their scarlet gowns, and the common councilmen in their violet ones, faced the dais, the seats of the latter rising in tiers to the back of the hall, while the aldermen were seated on two rows of velvet-covered benches, immediately beneath the commoners. A few uniforms, notably that of the Greek Minister, dotted the dais on either side of the Lord Mayor's chair, but the majority of the members of the Government and of the Houses of Parliament present were in plain clothing. Consequently, the bright robes and chains

of office of the Lord Mayor and Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Hanson and Mr. Sheriff Ogg made them pre-eminently conspicuous. The Recorder, in wig and robes, had his table beside the Lord Mayor, while the remaining officers of the Corporation sat at a long table immediately below. In attendance on the Lord Mayor were the City Marshal and the sword and mace bearers. The audience occupied every available inch, and it is doubtful, so admirably had the whole affair been planned, whether amongst the whole three thousand were any who could not see or hear. Punctually, that is within a very few minutes of twelve, Mr. Gladstone arrived. Those who sat in the hall could hear the stentorian tones in which Mr. Harker made the announcement, and then his voice was drowned in the cheers with which the crowd in the Guildhall-yard, and the waiters in the pavilion, greeted the Premier, and then in a few seconds was seen Mr. Gladstone, with Mrs. Gladstone on his arm, smiling and bowing continuously, escorted by the City Lands Committee on his way to the library. There he was received by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. A few minutes served to make the presentations, and those who stood close to the central group noted the emphatic manner in which Mr. Gladstone, as he grasped by the hand Mr. John Cox, the mover of the resolution, said, 'Mr. Cox, you have done me a great service.' The presentations over, and Mr. Gladstone having cordially shaken by the hand Sir T. Dakin, the seconder of the resolution, Mr. Day, the Chairman of the City Lands Committee, and the Sheriffs, the whole party proceeded to the great hall. What was the feeling of the individuals in that assembly towards the Premier it is difficult to say; but this much was clear, that in their collective capacity the audience were singularly eager and attentive, and followed sentence by sentence the whole of one of the most strong addresses Mr. Gladstone had delivered in the course of the year. And the sympathy of the hearers had its effect on the speaker,

for he said to a friend in confidence afterwards, that he had never spoken with so much freedom or so much confidence, that his words were distinctly heard from the first word to the last; the speech lasted something less than three-quarters of an hour, and was delivered for the most part in that rapid and pauseless style with which Mr. Gladstone taxes so severely the skill and fluency of the short-hand writer. The main points which it embraced were five in number: obstruction in the House of Commons; local government; Ireland, South Africa, and Greece. Every point was marked by the applause of the audience, whose excitement culminated in the reference to the arrest of Mr. Parnell. This incident, indeed, was thoroughly dramatic. Some few minutes after Mr. Gladstone had commenced speaking, a note bearing an official seal was brought into the hall, and a whisper circulated that it was marked 'immediate' and 'important,' and was from one of the Premier's private secretaries. The City Solicitor handed the envelope to Earl Spencer, who sat close to Mr. Gladstone. Earl Spencer opened and read the letter, and passed it on to Mr. Gladstone, who, without pausing a moment in his speech, glanced over the contents, and laid the document on the table before him. Then when he came to announce the determination of the Government to do their duty in Ireland, he took it up again, and pointing to it, said, that within these few minutes he had heard of the first step taken towards the vindication of the law and order in that country by the arrest of the man who had made himself beyond all others prominent in the attempt to destroy the authority of the law. At this moment the audience, as by one impulse, rose to their feet."

The Court was formally opened in the usual manner. Among the guests were Earl Sydney, the Duke of Westminster, the Earl of Kenmare, Lord Charles Bruce, Lord Colville of Culross, Sir H. James, Sir H. Herschell, Colonel Hayter, the Earl of Rosebery, Lord Tenterden Sir Baron

Ellis, the Earl of Morley, Lord Wolverton, Admiral Sir A. C. Key, Vice-Admiral Lord Hay, Rear-Admiral Hoskins, Sir T. Brassey, Viscount Portman, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney, and other distinguished M.P.'s; the Governor of the Bank of England, Sir J. M. Hogg, the Earl of Breadalbane, Lord Kensington, Lord Monson, Lord Carrington, the Earl of Cork, Lord Grosvenor, Lord F. Cavendish, Viscount Ebrington, Sir Charles Dilke, Viscount Enfield, Admiral Sir R. Collinson, Sir F. Peel, Sir W. Bazalgette, the Rev. W. E. Gladstone, Miss Gladstone, Mr. H. Gladstone, the Rev. Charles Spurgeon, the Rev. Malcolm McColl, and the Rev. Newman Hall. At first the Town Clerk announced the ordinary agenda—such as documents for City seal, applications for freedom, leases; then came the sixth entry: "It is intended at this Court to present an address to the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, Prime Minister of England, agreeably to the resolution of the 23rd of September last."

The clerk then proceeded to read the resolution, which was in these terms: "That an address, in a suitable gold box, be presented to the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, Prime Minister of England, who for fifty years has occupied a distinguished position, and now fills the foremost place in the great council of the nation, as a token of the estimation in which he is held by the citizens of London, and of their appreciation of his high character, rare genius, and varied gifts, which have been devoted for so long a period to the service of his country, and that the right hon. gentleman be respectfully invited to sit for a marble bust, to be placed in the Guildhall."

On the motion of Mr. Day, seconded by Mr. Deputy Rudkin, it was ordered that the address to and the reply by the Premier should be entered on the minutes of the Court.

The Town Clerk (Sir J. B. Monckton) read a letter from the Greek Ambassador stating that a telegram had been received

from M. Dumas, director of the Greek Bank at Athens, desiring him to communicate that the Greek company now working again the ancient quarries of marble in the Island of Paros, offered for the acceptance of the City of London, and as a token of gratitude felt in Greece towards this country, and to the great statesman who now presided over its Government, the necessary block of marble for the bust of Mr. Gladstone which the Common Council had decided to place in the Guildhall.

This letter was received with loud cheers, and ordered to be referred to the City Lands Committee.

This terminated the business of the Court.

At the conclusion of the ceremony some of the company adjourned to the Mansion House, where Mr. Gladstone returned thanks for the toast connected with his name, and gave that of the Lord Mayor.

Before leaving the Mansion House Mr. Gladstone visited the Exhibition of the Turners' Company in the ball-room, and was much amused to learn that one of the exhibits, a specimen of turning in wood, was from a block taken from a tree which he had himself felled at Hawarden.

Some of Mr. Gladstone's friends, in their enthusiasm, handled him a little roughly on Thursday. For about thirty yards from the Guildhall, on the way to the Mansion House, there were no police, and the vigorous attempts that were made to seize not only the hands but the hat of the Prime Minister caused him to look a little anxious and distressed. His progress through the City was triumphant, so triumphant that in the chorus of welcome two or three harsh notes of a different kind were completely drowned.

Not the least interesting words in Mr. Gladstone's speech were those which had reference to the affairs of South Africa, which, I may say, were telegraphed *verbatim* to the Cape before they were well out of his mouth.

In November came, as usual, the Lord Mayor's Show and the Lord Mayor's Banquet. The Lord Mayor this time was Mr.

Alderman Ellis, who was ready to receive his guests in the Guildhall long before six o'clock. The first representative of the Government to arrive was Mr. John Holmes, who was announced at a few minutes past six. He was immediately followed by the Earl of Rosebery, whose name was received with some cheering. Mr. Osborne Morgan next arrived, but his name did not attract notice. Sir Garnet Wolseley, on his name being announced, was welcomed with a round of cheers, which were kept up as he passed along between the rows of spectators and approached the dais. Sir Charles Dilke, on arriving a minute or two afterwards, was welcomed with hearty applause, which was repeated with more warmth when the name of the Speaker of the House of Commons was called. Mr. Courtney was allowed to pass almost without recognition, but Mr. Mundella got a good warm cheer. Mr. Fawcett, the Postmaster-General, was received with quite a burst of applause. About a quarter to seven, Mr. Forster arrived; his name was received with loud cheering, and cries of "bravo," and the cheers were taken up and continued as he passed along the room. At two or three minutes before seven a flourish of trumpets announced the arrival of some distinguished guest, and, when all were on the tip-toe of expectation, the Usher, in a loud voice, announced the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. On the right 'hon. gentleman making his appearance there was considerable cheering, which became more genuine and hearty as bowing his acknowledgments, with Mrs. Gladstone on his arm, he walked between the two dense rows of guests thronging both sides of the spacious chamber. His arrival was the signal for the guests to retire into the dining-hall, and the library was soon deserted. The procession was here formed; and before it started for the Hall it was joined by Earl Granville and the Marquis of Hartington, who had not arrived in time to be announced at the reception. A flourish of trumpets proclaimed its entrance into the Hall. Headed by the Lord Mayor,

it passed along the traditional route—over which so many successive processions have passed—to the seats set apart for the leading personages present. Each of the more eminent guests were the objects of successive rounds of cheering as they slowly advanced to their appointed seats, while Godfrey's Band discoursed sweet music all the while. When all had taken their places, the following sat on the right of the Lord Mayor:—The late Lord Mayor, Mr. Gladstone, Mrs. Gladstone, Earl Granville, the Marquis of Hartington, and Mr. Forster. The Lord Mayor was supported on the left by the Lady Mayoress, Lord Kenmare, the ex-Lady Mayoress, Earl De La Warr, etc. The usual loyal toasts having been duly honoured with the Army and Navy, and the Auxiliary Reserve Forces, and the Foreign Ambassadors, the Lord Mayor then proposed the health of her Majesty's Ministers. "At all times and on all occasions," said he, "this is a toast of the greatest possible importance, and especially when given in this ancient hall on the occasion of the installation of the Chief Magistrate of the City of London. But at this moment it possesses a remarkable significance. The present Cabinet not only contains the names of men that will become historical, but it contains names that will stand apart from all Cabinets as those of men who have moulded and formed the thoughts of their fellow-countrymen, and have, through their personal influence, directed the future fortunes and destinies of the Empire. I have to ask the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, to reply to the toast, and to assure him, on behalf of the City of London, that in no part of her Majesty's dominions are his consummate abilities and his splendid talents more justly appreciated. We greet him with all cordiality; we place faith in his wisdom and magnanimity. But I may perhaps add, that we believe in our institutions, which have stood the test of centuries, which have not been raised by any individual forethought or personal design, but have grown out of that spirit of constitutional

and municipal government which animates the people of England."

In rising to reply, Mr. Gladstone was greeted with long-continued cheering. He spoke as follows :—

"My Lord Mayor, my Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I return you grateful thanks on the part of my colleagues and on my own part for the singularly kind manner in which you have been pleased to propose this toast to this distinguished company, and I may say that we well understand the spirit in which such a toast is given and received, and that we accept with thankfulness the homage which is rendered to the principles of public law and constitutional liberty in the person of those who have been pleased for the moment to be the representatives of legal authority in the country. My Lord Mayor, you have to-day proposed, in glowing terms, the health of the Prince of Wales, and I am one among a few in this hall who well remember the day when a transparency placed as a scroll across the whole breadth of the hall announced, not his birthday, but what is a different matter, his day of birth. Forty years ago I had the honour to share the hospitality of the Lord Mayor in the Guildhall, and excuse me if, on the present occasion, I direct my attention rather to the past, in which I have had a considerable share, or a share of considerable duration, than to the future, of which I can have little to say. My Lord Mayor, comparing the present state of things with that in which it was my duty this day twelve months to return thanks for a toast corresponding with that which I have now proposed, I may record with gratitude the acknowledgment that we are free to make of the important changes which have occurred in the general condition of affairs. Then, as now, a prominent and painful topic in the minds of all, even here in the heart of this great City, was the condition of Ireland; but in drawing a comparison between the two periods, I am free and I am glad to say that I can discern the signs of improvement. We were then entering into a great

crisis. It had then already become manifest that there must be a struggle between the representatives of law and the representatives of lawlessness. We had adopted the necessary measures for ascertaining whether under the laws as they stood the power committed to the Executive was sufficient to enable it to discharge its primary duties to the Throne and to the community. A short experience showed that, unhappily, it was not in our power, with the means that then existed, to secure the peace of the country or the due enforcement of private rights and obligations. We applied to Parliament to strengthen our hands, and to strengthen our hands in a double sense—in the first place, by an augmentation of the Executive Power, and, in the second place, by an improvement of the law—for we felt that that augmentation of the Executive Power could be more freely and more effectually used when it could be accompanied with a conclusive proof given by the legislature of this country, of its disposition to meet every reasonable demand, and, to the best of its ability, to study to promote, on principles of equal justice, the welfare of the whole people of Ireland. My Lord Mayor, it was the pleasure of the legislature to meet our request in both particulars, and since they have met that request the great struggle, which was in its earlier stage twelve months ago, may be said to have reached its maturity and come to a crisis. Though it is not for me to anticipate the future with over sanguine confidence, this at least I may say, that in the first place, as the people of this country are unanimously convinced it was necessary to take strong measures in the defence both of public law and private liberty, and in the second place, as one question at least has been decided, that whereas it was attempted to prevent the people of Ireland from obtaining the full benefit of the beneficent legislation that Parliament had destined for them, they on their part are determined to make a full trial of it, nothing can now prevent them making a full trial of it, and

obtaining the full benefit of the Land Act placed this year on the statute-book. I hold in my hand a very short and simple, and very significant proof of the treatment to which the people of Ireland have been subjected by those who call themselves their friends. It is a notice proceeding from high authority, and couched in these terms:—‘Any person paying his rent before Parnell and the prisoners are liberated without the sanction of the Land League will be Boycotted.’ I need not, my Lord Mayor, expound to you in detail the meaning of that phrase; but this I will say, that its mildest signification is the total ruin of the livelihood of the men against whom the machinery of the Land League is directed. This I am happy to say, that I believe I can yet state that throughout the whole of Ireland the covenants into which the cultivators of the soil have entered are being performed—that they are largely and increasingly performed—and, moreover, that those who have declined their performance at this moment are not the impoverished portion of the community, but are generally those who are well able to fulfil the engagements into which they have entered, and who have been, I hope, partially and for a moment corrupted, or at least tainted, in their views of good faith and honour by the evil instructions of those who should have given them better lessons. I can venture to say, first, that the Land Act—for this has been demonstrated—will be fully made proof of by the people of Ireland; secondly, that it will be judicially and impartially administered by the persons, the eminent persons, to whom the Legislature has committed the discharge of that great trust; and, thirdly, that by the earnest attention, the vigilant attention of the Government, and especially of my right hon. friend near me, the Chief Secretary of Ireland, with whose courage and unflinching devotion you are so well acquainted, the law will be administered and enforced with firmness and with decision—and its enforcement will be entrusted to a body of agents who, whether

the representatives of the civil power, as the constabulary of Ireland, or whether the assistants of those representatives—I mean the military forces of the Crown—have all earned a new title to the gratitude of their countrymen for the exemplary patience with which they have performed duties as difficult as ever were put in charge of persons authorised to execute the law. It was not only in Ireland that twelve months ago we had to contemplate a state of things calculated to create the utmost anxiety, and I am happy to think that if my noble friend the Foreign Secretary be called upon by you in the course of the evening to refer to the affairs of his department he will be able to draw a picture less charged with anxiety as to a critical future than that presented to you twelve months ago. These are not the only national blessings that we are called upon, as I think, humbly to acknowledge. If we look to the North-western frontiers of India, I am happy to be able to state that, although all objects are not yet gained, although we cannot yet say that we have an Afghanistan which is united, which is independent, and which is powerful; yet, at least, we can say that we have an Afghanistan which, instead of being broken into fragments, is under the sway of a single ruler; which, instead of having to bear the military presence of the foreigner, so hateful in the sight of every manly and every martial race, is now entirely independent of that presence, and which, as we hope, may grow in strength and in tranquillity, receiving from us to the friendly offices of neighbours through the our study carefully and loyally to. Going further south, we are also happy to think that peace and the prospect of peace present themselves to us in South Africa. I will not say that the questions which we have had to deal with in that country have been free from difficulties, or that they might not fairly and honourably create differences of opinion; nor do I seek to obtain covertly from you any approbation of the means we have employed, or of the



REMOVAL TO MR. CLADSTONE AT LONDON

steps we have taken to meet those difficulties. But this I venture to say—that I hope we have made provision, in the first place, for unity of direction in South Africa; in the second place, for the protection of the rights and interests of the natives of that country, at least as great as, and I believe greater and more effective than, we could have obtained by any other course; and further, I will not scruple to add that I trust we have laid the foundation of a permanent concord—though here, again, I must not too confidently prejudge the future—of a permanent concord between the British race in South Africa and that other race of kindred blood, of similar vigour, and of equal civilisation—the Dutch race—with regard to which we have no desire but to appear upon an equal footing throughout the world, and which has signalised itself in a long course of history by its courage, and by an appreciation of liberty and independence not unequal to our own. We are now able to look upon the affairs of the Transvaal with no other desire than this—that the arrangements which have been made, which were uncertain only a few weeks ago, when I had the honour of addressing another assembly in this hall, but which have now been determinately concluded, may prove favourable, not merely to our own interests, but to the interests of every inhabitant of those countries, to the development of their power and the acceleration of their progress in all that concerns the civilisation and happiness of mankind. I have already in a manner renounced the future. I will not speak of the coming Session of Parliament and its legislation, except for a moment and in one single aspect. Particular measures of legislation may be a subject of difference of opinion among us, but there is one subject on which, I think, there can be no difference of opinion, and that is the subject of the dignity and efficiency of the legislative body itself. There is no disguising the matter. There is no denying that the time has come when circumstances, not the mere voice of a Minister or of a

Government, but when circumstances plain and undeniable as the sun in the heavens challenge the people of these three Kingdoms to determine whether it is their wish or whether it is not their wish that the House of Commons should prove itself adequate to the great duties it has to perform. In the first place, it is clear that with the growth of the Empire, the vast growth of its population, its interests, and its relations, calls upon the Parliament of this country are continually increasing, while the means of the House of Commons to meet them are progressively diminishing. It will be, as I believe, an early and very urgent demand upon the wisdom of the Representative Assembly to consider of effective means to meet this great evil; and what I would humbly ask of this great assembly, without the slightest distinction of party, is that this question may be kept out of the region of party disputes. It is not any interest of party, it is the interest of the nation, that the reasonable wants of the country in regard to public business shall be effectually met. It is no credit to us when the law of bankruptcy is in so discreditable a state that the great commercial interests of this country are calling out for its amendment, that from year to year measures intended for that purpose should be postponed and dropped simply because the strange state of the arrangements of the House of Commons, admirable as they were in other times, should prevent it giving its attention to this urgent subject. It surely can be no interest of anybody that in many counties of this country the rivers should, at their own will, overspread the land and damage the products that they ought to raise for our subsistence, and yet the Rivers Conservancy Bill, in which one would defy the ingenuity of any party to detect the slightest sign of party influence or agency, shares the fate of the multitude of other valuable measures. It is laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and disappears from that table, not because its object was not good, not because the difficulties attending

it are incapable of settlement, but simply because, under the rules which exist, and the present disposition to turn this measure to an account for which it was not intended, the House of Commons is unable to discharge its duties. I claim that the settlement of this matter, when it shall come forward—and it cannot be very long delayed—shall be regarded, not as an interest of party, and not as an interest of the Administration of the day, but as a national and an Imperial interest, to which it is the duty of every one of us to address his mind in the very same spirit of patriotic devotion as if an enemy were landing on our shores, or if the principle of disorder threatened the institutions which you, my Lord Mayor, have so justly commended. Before I sit down I have to discharge a gratifying duty which has been entrusted to me: I have to ask this company to drink your Lordship's health. My Lord Mayor, I reciprocate most respectfully and most sincerely the compliment you have paid, upon national grounds, to the representatives of authority. You have spoken of institutions we are all desirous to revere which have subsisted for centuries, which I hope are destined to exist for centuries yet to come, and with regard to which I feel that if, unhappily, this anticipation should not be fulfilled, the failure will not be owing to any fault in the institutions themselves, but it will be owing to the unworthiness and degeneracy of those to whose care they may be committed. My Lord Mayor, I believe that the chair in which you sit has been filled successively by the representatives of this community for the last 500 years and more, and I earnestly hope that for as many years to come it may still be filled by persons chosen according to such laws as the best wisdom of the times may dictate to represent the interests of this great community, and to fulfil the duties with which the position of the occupant of that chair is attended. I most respectfully express on the one hand my confession that it would be absurd for me, in the presence of the citizens of London, who know well your

high personal qualities, to speak in detail of those qualities; but my belief is, and my earnest aspiration is, that you are not inferior to those who have gone before you—even to him who immediately preceded you—in your deep devotion to the duties of your office. I trust that the year for which you are to hold it may make an honourable addition to the list of your predecessors, signalised, as I believe it will be, by the inspiring devotion of yourself to the public service and the conservation, within the limits of this City, of the great principle of local and municipal self-government to which, I think, I gather from your Lordship's speech—and, if I did gather it, I heartily concur in the sentiment—we ought, all of us, to assign no mean or middling share of the greatness and prosperity of our country. I give you, my Lords, ladies, and gentlemen, 'the health of the Lord Mayor.'

In replying to the toast of the Peers, Lord Granville particularly referred to the diplomatic and foreign achievements of Mr. Gladstone's Government. He remarked:—"The Prime Minister said that I, if I alluded to foreign affairs, might possibly be able to give a better account of the general state of foreign affairs than that which existed a year ago. There are, no doubt, questions requiring the most careful and anxious observation. There are questions which are most fit to be debated by any assembly, but there is no doubt that none are in a critical state—none likely to encroach on the absorbing interest which some matters nearer home excite. A famous diplomatist once said that all the greatest diplomatic triumphs were those which were never found out, while a fellow who got into the greatest scrapes made the most show by his bungles to get out of them. Well, I do not think there is much profit in dwelling upon settled questions, for the very fact of their settlement deprives them of their dramatic interest; but I certainly at one time believed that there was considerable difficulty with regard to the settlement of the Montenegrin and Greek questions. At this

moment I will only allude to one point connected with the latter of these questions. You are all aware that the Sultan, with very great reluctance, yielded up the magnificent province of Thessaly to his smaller and weaker neighbour, Greece. I last week received a despatch from a distinguished military authority—General Hamlyn, who has been our Commissioner in regard to the evacuation of the territory—and he states that if the Turkish Commissioner had desired to obstruct the cession nothing would have been easier for him than to have done so. He said that the officers might have aided in the act of obstruction; but that, on the contrary, the Turkish Marshal from the first adopted the most judicious measures for the evacuation of the province. General Hamlyn said that the Turkish Marshal acted most cheerfully with the European Commissioners, and although, as might have been naturally expected from the character of the Greek population, there were sometimes injudiciously premature expressions of joy which the people felt, yet everything passed off with greater tranquillity than that which prevails at an election at the present time. General Hamlyn says that, not only has freedom been restored, but from what he has already seen he believes that the scourge of the country—brigandage—will be entirely extirpated; and there is already promised a great rise in the value of property in that part of the world. He adds an important statement, which, I think, is very creditable to the Sovereign to whom so graceful an allusion has been made in the touching speech of the Danish Minister—namely, that the Mahometan proprietors, in manifestation of their good will and their reliance on their future state, acknowledge with gratitude the part taken by this country in a work which has stirred so much interest and sympathy in the City of London. My Lord Mayor, there is one point connected with the Eastern Question of which I think I may be permitted, on behalf of the Government, to boast; and that is, that they have been able to secure in succession two

such representatives of the Government as Mr. Goschen and Lord Dufferin. There is another question which has excited natural and not unreasonable interest in England, namely, occurrences which have lately happened in Egypt. Now I can add nothing to the description which was given at Leeds by the Prime Minister of what the policy of this country is towards Egypt. It is one directed only to her prosperity and to the freedom which she has obtained by successive Firmans from the Porte. We do attach importance to the union between Turkey and Egypt, because we think it is a means of protection against foreign aggression, from whatever quarter it may come. That policy of her Majesty's Government has been to advise the Khedive in favour of the spread of education, the abolition of excessive taxation, the settlement on a fair basis of the land tax, and the diminution of forced labour. All these things have been accomplished by the work of the English and French Commissioners. There remains a thing of primary importance, namely, the reform of the administration of justice to the natives themselves, and it is with great interest that her Majesty's Government have watched the efforts which are now being made by Cherif Pacha in favour of that reform so calculated to give contentment to Egypt. I may add that our views are shared by the French Government, with whom we have been cordially co-operating. The great advantage of this co-operation is that it can only be directed towards the good of Egypt—that any objects of a merely selfish or ambitious character would be fatal to the union. But I am happy to say that, seeing the disposition of the French entirely agrees with our own views, I do not think we have any reason—though difficulties have arisen, and may arise again—to give way to any pessimist alarm as to being able to deal with those difficulties in the future. Speaking in the centre of this great commercial city, you may, perhaps, wish that I should say a few words with regard to the negotiations on the French Treaty. I have very little

to say on this subject, and I may at once make a confession—that her Majesty's Government do not attach an exaggerated importance to that Treaty on economical grounds. On such grounds we are not weak; we are almost impregnable. If any particular country chooses to raise protective duties against us we cannot forget that nearly one-half of our external trade is in countries which are open to our goods; and that by the imposition of such duties, so far as open countries are concerned, the country which imposes them places itself in a position of weakness, and ourselves in a position of greater strength to carry on the commerce of the country. This not only applies to such open countries; it applies also to each of those countries which try to protect their own trade interests by protective measures. But though we do not attach exaggerated importance to the economical ground, we do attach the greatest value to it for political reasons. I have seen it stated that the Commissioners on either side have not been sufficiently conciliatory. I utterly repudiate the accusation so far as my hon. friend Sir Charles Dilke is concerned. He, together with the other able Commissioners, has shown his usual ability in working out these not easy negotiations. At the same time he has shown the greatest possible patience, and temper, and conciliation in the manner in which he has discharged his task. Sir Charles Dilke, however, knows, as I know, that it is impossible for him to go against the wish of her Majesty's Government, against the wish of Parliament, and the wish of the country, and to give the sanction of this country to a state of things which would replace our commercial relations on a less liberal footing than that on which they now exist. I said that, for political reasons, we desired that this Treaty should be concluded, and we are most hopeful that this should be the case, because we should most deeply regret that there should be any diminution of intercourse, that there should be the slightest slackening of good will, between our great neighbour and ourselves—a feeling which

it is so desirable and important to obtain. One single word as to the state of relations between this country and the great Republican State beyond the Atlantic. The other day I read a letter in large type from a friend of mine—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff—stating a fact which I believe is known to everybody who knows anything of the question. Apparently for the purpose of introducing not very original sneers at her Majesty's Government, he referred, amongst other things, to a topic which is dear to provincial orators, viz., the Alabama claims. Now, I think that those who speak of this may very possibly be ignorant of the fact that the present leader of the Conservative Party, Sir Stafford Northcote, with considerable sacrifice of his own comfort, with great public spirit, and with a disinterested refusal of all honours connected with the task, was one of the negotiators of the Treaty which closed so many difficulties between the United States and ourselves. I may also add that the late Lord Beaconsfield, a very short time before his death, in that assembly for which I have the honour to return thanks, very candidly stated his approbation of the general principle of that transaction. Now, during that transaction certain indirect claims were raised which we thought it undesirable to accede to, and which we were determined not to admit, and those claims subsequently disappeared entirely. During the time of doubt her Majesty's Government were constantly pressed to take the opportunity of these claims to put an end to the discreditable transaction, and to get themselves entirely free from it. Now I venture to appeal to you—what would have been the result if we had followed that advice, and if there had been no Treaty of Washington made at all? I feel perfectly sure that war would not have ensued, but I feel sure that it would have excited a sense of exasperation at the want of any settlement of the enormous injuries inflicted on the American trade by the *Alabama*, which it would have required perhaps centuries to remove. What has

been the result of a contrary policy? That for a hundred years—ever since the United States became an independent Power—there has never been a time when the same friendly feeling has existed between these two great English-speaking countries. I know of no more striking fact than that which has been shown in the deep sympathy and sincere grief of this country in regard to the fatal tragedy of last June, or in the demonstration in every possible way of devoted loyalty—if I may use the expression in regard to those who are not her subjects—to the beloved and illustrious lady who sits on the Throne of these realms. Now, I cannot help thinking that this improved state of feeling must have given some satisfaction to her Majesty's late Government when they felt themselves in some danger of imminent war with a great military Empire. I feel sure that it is a source of satisfaction to us at the present moment. I read the other day in a printed letter of Lord Macaulay, written just before his death, how he spoke of the harm that had been done by us in consequence of the long past and unjust treatment of Ireland by ourselves, and he added the opinion that the harm would continue for many years. Now, we are aware that there are a very considerable number of Irish Americans who sympathise with the agitation now going on in Ireland; but I am happy to say that we know—and I have it on most excellent authority—that not only native Americans, but the best and most enlightened classes of the Irish in America, are almost to a man on the side, in this great contest which my right hon. friend Mr. Forster is carrying on with such patience, firmness, and temper, of property, of law, and of individual freedom. I venture to ask whether, if the contrary feeling had existed in America, Mr. Forster's onerous duties would have been in the slightest degree relieved—if the violent action of the Land League had found there ready sympathy from some forty-five millions of Americans on the other side of the water exasperated by what they consider an

intolerable state of the law? I venture still further to ask whether you believe that, when such difficulties arise, as are certain to arise in the course of human affairs, those friendly feelings of the two countries do not make it less difficult for their Governments to try and settle their differences with perfect freedom and goodwill?"

In commenting on the above speeches, the *Standard*, in a leader next day, remarked:—"The Prime Minister and his colleagues have sustained their reputation for reticence, and have made no contribution to the political knowledge of the nation in their Guildhall speeches. It does sometimes happen, indeed, that when a statesman like Lord Beaconsfield is at the head of affairs, we are treated to one or two novel and felicitous combinations of words, or to a bold contrast of ideas, worthy of the name of epigram. But, under the present respectable administration, Lord Mayor's Day and the Guildhall banquet bring us nothing more than sober platitudes about the past, or forecasts of the future, so tame, and based so exclusively upon the known, that they remind us of nothing so much as of those Meteorological Forecasts which we print every day in another part of our impression. The wind is falling—therefore rain is expected: the glass is rising—fair weather may be looked for. We are not blaming the Ministry for the feebleness of their prognostications. It is pretty generally understood, now, that the extra Parliamentary duties of Ministers, which commence before the normal limits of the long vacation have been reached, can leave them nothing new to say on the Ninth of November. Mr. Gladstone, at the Guildhall last night, was compelled to confess that this was pre-eminently the case in the present year. The only subject on which he spoke at any length was Ireland, and on that he had nothing material to add to his remarks a month since.

"The Prime Minister opened his speech with one of those retrospective touches

which are the peculiar privilege of honoured age. His recollection carried him back to the day of the birth of the Prince of Wales, and he drew a vivid picture of the incidents by which it was celebrated in the Guildhall. A septuagenarian Premier will be easily pardoned for preferring to dwell rather on what has been than 'on the future, of which,' in Mr. Gladstone's words, 'he can have little to say.' Englishmen will understand and respect such a sentiment coming from such lips; but a nation is always young, always looking forward, always forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forth to those things that are before. In these efforts the public will find little encouragement or assistance from any words now placed on record by Mr. Gladstone. He spoke, if not apologetically, yet in a tone which had in it very little of satisfaction about the past, and with vague hopefulness rather than with actual confidence about the future. The condition of Ireland, he said, was better now than it was a year since, not because the real difficulties of the position had been overcome, but because they had revealed themselves in their true dimensions, and were being grappled with. Then the storm was only imminent; now it had broken. Beyond this Mr. Gladstone declined to commit himself. 'The great struggle,' such were his exact words, 'which was in its earliest stage twelve months ago, may be said to have reached its maturity and come to a crisis.' As for the future, the Prime Minister would not 'anticipate it with over sanguine confidence;' for the present he is content to know that the country has approved the strong measures taken by the Government, and has decided that the Land Act shall have a fair trial. This is true enough. But what we think is really exercising the minds of a growing section of the constituencies is the attitude recently adopted by certain members of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in regard to the policy of governing Ireland by main force. If the idea of such a policy were intolerable a year ago, why is it laudable now?

That is a point on which the Prime Minister did not attempt to enlighten his audience last night. Again, he denounced the threat of Boycotting the tenants who pay their rents before Mr. Parnell and his friends are released, as meaning 'in its mildest signification the total ruin of the men against whom the measures of the Land League are directed.' That description is undoubtedly true. But though Mr. Gladstone may, the public will not forget that it was less than a year ago that he defined 'Boycotting' as a system of 'exclusive dealing,' with which he seemed to doubt that the law ought seriously to deal. Nor can it be said that the Prime Minister's utterances on our external relations had about them the ring of a much more inspiring confidence. In his remarks about the Transvaal and our position in South Africa generally, if not about Afghanistan, he confined himself rigidly to the optative mood. A statesman of Mr. Gladstone's years may, perhaps, with some degree of personal fitness, adopt this tone. But the nation will have looked for something more, and will not without an effort be able to acquiesce in a view which, on the whole, is one of chastened rather more than hopeful resignation.

"No new light was thrown upon the legislation of next Session by the Prime Minister, nor upon the exact condition and prospects of our foreign relations by Lord Granville. We are again told, that the first business of the Cabinet will be to reform the procedure of the House of Commons, and that the question of the Government of London may not improbably be dealt with. Mr. Gladstone, however, intimated that no legislation on this subject would seriously interfere with the Corporation of the City of London, or would touch the privileges or prerogatives of the Lord Mayor. The Lord Chief Justice, a few hours previously, in the Court of Queen's Bench, had spoken of the First Magistrate, and of the Corporation of the City of London, as occupying their present position, and as



WOMAN OF ELEUSIS.

likely to occupy it in the future, with the full sanction and approval of the nation. For the rest, it may be confidently concluded from Mr. Gladstone's words last night that the Bankruptcy Bill and the Rivers Conservancy Bill will both be vigorously prosecuted. Indeed, it was the necessity of pressing these measures forward which the Prime Minister mentioned as one of the reasons for making the House of Commons 'adequate to the great duties which it has to discharge.' All the allusions in Lord Granville's very safe and pre-eminently official speech were conceived in a vaguely optimistic vein. The Porte, he is persuaded, is honestly anxious to carry out the engagements into which it has entered with England and the other European Powers. As proof of this, the Foreign Secretary cited the facilities which, notwithstanding its natural reluctance to the step, the Turkish Government had offered in the cession of Thessaly to Greece. Nor was Lord Granville less hopeful as to the influence which the Porte may exercise in Egypt. 'We attach,' he said, 'importance to the union between Turkey and Egypt because we think it is a measure of protection against foreign aggression from whatever quarter it may come.' France, we are told, is of the same opinion, and the object equally of the French and the English Governments is to induce the Khedive to adopt liberal and enlightened ideas of Government. 'The great advantage,' the Foreign Secretary said, 'of this co-operation is that it can only be directed towards the good of Egypt—that any object of a merely selfish or ambitious character would be fatal to the union.' Here again, though he did not ignore that there had been, and that there still might be, difficulties in the path, Lord Granville emphasised the harmony existing between the French and English Governments. In other words, we are to understand that both France and England, relying upon the good-will of the Porte, are resolved to accomplish their mission in Egypt without resorting to the policy of a joint occupation. If anything

would have made this news more welcome, it would have been a more specific assurance that the authority of the Porte is as great with the Khedive and his people at the present moment as Lord Granville seemed to assume. The remarks of the Foreign Secretary on the negotiations for the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty exactly confirmed the opinions which we expressed on Tuesday last. It is to the interest rather of France than of England that these negotiations should not fail. Lord Granville, however, is sanguine that the Treaty will be concluded, and if his anticipations prove correct, so much the better. In these and in his other observations the Foreign Secretary faithfully adopted the cue given by the Prime Minister, and the only practical inference to be drawn from the Guildhall speeches is that their authors on every matter hope for the best. If cheerful aspirations were all that the nation required from its responsible statesmen, there would be every reason to be gratified with the political oratory of Lord Mayor's Day."

The *Daily News* remarked:—"In his speech at the Guildhall banquet last night Mr. Gladstone, as we ventured to anticipate, confined himself chiefly to retrospect. The Cabinet meets to-day; and it would have been impossible that Mr. Gladstone should anticipate the result of the series of meetings of which this is the first by speaking in any detail of the coming Session. The Prime Minister was not even to be drawn by the shrewd bait of the Lord Mayor into any hint as to the intentions of the Government towards the Corporation of London. The brilliant assembly which crowded the Guildhall last night, and enjoyed the oratory of the Prime Minister and his colleagues, probably consisted of those who have the clearest reasons for believing in their municipal institutions. They may find grounds for reassurance in Mr. Gladstone's hope that as there had been Lord Mayors for five hundred years, there might be successors to them for five hundred more. In that hope every advocate of

municipal reform in London will join. The only change which is demanded in respect of the city and its institutions is the admission of the whole of London to a share in the benefits they confer. Mr. Gladstone's one forecast of the next year's work was, however, concerned with a very different topic. It is useless to speak of future legislation till it is made clear that Parliament has not lost the power to legislate. Nearly every Minister who has spoken during the present recess has indicated that one of the very first duties of the Government will be the restoration to the House of Commons of its power to get on with the business of the nation. The serious and weighty words in which Mr. Gladstone gave this subject urgency and precedence last night, are only a final expression of the strong feeling with which he and his colleagues regard the present legislative deadlock. The cordial response of the civic assembly to his appeal represents the widespread conviction outside the House of Commons, and among men unconnected with political parties, that some well-considered change must speedily be made. It is not a party question, and the best men on both sides will respond to Mr. Gladstone's earnest desire that it should not be regarded from a party point of view. The appeal to such persons is unhappily rendered needful by Sir Stafford Northcote's change of attitude in relation to this subject. It will, of course, be his duty to see that the rights of minorities are not entrenched upon, just as it is the duty of the Government to confer some small modicum of right on majorities. In the present state of things, minorities and majorities are at the mercy of single members, who, as the Speaker said last night, monopolise the liberty of speech which the House has won from the Crown. Mr. Warton becomes a power, and Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Biggar have a sort of authority by virtue of their willingness to use the forms of the House for purposes which they were never intended to subserve. If the Conservative party re-

solves to defend this abuse, Sir Stafford Northcote will probably find ingenious, we might even say ingenuous, reasons for their obstructive tactics, but the country will see through them, and will resent any disposition to prolong the present incapacity of Parliament for any purpose whatsoever.

"It is evident that the Prime Minister regards the question as one which will take much time and much patience to settle. But he has clearly set his hand to the work, and is not the man to look back. It is probably as certain as anything can be in politics that, whether this is the first or the second business of the Session, it will be accomplished; and that in returning thanks next November for the same toast, the Prime Minister will speak of it as one of the gains of the year. We pointed out yesterday morning, as Mr. Gladstone did in his speech last night, that in speaking in the Guildhall a year ago he distinctly declared that an Irish Land Bill and a Coercion Bill might be among the measures of the year. It is needful to refer back to this forecast, because only yesterday a Conservative contemporary boldly stated as a fact, which everybody knew, that no intention to legislate on the Irish Land Laws existed even when Parliament met. Assertions of this kind have lately formed the staple of Tory argument; yet they can only be made by persons who are themselves ignorant of politics, or who presume on the ignorance of their readers or hearers. It may therefore be as well to reproduce from our report of last year's speech Mr. Gladstone's actual words. He said:— 'There appears to be in Ireland at this moment, by no means confined to agitators or to like-minded persons, a belief that the principles applied to the land of Ireland in 1870 still require some development in order to complete that great improvement which unquestionably recent legislation has effected in the condition of the occupiers. . . . My Lord, it will be the duty of her Majesty's Ministers carefully to examine the condition of the law with reference to the wants of Ireland, and if they find

occasion to believe that its provisions are insufficient for the great object connected with the happiness of the people to which they ought to be addressed, they will not scruple to call upon the legislature of this country again to apply itself to the subject.' This was universally regarded as the promise of a Land Bill for Ireland, and Mr. Gladstone rightly spoke of it as such last night. He was happily able to add that the promise had been amply redeemed, and that the measure of justice and beneficence which Parliament had thus given to the Irish people is being accepted by the Irish people, whom neither persuasion nor threats can hinder from availing themselves of the benefit the legislature intended them to receive."

The *Saturday Review* remarked:—"At Guildhall on Wednesday evening every one was smiling and everything was serene. A happy Ministry met a happy Corporation. Sometimes the Guildhall banquet is made the occasion of an important Ministerial announcement, in which the secrets of coming legislation are revealed or the line of a new foreign policy is foreshadowed. But Ministers cannot always have something surprising to communicate; and this time Mr. Gladstone had nothing novel or unexpected to reveal, except that he had at last discovered that Boycotting in Ireland means the total ruin of the livelihood of those whom it affects. Everything in the world grows, even the Premier's recognition of the real facts of Irish life. Mr. Gladstone was prudent enough to exhibit much reserve in his anticipations of the future of Ireland; but for the present he was cheered by the thought that the blow he has struck at the Land League is heartily approved in England, and that the tenants are flocking into the Land Court. This is a legitimate source of satisfaction to the authors of the Act; but it still remains to be seen how the Act will be received when it is properly tested. Lord Granville had a little more to say than Mr. Gladstone had. He could make a personal reference to Mr. Gladstone himself, and dispel the notion that there was

to be a new combination by which Mr. Gladstone was to be eclipsed, and Lord Granville was to shine in his stead. After a careful perusal of Lord Granville's observations on Egypt, it must remain doubtful whether he intended really to say anything pregnant with meaning about Egypt or not. All that he said was excellent, but its excellence principally consisted in its being very safe and very negative. We are not going to dissolve our partnership with France; we are not going to remove Egypt from under the shadow of Turkey; we are not going to cease applauding the Khedive when his Government adopts a new measure of reform. This is, no doubt, the right policy for the moment. Mr. Gladstone referred to only one great enterprise of the coming Session—the attempt to expedite the business of the House of Commons. The House does not, he said, get through its business at present, partly because it has too much to do, and partly because it does not know how to do what it tries to do. The quantity of work thrown on the House of Commons can scarcely be lessened by any change of procedure; but a change of procedure might conceivably make it more competent to despatch the business it takes up. The difficulties in the way of the reform of Parliamentary procedure are difficulties inherent in the subject-matter itself. Wisdom, tact, and inventiveness may overcome them; but to show that they exist is not to exhibit any kind of party spirit that deserves to be reprehended."

The *Statist* affirmed that it would seem from Mr. Gladstone's speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet that his failure in Ireland and the overwork of the past Session have induced in him a state of mind like that which in 1874 caused him to throw up the leadership of the Liberal party, and to declare that he intended retiring into private life. He is hardly likely, however, to yield to the temptation. If he would only spare himself a little more; above all, if he would resign the Chancellorship of

the Exchequer, and confine himself strictly to his duties as Premier, and would be content to delegate some of those duties also to lieutenants, and not insist upon always figuring in the forefront of every fray, he has before him yet many years of useful service to the country. It would be unfortunate, indeed, for his own party, as well as for the country, if he were now to retire. Before six months were over he would be weary of the monotony of an idle life, would be longing once more to mingle in the political conflicts of the day, and before long would re-appear in Parliament and would render it impossible for the Liberal Party to hold together. As for the speech itself, it was singularly devoid of colour and interest. Almost altogether it consisted of a stale and profitless defence of the past policy of the Government. As a means of pacifying and conciliating Ireland, the reorganisation of county government there is absolutely essential. Less urgent, but scarcely less important, is the reform of local finance. The whole system of local taxation, local borrowing, and local financial administration requires to be overhauled and reorganised; and it also is a task which properly devolves upon the present Parliament. Then there is Mr. Gladstone's Bill of last Session, for prolonging a portion of the annuities falling in in 1885. And lastly, without going any further, there is the Bankruptcy Bill, which has been introduced so often and so often shelved, as everybody agrees to say, to the discredit of Parliament. This list of subjects, without adding to it, as we might, proves that the Government has quite enough to do without cumbering itself with ticklish questions as to the reform of the rules of Parliament, and that no time is to be lost in addressing itself to them. We fear that if they are postponed until obstruction is made impossible, their carriage by the present Government is not very probable."

We dwell rather at length on the Lord Mayor's banquet for the following reason. On the previous Thursday the *Standard* published a statement to the effect that Mr. Glad-

stone was about to resign the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, to be succeeded by Mr. Childers, who, in his turn, was to be succeeded by Sir Charles Dilke. This step, it was assumed, was preliminary to his retirement from the office of the Premier in favour of Earl Granville or the Marquis of Hartington, as was shadowed forth in his speeches at Leeds. Telegraphed to about the matter, Mr. Gladstone replied that he had nothing to add to his public declaration on the subject, and the Government organs remarked that the announcement of impending changes in the Cabinet were obviously nothing but the refraction of Mr. Gladstone's own statements at Leeds. Although it is impossible to forecast the changes which time may bring, the *Daily News* clung to the belief that at the moment he still contemplated meeting the House of Commons as Prime Minister; the rumours which were flying about were evidently without any real foundation in anything contemplated at the time. They are, said the journal in question, bold, not to say reckless, inferences from the facts which have long been familiar to the public. Undoubtedly in many quarters the wish was father to the thought. Mr. Gladstone is a thorn in the sides of Conservatives. It was his Midlothian speeches, as they think, which stirred up the country and upset the Conservative Government. That we are not ruled by the gentle dulness of Sir Stafford Northcote, or the fiery recklessness of the Marquis of Salisbury, is due to Mr. Gladstone alone.

At all times, however, the public listens attentively to the utterances at the Guildhall banquet on Lord Mayor's Day. Then the words of the Prime Minister are bound to command attention, not only from every class of the community, but throughout the civilised world. It is the custom of the new Lord Mayor, whatever be his politics, to invite her Majesty's Ministers to dine with him on the day of his installation in office, and the party complexion, either of the chief magistrate or the Government, never interferes with the genuine character

of the feast. It is always the custom of the First Lord of the Treasury to speak on those occasions, not as the leader of a party, but as her Majesty's first Minister of State, and as the head of the nation. Dealing with broad imperial questions, as well as with domestic political ones, the speech is not only anticipated with

but under a new character, as an anxious inquirer, or careful observer, rather than as the head of a party, and the chief orator at the festal board. We read in the papers:—Mr. J. L. Sayer, treasurer, and Mr. W. H. Williamson, hon. secretary, of the London Fish Trade Association, had the honour, at Mr. Gladstone's request, of



RIGHT HON. H. C. E. CHALDESS.

great interest at home, but even before its publication here, its substance is telegraphed over all the capitals of Europe, and is issued to the people of New York the same evening, the difference of five hours of daylight in favour of America enabling such an early perusal.

Again we have Mr. Gladstone in the city,

conducting him on Saturday over Billingsgate market. Mr. Gladstone took great interest in the market, and the mode of conducting the business, especially inquiring into the water-borne supplies, there being a number of sprat-boats busily at work at the time disposing of their cargoes to the costermongers. He put many

questions with reference to the rentals of the shops and standings of the market, and took a considerable amount of interest in the fish question. The visit afforded considerable gratification to those who identified the visitor, large crowds gathering round and cheering him lustily, but in no way impeding his progress. The right hon. gentleman also visited the Custom House. He was accompanied by the members of the Board, the surveyor of the office of works, and other officials, and made a careful examination of the premises. It is understood, a correspondent says, that the visit had reference to the proposed purchase of the Custom House by the Corporation for the purposes of the fish market.

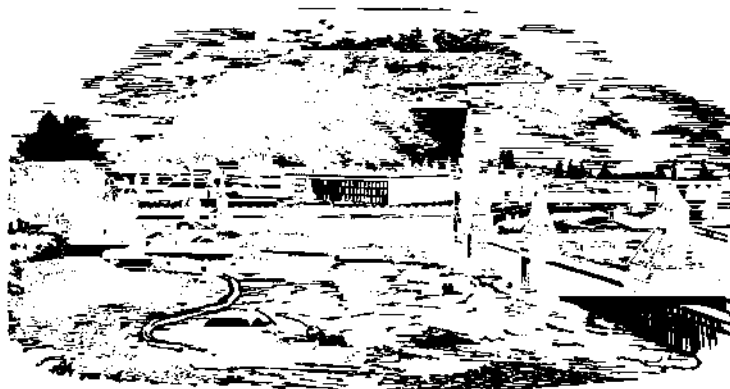
Again, we have a paragraph which refers to Mr. Gladstone's connection with city men, more especially city Nonconformists. In the middle of November it was announced in all the papers, religious or profane, that Mr. Gladstone had, through Dr. Allon, presented to the Congregational Library, at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, City, a set of his own works, with the exception of one or two that are out of print. "My wish," he says, "is to offer somewhat that may serve to record my sense of the invaluable service done by the Nonconformists during the Eastern controversy of recent years to the cause of liberty and justice."

One more incident may be connected with Mr. Gladstone under this head. When the revision of the voting lists for Members of Parliament for the borough of Marylebone was begun before Mr. James Newton Goren, the revising barrister, at the Marylebone Court-house, the claim of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to vote as the occupier of a house, 73, Harley-street, Marylebone, was objected to. Mr. Seager and Mr. Chick supported the claim; Mr. Higgins and Mr. Wood opposed the claim on the ground that Mr. Gladstone was non-resident, and was not the occupier of the dwelling-house. Mr. Seager asked that the claim might be amended by the insertion of No. 10, Downing-street, that being Mr. Glad-

stone's residence at the present time. The Revising Barrister: But he claims as being an occupier, and ought to have taken steps to have had the description amended. The claim should have been for a "house" instead of a "dwelling-house." Mr. Seager argued that the dwelling-house was a perfectly good description under the £10 franchise. He admitted, however, that he could not support his argument by the citation of any case. He was of opinion that the words "dwelling-house" were better than that of "house" only. The Revising Barrister: Then you know better than the Act of Parliament, but Mr. Justice Brett has made the observation over and over again in my hearing that when a claim is made for a dwelling-house it is under the Representation of the People Act, 1867, and when the word "house" was used, the claim was made under the Reform Act of 1832. Mr. Seager said as that point had been decided against him, he would ask that evidence might be taken which would prove that Mr. Gladstone had had possession of a room at 73, Harley-street, during the whole of the twelve electoral months. Mr. Higgins said that Mr. Gladstone left Harley-street in April last year, and he (Mr. Higgins) then wrote to Mr. Gladstone asking if he intended to underlet the house for a longer period than four months. The secretary replied that Mr. Gladstone had underlet the house, and might possibly do so again. James Foote, office-keeper at 10, Downing-street, stated that Mr. Gladstone resided at that address, but had a room at 73, Harley-street. He did not know this of his own knowledge, but he had been so informed by Mr. Gladstone's private secretary. The Barrister: That is not evidence. Mr. Chick: Mr. Gladstone's son has slept at the house. Mr. Higgins: That is no qualification of occupation; we must treat all persons alike in this court. Mr. Seager asked that the case might be allowed to stand over until he could produce further evidence. The Revising Barrister: It may stand over until the close of the court.

The claim accordingly stood over to admit the production of the necessary evidence as to Mr. Gladstone's occupation of the house in question. Mr. Seager subsequently called Mrs. Wynn, of No. 10, Downing-street, who said she was housekeeper to Mr. Gladstone at that address. Before Mr. Gladstone left Harley-street she occupied the same position. Mr. Gladstone had not left Harley-street entirely, but he did not live there now. He left that address twelve months ago last May. He retained two rooms on the second floor—one as a bedroom and the other as a living room. She, as housekeeper, had the keys of these rooms. She was in the habit of going to the house, and had an absolute right to do so. There was a lot of furniture in the house, which had been let to Mr. Ogleby.

Cross-examined by Mr. Wood: Mr. Gladstone had not slept in the house for about twelve months. By Mr. Seager: She remembered one of Mr. Gladstone's sons sleeping in the house, but she could not say whether he had a key of the room—but he slept there as a right most certainly, as Mr. Gladstone was on such friendly terms with Mr. Ogleby. Mr. Seager asked for a case for one of the superior courts. He would first ask that the word "dwelling" should be taken out of the description. The Revising Barrister said he should strike the name off the list, and would take time to look into the point as to whether there was sufficient ground for him to grant a case, and thus Mr. Gladstone lost his vote for Marylebone, much to the delight of the Tories.



MOSCOW.

CHAPTER XLVI.

MR. GLADSTONE IN THE COUNTRY—SPEECHES OF THE
OPPOSITION.

ON October of the same year Mr. Gladstone made one of those great oratorical feats—wonderful in any one, especially wonderful in one of his years. He went to Leeds to fulfil a promise, previously given, that he would pay that town a visit. On the Friday he attended at the Town Hall, where he was presented with an address from the Town Council, and eighty-six other addresses from Liberal clubs and associations throughout Yorkshire. The Premier, who was accompanied by Mrs. Gladstone and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, one of the members for the borough, received an enthusiastic reception from the vast assemblage of ladies and gentlemen that crowded the Victoria Hall, in which the proceedings took place. Two hours before the advertised time for the presentation of the address to the right hon. gentleman, the holders of tickets began to take possession of the Victoria Hall, and long before the ceremony commenced there was a crowded assemblage. A raised dais had been erected in the Town Hall, just below the orchestra, and upon it were three chairs, the centre one of which was occupied by Mr. Gladstone. The front seats in the orchestra were reserved for the following representatives of municipal corporations—namely, the Lord Mayor of York, and the mayors of Hull, Scarborough, Halifax, Dewsbury, Batley, Darlington, Oldham, Huddersfield, Colchester, Barnsley, and Jarrow. The body of the hall was filled with persons identified with the Liberal party, and not a few strangers were present. The mayors on the platform wore their chains of office. The orchestra was

occupied by an audience composed mostly of ladies, and the gallery was tested to its full capacity, being occupied by a great number of the workers in the various wards, and others. Mr. Gladstone came on to the platform, preceded by a large number of the aldermen and councillors of the borough, amidst demonstrations of the most enthusiastic order—all the aldermen and councillors wearing their official robes. Mrs. Gladstone accompanied Mr. Gladstone to the platform. When the cheering had subsided, the Mayor of Leeds, on behalf of the corporation, cordially welcomed the right honourable gentleman, and after highly eulogising his social and political career, presented the Corporation Address, which, after referring in terms of eulogy to Mr. Gladstone's political career, concluded as follows:—

"In all these offices you have displayed unflagging zeal and immense capacity in carrying out with a single eye what you have felt to be for the country's good. But it is not only in your character as a statesman that we approach you to-day. We rejoice to remember that it is your proud distinction to have laboured, as occasion has permitted, for the social, intellectual, and moral elevation of your fellow-countrymen, and it may be said in truth that there has scarcely been any movement in modern British history, having for its object the spread of education and intelligence and the well-being of mankind, around which you have not thrown the mighty spell of your resistless eloquence; while amid the pressure and excitement of your unsparing toils you have found leisure to adorn and enrich the pages of literature and philosophy with contribu-

tions from your pen ; of you it may be truly said, as was remarked of the Earl of Chatham, that you possess the precious ownership of a name—

Illustrious and revered by nations,
And rich in blessings for our country's good.

In conclusion, we pray that the Almighty may pour upon you His choicest blessings, and that He may spare you for many years, so that you may still be enabled to dedicate to the service of your country those superb endowments which have rendered such noble and brilliant service in the past."

In rising to reply, Mr. Gladstone was received with loud cheers. He expressed his cordial and heartfelt thanks for the generous terms in which he had been addressed, and concluded by saying :—"Mr. Mayor, there are three items of commendation in this address which I can appropriate to myself—first, that sincerity of attention which I accord to every other as unreservedly as you have attributed it to me; secondly, the length of time during which I have been engaged in the service of the country, which is a fact altogether undeniable by friends or foes. Besides that, I cannot deny that my long life has been spent in labour; and, gentlemen, life is worth very little indeed, either to its possessor or anybody else, if it is not a life of labour. Here, in this great and constantly expanding seat of British enterprise and industry, coming amongst you, whose whole life is devoted to the development of the energies of this country, and who contribute so largely to the consolidation of its power, I know that if my life had not been a life of labour I should have been an object not of sympathy and approval, but contempt. In that lot, gentlemen, we are appointed to live; in that lot we are appointed to die. With these few words, Mr. Mayor, I will now once more beg you to accept the cordial expression of my thanks for your too indulgent and flattering address, and will proceed to await the further development of these proceedings."

The presentation of addresses from the Leeds Liberal Association, the Eastern Division of the West Riding Liberal Association, the Leeds Federation of Liberal Clubs, the Leeds Liberal Club, the National Reform Union (Manchester), and eighty other political bodies of Yorkshire and the surrounding district, was next proceeded with.

Mr. Gladstone, who in rising again was again loudly cheered, replied in a speech of considerable length, in the course of which he said :—"In the course of these addresses reference has been made to my past in terms too indulgent, and to my future, I am afraid in terms too hopeful. It is not for me at my time of life, and nearness to its inevitable close, to anticipate those future years of strength and service which you are good enough to desire on my behalf, but yet, gentlemen, though I do not indulge in any such anticipation at all, though I think that repose of mind and reflection on other matters are more appropriate to the latest stage of our human existence, yet I do not on that account look forward with the slightest lack of confidence to your future as the Liberal party of this country. I know that when I depart I shall hand over the charge that is now entrusted to me to other hands; I shall hand it over to men already possessing your confidence, who have already shown in many a well-fought field of what metal they are made. And here I do not mean to speak only of one whose distinguished name is ever dear to you all, my excellent friend Mr. Bright, because he too is but one stage behind me in the journey through the vale of years, but I speak of Lord Granville. The most intimate and almost daily communication during many anxious years has given me the most thorough knowledge of his great abilities, and of his admirable devotion to the service of his country, and of his capacity to give it, if Providence so ordain. I speak also of Lord Hartington, who in the struggles in the House of Commons has likewise earned the confidence of the country, and has enabled you to build your

expectations of his future upon the ample experience of what he has been to you in the past. Therefore, gentlemen, I look forward with confidence to a Liberal party as in no degree dependent upon the slender thread, as yet unbroken, of my own political life. I believe, gentlemen, and I think you will believe with me, that in all ordinary and normal circumstances, though this country is divided between two classes of political opinion, the Liberal opinion is that of the majority of the people. I will go a little further and say this, that when we were defeated in 1874 we were not defeated through the energies and growth of Toryism, but we were defeated by the divisions that had unwisely insinuated themselves among us, and that it was on the absolute break-up of the party."

This reference of Mr. Gladstone to the future leadership of his party by the Marquis of Hartington and Lord Granville, gave rise, in certain quarters, to a great deal of speculation, as if he were about immediately to resign his lead. Mr. Gladstone himself was appealed to on the subject, but his reply was that he had nothing to add to what he had already said. Continuing to refer to the break-up of his party in 1874, Mr. Gladstone proceeded:—"It was the prevalence, perhaps, of some sectional ideas, and the actual and necessary shortcomings—the actual shortcomings of myself and others (cries of 'No, no,')—but at any rate it was through our divisions; it was because our ranks did not march steadily to the breach in 1874 that we were a minority in the last Parliament. But what I wish to say is this, that I see no sign of such division now. I doubt whether, since the Free Trade struggle, the Liberal party, speaking generally, have been in a state so healthy; never have I had occasion so much to appreciate, along with its generous indulgence, the signs of cordial union as during the anxious experience of the long session of Parliament that has just so lately closed; and, therefore, as you may look back with confidence upon your past, so I fearlessly rely upon your future. Be deter-

mined among yourselves to maintain an energetic growth, and avoid the needless division of 1874. I think the consequence of these divisions, which administered to selfish enjoyment, will be that we shall not fall into those errors again."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to touch upon the Land question, and in the course of his remarks he said he trusted the Liberal party would deal with the questions touching the transfer and the devolution of land. "Last year, and before we were six weeks old, we determined to repeal the malt-tax—not because we really believe in the absurd pretensions which had been set up by some of the malt-tax repealers, but because we always admitted there were good reasons for it. In the first place the malt duty disturbed altogether the action of the market, and as free-traders we could not approve of that disturbance of the market for barley in this country. It attached to the barley of certain soils which produced the finest and best, and gave to it a fictitious value in addition to its natural advantages. It is a bad thing, and as free-traders we are opposed to any legislative action which interferes with one description of article in competition with another. There was another reason for repealing the malt-tax. You Liberals have always been forward, and I hope you will ever be forward, to get rid of an excise duty. There was an excise duty, the effect of which was to prescribe to the people, in regard to one of the largest trades in the country, what materials they should make their beer of. In repealing the malt-tax the great object we had in view was the liberation of a vast trade from restraint, and the giving to British industry in yet another province the absolute freedom which we desire to see it enjoy. And what has happened? Why, the Tories have turned their backs upon the repeal of the malt-tax, and they say it now, without even the slightest regard to their professions of half a century, that it is a worthless and insignificant affair, and is rather, perhaps, on the whole, an evil than a good. It is



THE LATE SIR FRANCIS CROSSLEY, BART., M.P.

really very difficult to deal with people who proceed in that way, and who, when we think we are making a justifiable approximation to their views, turn round upon us and denounce in terms of violence, or else reduce to total insignificance, that which they formerly held up, both as a capital article, both of political justice and of national policy. But they tell the farmer, We must have you relieved of a great deal of the burden of the rates. It is well worth our while to-day to look a little below the surface of that profession, and see what it means. In the first place, do not suppose for a moment that in my opinion rates ought not to be dealt with. I being an old man, may not have much to say to it, but if I were twenty years younger, I should say that nothing was more worthy of large and extensive change. I am an enemy of the present system of what is called grants in aid. Of course you will understand that I am not laying down mathematical propositions, but in general I see the greatest mischief in these grants in aid or relief in any form without a consideration of the question of local government. In the first place, these grants in aid encourage extravagance; in the second place, they promote centralisation; and, in the third place, they sap the principle of local government by depriving it of one of the means for the exercise of its functions. I cannot pass from the subject of local taxation without impressing on you the fact that local government in this country is a training school for Imperial government. The forms and the habits of local government enable this country to find men who are fit to carry on the business of the government of the country. On all these grounds I think that the present system of grants in aid is one that requires to be checked. It is also a most impolitic system on this ground:—The collection of Imperial taxes is always a matter of serious political delicacy and even difficulty, whereas the collection of taxes for local purposes is a thing comparatively easy. Now, what I am about to say will have reference, not to local taxes in towns,

but to local taxation in the country. Rates have increased in towns with great rapidity, and the question of the legitimate incidence of a rate is much more open to debate and doubt in a populous district than it is in a rural district. But one word I must say of rates generally, and especially of rates in the country. I think the time may have come when it may be very proper to make considerable alterations in local taxation; but I must endeavour to bring into view that which it seems to be the object of Toryism to keep out of view, and that is this, that every sixpence which you take off the rates of agricultural districts in this country, while it is an immediate relief to the tenant, is an ultimate gift to the landlord. And, taken in that point of view, the demand that some millions shall be taken off taxation by grants from the general exchequer of the country in order to be applied to the payment of rates in rural districts, while it may be very agreeable to the farmer for the moment—I do not now inquire into what ought to be done for him—it is a demand that the landlords of this country and their descendants shall to that extent be quartered on the public exchequer. Gentlemen, this is a very serious matter for consideration. When I say this I speak as one whose fortunes and the fortunes of his family are closely allied to the welfare and prosperity of the land, but at the same time we will always strive to prevent any bias from taking possession of our minds in relation to this subject. But subjects of great importance to all persons connected with the land question, on which I hope the present Government, whether while I am in it or not, will deal efficiently and fearlessly. I do not doubt that that will be the case. There is another part of the question yet more essential, and that is that which touches the tenant. Here is the true interest of the question. The object of the farmer is to have his interest in the land made secure. I see that in Tory meetings it is said that they are willing that this should be done. Why, they told us five years ago that they had

done it. They passed a Bill they called the Agricultural Holdings Bill, and that was the great legislative achievement of their six or seven years of office. That was the summit of what they could do for the farmers to whom they owed their elections, and the great bubble suddenly exploded. I ordered a great many copies of the measure to see if I could make anything of it among the tenantry. I thought it best not to scatter them wholesale, but sent copies to two or three highly intelligent men among the farmers. I could not get them to look at them. They neither knew nor

English or Scotch Land Act. I say as emphatically that it is an object of immediate importance for the farmer to see that effectual and not abortive measures are taken to secure the whole interest of the tenant—not a part only, but the whole of his interest—in his improvements. This is the point of junction between trading and landlord interests in relation to the matters we are now discussing."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to dilate upon the trade of the country. He said :—"It has been indeed severely and lamentably depressed, in certain branches particu-



SCENE IN THE HIGHLANDS.

cared anything about it. That was the most complete abortion I have ever known in the handling of a great legislative subject. That was after all the principal legislative achievement of an Administration of between six and seven years. However, the question has arisen, and arisen in a very serious form, in consequence of the pressure on the farmer due to a series of unfortunate seasons, and I will not enter now upon any details as to the best mode of proceeding under the circumstances. I have said emphatically that in my opinion the Irish Land Act ought not to be an

larly so : it has been depressed most of all, I believe, in what I should call this district—I do not mean in the town of Leeds in particular, though, perhaps, it has been greatly felt in the town of Leeds, but I mean in the sister town of Bradford—a town where, if there is a pressure of foreign competition, they are sure to feel it. I will not trouble you in a great assembly of this kind with a number of figures, but these figures which I have here show the case very simply. Taking the woollen and worsted manufactures, and taking our trade with certain countries—France, Tur-

key, Holland, and Belgium—I believe it is the case that our imports of woollen and worsted goods do come very close upon our exports to those countries. While we exported £8,860,000, we imported £8,509,000. This is very nearly a balance. I am not now going to discuss the question whether it is in the power of the capitalists or the industrial interest of the country to amend that balance. My own belief is that it is. I often say that the English producer wants a good deal of pressure to make him do his best, but when that pressure is put upon him he will compete successfully with anybody in the world. Circumstances appear now to be against him, but I will not enter into that further than that it enables me conveniently to raise a question which I feel would be advantageous. The question is not whether the depression of the last few years has been severe, because it has been very severe. I, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, have felt it. It is not true that the revenue has recovered from the effect of it. The revenue of the last quarter-day was, I think, in the Press estimated rather more favourably than it deserved. It may be said that the revenue is somewhat recovering, but it is very far now from a complete recovery, although I have no doubt that complete recovery will arise. But what has been the cause of this depression of our trade? This is an important question. Systematic attempts have been made to persuade you, and although they will not succeed here they may succeed elsewhere—to persuade you—the people of England I mean—that the cause of this depression is that we cannot carry on our trade with foreign countries in consequence of the pressure of hostile tariffs; and, secondly, that free trade is a fallacy. Now, let us look at the substratum of fact which is in this statement. Now, you will agree with me in this, that the main cause of the depression of trade has been either the unwillingness or inability of foreign countries to buy; or else it has been the decrease of the purchasing

power at home. Let us see which of these has been the main factor in the recent distress, because it is upon the assumption that the foreign question is the great question that is founded the recommendation now so confidently made to go back to the state of things that we parted with some thirty years ago. Now, I want to measure, and it is possible to do so without much difficulty, and with quite sufficient, though not with minute accuracy—I want to measure what has been the amount of real depression and contraction in our foreign trade, and what has been the decrease of the purchasing power at home. I take the year which presented the very highest amount of exports, which amounted to 256 millions of British goods and produce. You all know very well that that 256 millions was exported at an inflated state of prices that could not possibly be maintained, which, as regarded iron and coal in particular, were totally unknown in the history of the country. But I will presume it was all-round trade and a natural state of things, and I will show you upon that enormous assumption what is apparently the decrease in our purchasing power, and the actual loss of the people of this country which has accrued from the depression and contraction of our foreign trade. If the value of exports had continued in 1878, 1879, and 1880, the three years of great agricultural depression, if that high state of export had continued, we should have exported in those years 760 millions of goods and produce. Instead of that we only exported 607 millions. That was a decrease of exports amounting to 151 millions in those three years, but that, of course, was not all loss. What was lost was the profit upon that. I take the profit at the usual rate it is assumed—namely, 10 per cent., and I show in that way that the country was 16 millions the poorer in consequence of the contraction of this foreign trade. There ought to be a further item put down, which I will allow for liberally. I will assume that besides the loss I have mentioned there was a loss of

eight millions of net profit on the carrying of that 161 millions to foreign countries. If I add that eight millions to the 16 millions, I show that the country is perhaps 24 millions the poorer in consequence of the contraction of foreign trade since the time when our exports were at their *maximum*. I have endeavoured in that calculation to put the allowance against myself on every doubtful point. Now, we turn to the effect of bad harvests, and I take the loss by bad harvests in 1878, 1879, and 1880. Of course when I speak of harvests I speak of the whole agricultural produce of the land, including root crops, grass, and everything. I believe there is no doubt that it is a moderate estimate for the three kingdoms to place the loss at 120 millions, and we may place it higher, considerably higher. I am convinced if I were only to take the reduction in rents, the allowances upon rent, etc., that it is a moderate statement to say that the agricultural products of those three years fell short by £120,000,000 sterling in the aggregate of what they would have been if the harvest had been good. That is not entirely loss, but it is all of it sheer loss, except that there was a saving of the getting in of the goods represented by that £120,000,000. Let us suppose that the expense of getting in his agricultural crops is on the average one-sixth, then the farmer, in losing 120 millions, has saved 20 millions which he would have had to expend in getting in the goods. The net loss, therefore, is 100 millions. Gentlemen, what we show is this—that while it is an extravagant statement to say that the country was 24 millions poorer on account of the contraction of its foreign trade, it is no extravagant statement to say that it was 100 millions poorer on account of the remarkable series of deficient harvests. Therefore, the principal seat of this depression is not to be looked for in the pressure of foreign tariffs, though that is a very serious subject, but it is to be looked for in bad harvests. We may reasonably hope that we are not to experience a perpetual series of such

harvests. The present harvest is one difficult to judge of. I have made the best inquiries in my power, and I believe it is distinguished from other harvests by its inequality. The returns in certain cases are admirable; in other cases they are very different. Some important crops, from the failure of which we have greatly suffered of late years, and particularly potatoes, are, at all events in our neighbourhood, abundant and healthy almost beyond precedent. Two or three nights ago a potato was dug up in a cottage garden which weighed 1lb. 5oz., and the root was in perfect condition. Any one who is accustomed to these things will know what sort of a season it is if this is generally the case. On that I do not dwell. It is only safe to assume that no adverse decree of Providence has gone forth against the harvests of this country, and that we shall have an average of fruitfulness in future years, which will restore the home market—the greatest by far of the markets we deal with. But, gentlemen, in reference to this subject of the depression of trade, an attempt is made to raise a great and most mischievous delusion. An institution has been formed in the imposing name of the National Fair Trade League. What in the world, you will ask, does that mean? Well, gentlemen, I must say it bears a suspicious likeness to our old friend protection. Protection was dead and buried 30 years ago, but he has come out of the grave and is walking in the broad light of day, but after the long experience of the atmosphere underground, he endeavours to look somewhat more attractive than he used to appear before he acquired it, and in consequence he found it convenient to assume a new name. If you were to meet him and say, ‘Oh, Mr. Protection, how do you do?’ he would answer, ‘I beg your pardon, I am Mr. Fair Trade; I know nothing of Protection.’ A quarter of a century of the legislative life of this country was occupied in the solution of this great economical problem from 1837 or 1838

when the great battle was gallantly taking place in the House of Commons, and when the Anti-Corn Law League was formed down to 1851, which was signalised by the most difficult operation, the repeal of the Paper Tax. The whole twenty-five years were one succession of conflicts which had for their whole aim the solution of this great problem. It was nearly a generation of the life of the nation that we gave to it, and almost everything else was cast aside in the legislation of those years, and you will find that little was done except this one memorable, conspicuous, and, I may almost say, incomparable triumph; for a triumph more beneficent, either materially or morally, to the interests of men I believe never was attained by public virtue or public intelligence. But now we are told that free trade is an admitted failure, and I want to know what the Tory party are going to do in this matter. I mean, as far as it depends upon me, to drive home that question. The leader of the Tory party in the House of Commons has been making several speeches to the country, and at one he held the language of the Fair Trade League. He said he was a free trader, and was in favour of universal free trade. He went on to another place and spoke a column of a newspaper on the fact, and I defy any man to make out his meaning. This is a serious fact, for one of his followers, one of his Privy Councillors, one of his colleagues has won his seat in Lincolnshire by telling the farmers that he is in favour of a 5s. duty on corn. I hold the words of that speech in my hand. Mr. Lowther has announced a 5s. duty on corn. Sir Stafford Northcote is speaking to other men, and cannot tell us whether he is for the 5s. duty on corn or not. I say we have a right to know. I say it is necessary for his character, and for the character of the party, that we should be told. In my own opinion, it is a painful and humiliating position that we should have to open this question at all. It is quite true that several foreign countries within the last few years have been aggravating their tariffs. Shall

I tell you why? It is because they have had national fair trade leagues among them. They have been doing everything which a lot of people here want us to do; and they, not having the same amount of economical education which we have had, and not having gone through those tremendous conflicts to solve the great questions which we have gone through, have been more acted upon than I hope you will be; and I hope this epidemic mania will pass away. . . . We are agreed that it is a mischief, and we want them to untax our goods. There are two specifics. Our specific has shown our consistency and the sincerity of our conviction by adhering to the system which has enormously increased the wealth and trade of the country, has hardly added less to its power and in other respects to the consolidation of its institutions and to its moral advancement. Hold steadily by it, as from your experience you know it is the truth. Rely upon it, the truth will make its way. This is one specific. The other is what I have spoken of—that of taxing all foreign manufactures and the imposition of a 5s. duty upon corn. Well, that is a bad and delusive thing; but I will tell you, bad and delusive as it is, it is better then paltering with the question; it is better than standing first upon the right leg and then upon the left, and not knowing upon which leg you are standing. It is far better than winking with one eye at the towns and with the other at the counties. But, whatever is to be done, that is not the way in which we can get foreign countries to untax our manufactures. Let us remember that most certainly, if there is one way shorter than another into the path of mischief, it is to exhibit to foreign countries a course of feeble double-mindedness that does not know its own intention, that would speak without intelligence as to matters involving the vital interests of the country and the welfare of its people. Gentlemen, I have done. I have detained you too long. I may have to say something upon the drier facts of this question

to a smaller audience to-morrow. I have assumed that all in this hall are convinced men—convinced that free trade is not only not a failure, but that it has been successful beyond all our expectations. I will endeavour to give some proof of this by-and-by. What I now say is this—that the thought that this question can be disposed of by merely taxing foreign manufactures is a thing to my mind perfectly ludicrous. At any rate, this is a subject on which people ought to have an opinion. We have an opinion on all questions touching our personal and national existence. This is a question that vitally touches our national existence. British citizens are accustomed to a free and open political atmosphere. They should know their own minds in reference to it. It certainly is a subject upon which those who lead British citizens should above all others know their own minds. I have told you, and I hope I have told you intelligibly, what my mind is. I will be no party to unsettling at its top or its bottom one single stone of the noble structure which was reared by the combined efforts of many able men, and most of all by the efforts of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, for which many of us have laboured, for which some of us have suffered, but by which the land has prospered, and to which the people of the country have given their solemn and final adhesion."

In the evening a banquet was given in the extemporised hall in the Old Cloth-yard, at which some 1,400 guests sat down. A large gallery, opposite the raised platform on which the principal guests were seated, had been erected for the accommodation of visitors, principally ladies, of whom there was a large concourse, so that the total number of persons present cannot have been much less than 2,000. The walls were gracefully draped with flags and festoons, and adorned with a series of excellent photographs. The banqueting-room and its approaches were admirably lighted with the electric light and gas-lamp burners. When the company had assembled, the chairman, Mr. Kitson, announced

that Mr. Gladstone was fatigued by his exertions of the morning, when he had made a much longer speech than he had intended. The Prime Minister arrived at twenty-five minutes to eight o'clock, and was greeted with indescribable enthusiasm.

Mr. Gladstone replied to the toast of his health in a lengthy speech, which was devoted to the consideration of Irish affairs. He expressed confidence in the effect of the Land Act, and condemned Mr. Parnell's agitation. Government relied on the good sense of the Irish people, "and," said Mr. Gladstone in conclusion, "we are determined that no force, and no fear of force, and no fear of ruin through force, shall, so far as we are concerned, and as it is in our power to decide the question, prevent the Irish people from having the full and free benefit of the Land Act. And if, when we have that short, further experience to which I have referred, if it should then appear that there is still to be fought the final conflict in Ireland between law on the one side and sheer lawlessness upon the other; if the law, purged from defect, and from any taint of injustice, is still to be refused, and the first condition of political society to remain unfulfilled, then, I say, gentlemen, without hesitation, that the resources of civilisation are not yet exhausted. I shall recognise in full, when facts are ripe—and their ripeness is approaching—the duty and the responsibility of the Government. I call upon all orders and degrees of men in these two kingdoms—in these three kingdoms—to support the Government in the discharge of the duty, and in acquitting itself of the responsibility, and I, for one, in that state of facts, relying upon my fellow countrymen in these three nations associated together, have not a doubt of the result."

At the close of the banquet a procession of torch-bearers had been organised to conduct the Premier to Spring Bank, the residence of his host. By eight o'clock, although a light rain was falling, the streets were crowded with people anxious to secure good positions. The little army of torch-

bearers also began to assemble soon after. Each of the sixteen wards into which Leeds is divided, contributed its quota to the grand total of over 2,300 men who had volunteered for the duty. These assembled in the neighbourhood of the Town Hall, coming in by companies from all quarters of the town. After some amount of marching to and fro, and galloping about of the captains, who were on horseback, the men were placed in lines on each side of the barricaded road, and they covered the distance from the General Post Office to almost a mile beyond. The time at which it was generally understood the proceedings at the banquet would be over, was nine o'clock, but it was close upon half-past ten before Mr. Gladstone quitted the Cloth Hall. Tremendous cheers greeted the Prime Minister, who, despite the inclement night, occupied an open carriage, and acknowledged the overpowering greeting with his usual courtesy. The carriage in which he sat went slowly through the streets, preceded by a band. As soon as the carriage containing Mr. Gladstone entered the long vista of lighted torches, the first files of the torch-bearing army turned in and formed four deep behind the carriage, until the whole of the 2,300 were ranged in the rear. Dense crowds lined every street through which the procession passed. Whenever a more than usually long street or slight ascent enabled the procession to be seen, the sight was magnificent, as the closeness of the torch-bearers almost made the lights look like a broad ribbon of fire. The grassy slope of Woodhouse Moor was covered with at least 30,000 people, and it was there that the brilliant cortège could be seen to the best advantage. The streets in front of the Royal Exchange and the Cloth Hall were brilliantly illuminated by the electric light and by huge gas-jets, whilst red and green lights illumined the horizon at short intervals.

On Saturday Mr. Gladstone delivered three speeches at Leeds. The first was in reply to an address from the Chamber of

Commerce, and dealt exclusively with the question of free trade, which he held to have been an advantage to this country not only commercially, but morally and socially. In consequence of its influence, we suffered less than we should do during periods of depression; and, while the general wealth of the country and the wages of the working classes had enormously increased under free trade, pauperism had diminished, and so had crime.

The second address was at a luncheon of the Liberal Association, and was of no political importance.

The third address was given at a mass meeting, at which some 20,000 people were present. In this last address the Premier dealt mainly with Egypt and the Transvaal, declaring, in reference to the former, that Government had hitherto worked in concert with France, and intended to continue so doing. The *Times*, in a leader noticing Mr. Gladstone's remarks on the Eastern policy of England, said:—

"Mr. Gladstone's third address on Saturday was delivered to such an audience as few men can command. He spoke to 20,000 eager listeners in the temporary hall called after him, and here the Prime Minister took up the threads of foreign policy one by one. So far as he was not polemical he left an excellent impression. Time has mellowed, but not eradicated the bitterness of Mr. Gladstone when in opposition against the foreign policy of the late Government. Nevertheless, part of Mr. Gladstone's congratulatory retrospect consisted unavoidably in a review of some benefits at least which have been realised as a result of Lord Beaconsfield's policy. The enlargement of the boundaries of Montenegro and Greece was, of course, practically enforced by the steady pressure brought to bear upon Turkey by the present Cabinet; but we must not deny the credit due to the Government which had so large a share in the Berlin settlement. For some time, it may be hoped, the questions arising out of the Berlin Treaty will cease to be more than the playthings of

diplomats. Not only our policy in Eastern Europe is fixed, but its results have an appearance of finality. In and on the borders of Afghanistan our policy, for good or for ill, is equally settled, though we have yet to judge it by its fruits. Every one will agree with Mr. Gladstone that it would have been well if Afghanistan could have been brought over by affection rather than by arms. But, if this old controversy is to be revived, it is only fair to recall the circumstances of the time, the repulse of our advances by Shere Ali, the Russian intrigues at Cabul, of which Lord Beaconsfield's Government became aware, and the general belief of the British Parliament—a belief by no means confined to the political party then dominant there—that we could not stand quietly by and allow Russia to establish, as then seemed probable, a paramount influence in Afghanistan. The policy of the late Ministry in that country has been judged, not very justly, by events, as hereafter that of Mr. Gladstone may be. But, leaving the dead past to bury its dead, the present policy of Mr. Gladstone has received the approval of the majority of the nation, who, with the Russian hand removed from Cabul, are well content to leave Afghan factions to fight or to unite; while the preferences of the Afghans, now probably as ever, lean towards the Powers whom, at the moment, they fear the least. As to Egypt, Mr. Gladstone was reserved, and he could not well be otherwise. He tells us that the Government will endeavour to act in strict concert with the allied and friendly Government of France; and will aim at preventing the growth of any difficulties between Egypt and the Sultan; and will not, except 'under some unforeseen necessity, seek to extend the limits of our interference.' As a responsible statesman, Mr. Gladstone could not be expected to declare beforehand how the Government will act in the event of certain contingencies. But these very contingencies are now being canvassed by the diplomatic world, and if they come to pass, the 'necessity' they bring in their train must not be

described as 'unforeseen.' It may be that the Egyptian army, after experiencing its own power, will acquiesce in retirement; it is quite as probable that the army will again march upon Cairo, and demand the abolition of the Anglo-French Control. The visit of the Turkish Commissioners does not seem to be the forerunner of an attempt of the Porte to assert a dominant authority over the Khedive and his Council. A more natural interpretation would ascribe the mission to a harmless resolve on the part of the Sultan, as suzerain of Egypt, not to be ignored in the Egyptian crisis. We trust that the expression 'unforeseen necessity' does not mean that the Government has not already decided upon a clear line of action in the event of any attempt by the Egyptian army, under instigation from any quarter, to sweep away the joint control which has done so much to promote the well-being of Egypt. Such an emergency would arise suddenly; but, after the reports which have from time to time reached us from Cairo, it cannot be said that it would come upon us without warning."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to remark upon the policy of the past and present Government in South Africa, and said:—

"But I must now pass to the affairs of South Africa, and there, gentlemen, when we acceded to power, what did we find? We found that a bloody war with the Zulu nation was just concluded, with heavy charge, and with great effusion of blood to ourselves, with the painful recollection, I am sorry to say, as far as our convictions are concerned, that that war was a causeless war, and, being a causeless war, left upon us, as is left upon all who make causeless wars, the trace and the stain of blood-guiltiness. We found another war proceeding between a native race, the Basutos, and the Government of the Cape. We found a greater difficulty still—for that Basuto war has, happily, been brought to a close—we found a greater difficulty still in the condition of things that had been established by the late Government in the terri-

tory known as the Transvaal. A free population, of a race not less tenacious than our own, of abundant courage and resolution, united in a form of republican government, had by this gratuitous interference of the British Government been annexed, as it was called, to the British Empire. This, gentlemen, was to us a source of great difficulty. The assurances sent to us from every official quarter in South Africa, were that since the annexation had taken place the Dutch population were rapidly becoming reconciled to it, and that when they knew it would be maintained, and that they would be fairly treated under it, all difficulties would disappear. It was impossible for us, gentlemen, to ascertain in a day the real state of things. It was our duty to avoid, whenever we could avoid it, the disturbance of the great acts of policy performed by our predecessors; but, as you know, the Dutch population almost unanimously rose in arms to vindicate its freedom and its independence, and when that had taken place we said we were willing to proceed with them in peaceful modes, but that we could not allow the affairs of that or any country, for which we had become responsible, to be settled by the action of mere force. The leaders of the Dutch replied that they were willing—so confident were they of the goodness of their cause—that a Commission should be appointed by the Crown to inquire into the facts, and they expressed the utmost confidence that the Boers, as they are called, would abide by the result of the deliberations of that Commission. We thought that a reasonable offer. In the meantime, unfortunately, military operations had been attempted with insufficient means, and blood had been shed without the attainment of success. There were those who said that we ought to have avenged what was the consequence of our own miscalculations upon the Boers before proceeding to negotiate with them. Such was not our conviction. We thought that to act upon such a course would be to act under the principles of a shame both false and

cowardly. We had provided ample military means for vindicating the authority of the Crown, and having provided that sufficient force we determined at once to enter, on the invitation of the Boers, on friendly relations. Well, gentlemen, you are aware that very able men—able commanders and able negotiators—on the part of the Boers concurred with our Commissioners in confirming a convention. Under that convention, we felt it our duty to take the best securities for the welfare of those native tribes, counted by hundreds of thousands, who inhabit the Transvaal, and towards whom we could not forget the responsibilities we had assumed. We provided that power should be retained for that purpose. We provided that the Crown should retain prerogatives, under the name of suzerainty, for the purpose of preventing the introduction of foreign embarrassments into South Africa; and we consented freely that, subject to certain minor conditions in relation to money, with which I need not trouble you, the Boers of the Transvaal should in all other respects enjoy perfect self-government and practical freedom and independence. Well, gentlemen, we had the assurance of those who had led the Boers to military success, of those who were the trusted agents or the guardianship of their civil interests, that the representative assembly which is called the Volksraad would agree to those conditions. The Volksraad has met. It has debated the conditions. Objections have been raised, though no motion adverse to the convention has been made; but down to the present moment its ratification has not taken place, and requests have been made to us to re-open the consideration of subjects which we believed had been closed. Gentlemen, I must now speak to you in few, but, I trust, clear words. There may, in that convention, be points capable of amendment. There may be matters of detail and of trifling importance, and of those I do not speak. It may, when we can gain the light of experience, be found that in one point or another amended provisions may

be made. But it is only from experience that such lights can be obtained. We have great duties to perform. We made large concessions. You know we have been censured and vituperated for those concessions. You know, or can perhaps understand, with how little cause it was that we have been assailed in Parliament on account of the liberal terms which we granted to the Boers. You may now, perhaps, better understand that what we attempted was to do equal justice, and in attempting to grant that justice to the Dutch population which we thought our predecessors had withheld,

over-indulgence which, as was said, we extended to the Boers of the Transvaal, so in what may yet remain to be done, we shall recollect, and faithfully maintain, the interests of the numerous and extended native populations, and we shall be not less faithful to the dignity of this great Empire in the conduct of all our proceedings."

After some reference to colonial and home policy, Mr. Gladstone concluded :—

"And so I say that, while we are opposed to Imperialism, we are devoted to the Empire, and we who are now in government as your agents will do the best and



THOMAS HUGHES.

we never for a moment forgot what was due to other considerations, to the rights of the native tribes, and to the general peace of South Africa. And those men are mistaken, if such there be, who judge that our liberal concessions were the effect of weakness or timidity, and who think, because we granted much, it was only to encourage them to ask for more. I know not what is to happen. I hope the convention may shortly be ratified. But this I can tell you, that as we have not been afraid of reproach at home, as we have not been afraid of calumny in the colonies, on account of the

utmost and latest of our power—while studying peace with all the world, while endeavouring to persuade men into the observance of the laws of justice and equality—never forget what is due to the dignity of the throne of Queen Victoria, and neither in east nor west, neither in north nor south, shall it be said truly of us that the concessions which we make are concessions wrung from fear, or shall there be a doubt of our determination to the best of our ability to maintain the laws at home and the dignity of the Empire throughout the world."

A special train was provided for the conveyance of Mr. Gladstone and his party by the Midland Railway, and was drawn up at the Leeds Station about half-past eight on Saturday evening. A large crowd had assembled in the station to bid farewell to the Prime Minister, who arrived a few minutes past nine o'clock, and was greeted with loud cheers. If any expectations of a speech had been formed, they were disappointed; for the Prime Minister, on taking his place in the carriage, simply said, "Good-bye; God bless you." Mr. Gladstone spent Saturday night and Sun-

And pointed by his presence, whose great deeds
Inwrought in England's history we trace;
Shines like a guiding star, from the high place
Where TRUTH, with clear-eyed Duty sits en-
shrined,
In royal dignity and queenly grace,
Sole rightful Mistress of the human mind.
Through all the toils and dangers of his way,
Fierce faction hate, and rancorous party strife,
Thank God, that England's foremost Son doth
lay
Upon that shrine the homage of a life
Pure in its motive, lofty in its aim,
And TRUTH for aye will guard our GLAD-
STONE'S name

October 12, 1881.

E. B. P.



SIR H. JAMES.

day at Hoar Cross, near Burton-on-Trent, the seat of Mrs. Meynell Ingram.

One of the poems written on the occasion was the following:—

"HE REVERENCED HIS CONSCIENCE AS
HIS KING."

[On the occasion of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Leeds, the above motto, adapted from Tennyson, glittered, in jets of light, on the wall of the Banqueting Hall.]

THY thought, O poet, writ in light at Leeds,
Thence flashed to all the English-speaking race,

It was not all eulogy, however, that Mr. Gladstone had to meet with in the recess. Thus, for instance, did Miss Anna Parnell address him:—

"Tear up the parchment lie!
You, Gladstone, sunk supine to quivering slush;
You, Forster, with the seal of Cain in breast
and eye;
You, Bright, whose lapping tongue can gloss
and gush;
You puppet brood, the lesser Legislative fry;
A people's might your bungled work shall
crush,

A people's wrath your grinning cozenage defy.
 We will not yield, we will not starve, we will
 not fly !
 Tear up the parchment lie !
 'Tis time we'll neither crouch nor die ! "

If in the "we" who will not fly Miss Anna Parnell includes those leaders of her party who have judiciously retired to Paris, to be out of harm's way, we cannot congratulate her upon her prophetic gifts.

In other quarters there was a little comment, more or less unfriendly, in describing Mr. Gladstone's personal appearance at the Guildhall. The *Radical* tells us "Mr. Gladstone in the Windsor uniform at the Guildhall looked like a superb but ancient flunkey. He wore the epaulets of an admiral and the sword of a soldier. This looked brave, but his speech took all the valour out of his making up."

Whitehall, in its usual bitter feebleness, said :—

"When Gladstone at the festive board
 His long discourse began,
 Some thought he must let slip a word
 Of policy or plan.

They little knew the people's Will,
 For when his speech was o'er,
 Not one of those who listened still
 Was wiser than before."

Yorkshire and its Liberals always seemed welcome to Mr. Gladstone. For instance, in the course of the summer, we read :—

"Yesterday the members and friends of the Liberal Association of Batley, near Leeds, to the number of about 800, visited Harwarden, and spent the day in the neighbourhood of the village and castle. In the afternoon Mr. Gladstone drove by the main entrance through the park in a pony carriage, being accompanied by Mrs. Gladstone. Directly he was recognised he was received with tremendous enthusiasm by the visitors, who crowded round the carriage and prevented its progress, cheering lustily in the meantime. The Premier, who looked exceedingly well, got out of the carriage, but the enthusiastic Yorkshiremen crowded so closely and roughly upon

him for the honour of shaking hands, that Mr. Gladstone was obliged, with Mr. W. H. Gladstone, M.P., who was present, to seek refuge within the gateway. The right hon. gentleman was evidently agitated, and said he was afraid he was too confused to address the gathering. Advancing in the carriage a moment later, however, he was addressed by Mr. Thomas Taylor, J.P., who, on behalf of the visitors, said he wished to be allowed to thank the right hon. gentleman for kindly allowing them to visit his castle and park. He was sure they had enjoyed their visit that day, and in meeting the right hon. gentleman they could not fully express the hearty feeling which they, as Yorkshiremen, entertained towards him. He did not wish to detain him any longer, but he proposed that they give their best and hearty thanks for according them permission to visit his grounds, and for receiving them so generously. They desired to accompany with that their hearty wishes that the right hon. gentleman and his wife might have long enjoyment of those blessings which both so richly deserved. Mr. Gladstone said :—I wish, gentlemen, simply to thank you for the great kindness of the words which have been addressed to me in your name, and which I believe express your sentiment. I have been obliged, from reasons of public utility, to make it a rule that no more addresses should be made by me in this park. But that does not in the slightest degree, I assure you, diminish the pleasure with which my wife, and my son and I, and all the family, see you gathered here to-day. If it be a matter of enjoyment to you to come here, I assure you it heightens our enjoyment of whatever attraction this place may have to think that they are shared by many of our friends. I am the less pained at feeling it necessary to avoid addressing you on any general subject to-day, as I expect to have the opportunity of meeting many of you within the next three weeks—under circumstances when I shall not be placed under any such limitation. I rejoice, gentlemen, that the weather, which in this climate we cannot all

depend upon, has been so kind to you on this occasion, and I heartily wish that the remainder of your short visit may pass agreeably, and that you may have a safe and pleasant journey to your homes. I wish you heartily, gentlemen, farewell. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded on his drive."

It seems, however, the exertions of speech-making in no way interfered with Mr. Gladstone's general health. The *World* stated at the time, "The Prime Minister was never better than he is now, never fuller of life and spirits; he sleeps magnificently, he comes down to breakfast at nine-thirty, looking the picture of freshness; he talks with the utmost animation during the whole of the meal and for some time after; then he goes to his work, which he does without secretary or amanuensis. After lunch, he takes a long walk, talking all the time. After five o'clock tea he sets to work again till post time, a quarter past seven. Then he joins the party in the drawing-room till it is time to dress for the eight o'clock dinner. His appetite is excellent, and he converses with unflinching vivacity on all sorts of subjects; both at dinner and through the evening all his movements are those of a much younger man. There is nothing about him in the least depressed or careworn. The truth is, that, though excitable, Mr. Gladstone has always been buoyant. He is as buoyant now as ever he was, and it is certain that nothing but death will divorce him from his work." The above paragraph is, we dare say, reliable; at any rate, as much so as paragraphs of the class generally are. But in one thing it is certainly incorrect—and that is, the assertion that Mr. Gladstone does his work without the assistance of an amanuensis or secretary; not a day passed at the time the above paragraph was written, but in some newspaper or other, in London or the provinces, there appeared a letter, intimating Mr. Gladstone's thoughts or wishes, and signed by the secretary or amanuensis for the time being. At that very moment a letter was published from the gentleman in question.

A paragraph had gone the round of the Press intimating that not only was Mr. Gladstone about to leave the House of Commons and resign the Premiership, but that he was to be called to the House of Lords by the title of the Earl of Liverpool. The paragraph was absurd on the face of it. The title of the Earl of Liverpool was one certain to be distasteful to Mr. Gladstone. There had been an Earl of Liverpool. There had been a Ministry under his direction. History has little to say that is favourable either of the Earl of Liverpool or of the Ministry of which he was the head. It was illiberal in the last degree. We may be sure that, if Mr. Gladstone were to be raised to the Peerage, he would never take the title of the Earl of Liverpool. It could only have been suggested by the shallowest of gossipers, in consequence of the fact—known to the most superficial—that Mr. Gladstone's father was a Liverpool merchant, and that he was born in Liverpool.

About this time it was remarked in some of the journals that a new terror was added to public life in England by the systematic putting to the question of any statesman who may chance to be the subject of a passing rumour. A newspaper desirous of creating a sensation, or of assuming the possession of special topics of information, puts forth, with much circumstance, a statement personal to some public man, and thereupon some busybody in town or country writes to the subject of the rumour to know whether it be true or the reverse. In old England such a thing was an impossibility. A public man could afford to treat an impertinent and unwarranted inquiry with justifiable contempt. In our more democratic days—when it is necessary to be all things to all men in order to win some—such a course is quite out of question. Mr. Gladstone is naturally the chief sufferer by this attempt to question, and scarcely a day passes that he is not subject to the process described. One day it is announced that he is about to retire from public life, and straightway the tele-

graph is put in action to break in upon his privacy at Hawarden Castle, with breathless questioning, as to what Lord Salisbury would call the authenticity of the statement. The next day, another journal is able to announce the very title he will take on being raised to the peerage—although here, as is not unfrequently the case with similar news, this is merely a rumour a year old, vamped up to do special duty. Nevertheless, the inevitable inquiry is addressed to Mr. Gladstone, and he courteously replies that there is no truth in the statement to which his attention is called. It is certain that these contradictions which come to light point to but a small proportion of the correspondence that is directed to whatever abode may for the time shelter Mr. Gladstone. Possibly, in the latest instance, the happy thought of entering into direct correspondence with a public man occurred simultaneously to many persons, though only one was addressed; the situation, it was remarked, was a painful one, and its gravity is increased with the difficulty of seeing any way out of it. These silly statements as to the intentions of the Prime Minister are certain, from time to time, to find their way into print. Silly people will believe them, and some, still sillier, will have the impudence to write to the Prime Minister on the subject, and trouble him for a reply—which, alas, he seems never to have had the heart to refuse. A great Prime Minister, like Mr. Gladstone, should assuredly be made of sterner stuff.

One thing was clear in the session of 1881, that is, that the example of Mr. Gladstone, in one respect, was being actively imitated by his political opponents. If emulation is the sincerest form of flattery Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues may, as the *Daily News* remarked in the November of 1881, watch with some satisfaction the extraordinary efforts made by the leaders of the Opposition to gain the ear of the country. We used to hear a great deal in Conservative quarters of the foolish iniquity of this kind of thing when it was done by Liberals. It was then

called being on the stump, and Mr. Gladstone, as displaying the most energy, and being attended by the greatest crowds, was selected for special reproof. After the general election, the matter seemed to assume another aspect. The Conservatives began to think that "the stumping for the provinces," which they had denounced, might have had something to do with their surprising downfall. Now that the Liberals are in power, it occurs to the Opposition chiefs that by doing what Mr. Gladstone did, when he was in opposition, they may bring about results akin to those they contributed to his campaign. Regarding the process as a kind of incantation, they spread themselves all over the country and make ardent speeches. They blow the trumpet, and walking round about the fenced city expected to see it fall. That their endeavours were not followed by similar results is explicable on similar grounds. When Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues went out on the war-path, they had with them a good cause, which the English people, listening to their facts and arguments with growing enthusiasm, made their own. They had to expose and oppose a policy of bluster abroad and inaction at home. In the autumnal campaign of 1881 the leaders of the Opposition had no such advantage. The nation was entering on a new era of peace and prosperity. The policy of the Government, deliberately settled upon and firmly carried out, was prospering both at home and abroad. There were no conspicuous blunders, nor unforeseen accidents to deplore. The consequence was, that when the most formidable orators on the attacking side found themselves face to face with the public whom they have invited to the judgment seat, they have nothing weightier to offer than criticisms like those of Mr. Gibson at Whitehaven, or angry and absurd suggestions like that of Lord Salisbury at Bristol, that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell should exchange temporary residences. Some of these utterances we record here. Lord Salisbury at Bristol taunted the Government

with imprisoning two hundred of their political opponents. "The Irish people see," said the noble Lord, "that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell have both been occupied for some time past in recommending the conveyance or the subtraction of a certain portion of the property of Irish landlords to somebody else. Mr. Gladstone advocated a smaller fraction, say about 25 per cent., and Mr. Parnell a larger fraction, something about 75. That of itself hardly seems to be sufficient ground for a difference so startling as a residence in Downing-street and a residence in Kilmainham. But they still further see that the leaders of Irish disaffection a year ago recommended and impressed upon their people precisely the same principle as now. They now say, 'Hold your rents.' They then urged the people to resist the British authority, and to strive for disseveration from the British Government, and the only point of difference which has appeared—I mean to say superficially and obviously—I mean to say those who judge without a knowledge of those who rule is that, just at the last moment, Mr. Parnell did commit the unpardonable folly of giving an unanswerable reply to Mr. Gladstone's speech." In a similar strain Lord Salisbury observed:—"The Liberals of the past were free in their attacks upon the property of corporations, and on that point we met them constantly. We remonstrated with them earnestly, and thought that they went too far. There was not, undoubtedly, that deep severance of opinion which exists at the present day. But we warned them that one of the results of their system of dealing with the property of corporations—which we did our utmost, and sometimes with success, to modify—would be that the principles which they established in regard to the property of corporations would assuredly, in due time, extend to private property as well. Mr. Gladstone has turned that prophecy into reality. It is the peculiar characteristic and glory of his reign that he has made the Liberal party an engine for attacking private property." Again said his Lord-

ship, "This is what the Government have done. They induced men, under the Encumbered Estates Act, to come in and purchase property, not wealthy men, whom it may be thought permissible to hunt down, but poor men—men who were investing the savings of a lifetime, and the accumulation of a long and painful industry—they induced them not only by an Act of Parliament, but by the decrees and confirmation of their own courts, to come in and buy property—aye, and to raise rents to the highest competitive value, and, having offered those inducements to those struggling men, who often have to raise two-thirds of the value of their property on mortgage in order to buy a property for investment, they now come down with an arbitrary act, and by principles of legislation, which no man ever heard of before, have alienated that property to others, and have refused compensation. How idle is it for them, with such a crime upon their legislation, to reproach Mr. Parnell with having preached rapine to the people of Ireland. . . . We have reached this pass, that no property is safe unless those who hold it have the political strength to maintain against all comers, and, most of all, against all legislative comers, the property which they own. Well, gentlemen, these considerations make us look with some anxiety to the future. We are very anxious to know what our rulers are going to do; and, unfortunately, the Ministerial trumpet, though blown upon very loudly, gives an uncertain sound." His Lordship concluded by reminding his hearers that every seat they won at bye-elections decreased the power of Mr. Gladstone to do harm.

Sir Stafford Northcote, whenever he appeared upon the scene, was less virulent, and contented himself chiefly with beseeching his party to organise and hold on. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach mildly discussed the principles of local taxation. Mr. Edward Clarke, M.P., speaking at Wolverhampton, delivered himself chiefly of remarks relative to the proposed alterations of the

rules of the House of Commons. He declared that the legislative machinery of the House had, to some extent, broken down, and it was in danger of becoming a purely executive, rather than a legislative body. Sir R. Cross, speaking at a Conservative meeting at Warrington, was equally tame. He pointed out that although there had been an improvement in trade recently, people had not got all they wanted from the change of Government, nor had the present Ministry been able to do much in the way of home legislation. As regarded dealing with obstruction and reforming the rules of the House, he promised the Government Conservative support, as also in maintaining law and order in Ireland; but as regarded their Irish policy, the Ministry must expect, at the proper time, sharp criticism.

Lord Randolph Churchill, the most violent of the Opposition either in the House or out, as usual attacked the Government in the vacation. But instead of reprinting his lordship's nonsense, we reprint the following from *Punch*, on the report that many Conservatives are said to look upon Lord Randolph Churchill as the coming man of the Conservative Party:—

Ring out, fools' bells, to limbo's dome,
Which copes the new Tory clique !
The man is coming whom they seek,
Ring out, fools' bells, and let him coo.

Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring, jangling bells, a Bedlam chime ;
'Tis the true *Simon Pure* this time ;
Ring in the chief of goatdom's crew !

Ring out the sound and sober mind,
Profoundly versed in statesman lore ;
Ring in the prattler pert and poor,
The ribald railer hot and blind.

Ring out the Attic wit that wins,
Even where it wounds, to suit the times ;
Ring in the mirth of midget mimes
That, born in rancour, dies in grins.

Ring out old pride in race and blood,
That kept the fierce old fighters tight ;
Ring in crude slander and small spite,
The urchin love of flinging mud.

Ring out the gentleman ! Ring in
The narrow heart, the wordy brand,
Ring out the brave, the wise, the grand ;
Ring in the coming mannikin !

One type of discussion raised by the Conservatives in the vacation, was that of Fair Trade. The seasons had been bad, and the farmers had suffered much, and it was insinuated in some quarters Free Trade had been disastrous in its effects. But to attack Free Trade openly was quite out of the question. No man had the hardihood to assert that it would be desirable to tax the food of the people. Such a proposal would have met with instantaneous refusal in all the cities of the Empire, and by the working men all over the land, but under the plausible cry of Fair Trade to bring in the thin edge of Protection, was quite another, and at any rate some of the Conservatives were quite ready for an attempt of that kind, and the cry was raised apparently, however, with but little result.

In acknowledging the receipt of a resolution of the Blackford Conservative Association, Sir Stafford Northcote wrote:—"I am very grateful for this expression of confidence contained in the resolution which you forward. It affords another, among the many proofs I daily receive, that the Conservatives in various parts of the country are preparing themselves for the next struggle in a thoroughly Conservative spirit. I look confidently to their achieving a great success. I do not wonder that your Association selects the Irish policy of the present Government for special censure. While it is our duty, as good citizens, to do our best to strengthen the hands of the executive in maintaining law and order, we cannot forget that the necessity for the measures of repression, now enforced in Ireland, is largely, if not entirely due to the acts and omission of the Ministry itself, or that much of the agitation which now distracts the country is but a development of former ministerial utterances. These things will be remembered when the time comes."

One of the principal meetings of the Opposition was that in Edinburgh, attended by the chiefs of the party. The campaign, there in that stronghold of Liberalism, was conducted by Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, but what little interest attached to their speeches was superseded by the gravity of the Irish news. It was, however, worthy of note that the Conservative leader, while repudiating a corn duty, openly committed himself to the reciprocity doctrine—that is, a war of tariffs. His colleague at Edinburgh, we are sorry to say, emphatically declared against any effectual reform of the proceedings of the House of Commons. Sir Stafford Northcote did not appear to have caused much stir in the Scotch capital. "He came and spoke, and went away," writes a correspondent, "and nobody was a whit the worse or the better for what he said. The Conservative working-man, who had the credit of bringing him, was not very visible to the naked eye, but Sir Stafford had plenty of other auditors, and he discoursed to them in a very kindly and careful way, as if he were very much afraid of trampling upon anybody's corns or toes." "In point of fact," writes the gentleman in question, "he did offend nobody; and still the wonder grows amongst us, how a man so very commonplace has contrived to reach the position which he occupies."

A little aid was given to the Conservatives by a letter of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, at the time of the dissolution of Parliament, criticising the policy of the Government with regard to that country. While endorsing the steps then being taken by the Irish Executive, he blamed it for allowing the agitation to come to such a formidable head, when judicious and repressive action earlier taken might certainly, he thought, have put a stop to it. "I think," he writes, "that the first great mistake the present Government made, was their failing to renew the Peace Preservation Act. The following winter, 1880, proved to them their mistake. The Land League organisation was carried on

by them with increased vigour; every species of terrorism and outrage was revived, and the state of things towards the close of the year was such that it became absolutely necessary for Parliament to be convoked very early in 1881 to pass Coercion Acts. The Government stands condemned for not taking action against the Land League, and they were warned repeatedly during the last session of what the real nature and character of this Land League was; the ultimate results which—it was permitted to continue unchecked—it would produce, and the state of anarchy which would follow. Respecting the origin of the Land League, it had also been pointed out, and I had pointed it out before, that this Land League was simply a new departure from the Fenian movement. On the second reading of the Land Bill, I did not expect that my prediction of the cry against all rent would be so speedily fulfilled. The cry against rent was now of a more revolutionary character than it had formerly been, Mr. Parnell himself had indicated what he meant by fair rent by stating that a fair rent was the rent which the tenant could pay after having discharged all his engagements, and left enough for himself to live upon. That doctrine having been received, it certainly did not take a very long time to reach another stage—the non-payment of any rent whatever, which has been the point to which Mr. Parnell has been tending, in all his speeches; and in his advice given to the Irish tenants he has fitly illustrated it by saying that in his opinion the rents in Ireland should be reduced from seventeen millions to three." "As to the remedies," concludes the Duke, "there can be no further at present than contained in the Act of Parliament already passed. I don't see that anything can be done to the country till order is restored, and I greatly fear that it will be a long time before the people forget the lessons which they have learned during the time that the Land League has been permitted to hold its meetings with its seditious oratory in every part of Ireland."

The appearance of the Conservatives in Scotland led to a counter demonstration on the part of the Liberals, as was to be expected. Sir W. Harcourt was presented with the freedom of the City of Glasgow, and in the evening of the day on which the demonstration took place, addressed a crowded meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, the principal topic of his speech being the recent criticism of the Government by the Conservative leaders, the Home Secretary's comparison of the respective attitudes

Sir William could not make out what those gentlemen wanted, but they had secured a Home Rule vote in Durham, and picked up a Protectionist seat in Lincolnshire, and great allowance must be made for statesmen who had no visible means of political subsistence. According to the Opposition leaders' view, protectionism was only a pious opinion, but he asked whether the leaders of a great party thought they could play fast and loose with great principles in this way, and encourage pernicious



THE UNIVERSITY, EDINBURGH.

of the two Tory chiefs being in his most caustic style. "They reminded him," he said, "of a celebrated simile of Lord Chatham, when he compared two statesmen of his day to the two rivers which join at Lyons—one a dull and classic stream, the other a roaring and turbid torrent. To Sir Stafford Northcote's courtesy, fairness, and dignity, he would bear willing testimony; but Lord Salisbury's mode of warfare reminded him of Lord Beaconsfield's celebrated saying, 'that impertinence was net wit, and insolence was not invective.'"

dōctrines which they dared not avow, and could not defend. Towards the conclusion of a brilliant speech the Home Secretary contended that the repression of the Land League had become a necessity, and he said it was a great comfort, and a great support to the Government, to know that their conduct had been generally approved. They had not entered upon their present course without deep reluctance, or otherwise than under a humiliating sense of duty, but having set their hands to the plough, they could not look back.

In a speech at Liverpool, in connection with the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation, Mr. Chamberlain spoke clearly as to his reluctance to being a party to a policy of repression. The League, said the President of the Board of Trade, under cover of removing a great grievance, had aggravated it in order to use it as a basis for securing national independence, which no British Government could permit. In very forcible terms Mr. Chamberlain described what was the real meaning of the repeal of the union. He said, "I suppose that the first result would be that independence would be the signal for civil war, in which we should be forced to take a side; but if this were avoided, Ireland, independent, must always be jealous and afraid of England. The greater power, the commercial supremacy of the larger country, would always be a subject of alarm and anxiety to the smaller. Ireland would be crushed under the weight of military and naval expenditure which it would have to sustain, in order to secure its separate existence. We should find our burdens enlarged in proportion. The two countries would be a standing menace the one to the other. Sooner or later the condition would be intolerable, and we should have to commence the struggle anew. Ireland would again have to be reconquered, or England to be ruined. I am not prepared to face these contingencies, and, therefore I say, Liberal and Radical as I profess myself to be, I say to Ireland what the Liberals or the Republicans of the North said to the Southern States of America—the union must be preserved. Within these limits there is nothing which you may not ask and hope to obtain: equal laws, equal justice, equal opportunities, and equal prosperity. These shall be freely accorded to you. Your wishes shall be our guide, your prejudices shall be by us respected, your interests shall be our interests, but nature and your position have forged indissoluble links which cannot be sundered without being fraught with consequences of misery and ruin to both our

countries, and which, therefore, we will use all the resources of the Empire to keep intact." The sentiment was received with great cheering, the audience rising at the end. The future, Mr. Chamberlain intimated, was uncertain, but not without hope. The whole spirit of Mr. Chamberlain's speech intimated that he only consented to repressive measures when the League began openly to defy the law, and he protested against insolent exultation at the suppression of an organisation which, rightly directed and kept within legitimate bounds, might have won general sympathy and have helped on the emancipation of the tenant farmers of Ireland.

One of the most rattling speeches on the Conservative side was that of Mr. Gibson, M.P., delivered in the early part of November at Huddersfield, who said that the returns at the municipal elections showed that the Conservatives had won in the ratio of two to one, and were full of hope and promise for the Conservative party. The results of the bye-elections further proved the development of Conservative principles in the country. The first question to be considered on the meeting of Parliament would be to consider the status of Mr. Bradlaugh. Mr. Gladstone believed in allowing him to take the oath, but Parliament was against it, and a large number of independent electors took the same view. It was not a party question, and he did not believe that Parliament would increase the facilities for admitting men like Mr. Bradlaugh into the House. Parliament would have to consider the reform in the rules of the House, and while all parties would be willing to prevent an abuse of the House's powers, they would be opposed to everything which could interfere with the independence of members, or the freedom of speech. He should hesitate to give to any Minister the power not only to bring in Bills, but power to control by rules criticism which could be applied to a Bill, because a Minister had a way of considering that his views were right, and that those who were opposed to him were wrong.

With regard to the question of the Transvaal, he contrasted the statements by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain. The question would grow when it came before Parliament, and it would then be seen whether the ratification of peace was a sham or not. After dealing with expenditure, saying the Liberals had spent more than the Conservatives, he condemned the policy of the Government with regard to the Land Act and Ireland generally, and contended that the Conservatives were not opposed to coercion when it went in the right direction, and that the Peace Preservation Act ought to have been kept in force. It was not sufficient to say that the Government had no time to renew the Act, for in the Queen's Speech the Government had said that they were determined to let the Act lapse. On the same evening at Warrington Sir Richard Cross said something similar. He was forced to believe from the speeches he had read that there was great difference of opinion among her Majesty's Ministers. He regretted that those speeches and documents were not before the country previous to the late general election, because if they had been, a great many people would not have voted as they did, and their opponents would not have succeeded in ousting the Conservatives. Sir Richard Cross concluded by observing he was ready to support the Government in enforcing law and order, and in preserving life and individual liberty. "That was not a party, but an Imperial question. It was a question of life and death. But the Government must be prepared to have their actions properly criticised, and when the right time for that criticism came, as undoubtedly it would, they might expect to be asked some questions which it would be very difficult to answer."

The palm, as regards abuse and vituperation, however, must be cheerfully awarded to Lord Randolph Churchill. At Hull his Lordship said Mr. Gladstone, at Leeds, talked of Mr. Parnell's gospel of plunder, but Mr. Gladstone might rob a church while Mr.

Parnell might not look over a wall. The Compensation for Disturbances Bill, the Coercion Act and the Land Act, were the gospels and epistles of plunder, and Mr. Gladstone was the apostle. Mr. Gladstone had resorted to coercion, not to pacify Ireland, but in a paroxysm of rage, and its effects would be left for years on the Irish mind. Having determined to arrest Mr. Parnell, he went to Leeds to excite against him the passions of the English people. He, Lord Churchill, had not a spark of sympathy for Mr. Parnell, but he had a great affection for the Irish people. They must remember Mr. Parnell was as much the idol of the Irish people as Mr. Gladstone was of English Liberals. Mr. Parnell having been arrested, Mr. Gladstone, within three hours of that arrest, went down to the Guildhall and announced that arrest. Never in English history was such an indecent step taken. That was not enough; but the other day, forgetting the dignity of his office, Mr. Gladstone positively cried like a little child because he had been elected to the freedom of the City of Dublin, and Mr. Parnell had not been elected. He mentioned that to show how purely personal was the feeling of Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Parnell, and that he had not in this action the good of Ireland in view. Lord Beaconsfield slumbered in the churchyard at Hughenden, his memory cherished by the Sovereign and the people of England, but the time was not far distant when Mr. Gladstone's name would never be uttered by patriotic Englishmen without deep and bitter condemnation.

Equally rabid was the Roman Catholic *Universe*. Here is a specimen published in that paper of November:—"The representatives of England have lately displayed such undoubted courage in cringing before a few thousand armed Boers, and incarcerating unarmed Irishmen, that their reputed bravery savours strongly of meanness and cowardice. They tremble so much at the very name of Boers, that we should have thought that they would have treated animals of the same sounding name with the greatest

possible respect. Yet we find a low comic, *Moonshine*, forgetful of the history of the last few weeks, and of that respect due to men whom the cowardice of England's Ministers has ennobled, representing Forster as guarding boars in Kilmainham gaol. Whilst we allow the Chief Secretary all the gratitude which a man, surrounded day and night by bayonets and buckshot, must necessarily possess, still we cannot but think that the man who was in the same Cabinet with the fighting Quaker Bright and Coercion-Bill Gladstone, when they were mauled by the Boers, would tremble like a child before a lion's cage in the Zoo, were he placed as inconveniently near the bars of encaged boars as the comic *Moonshine* represents him in its suicidal caricature. The journalists of England, with a few honourable exceptions, have turned their staff into outrage manufacturers. The serio-comics, who have discovered that money was the soul of wit, are always ready with a keen eye to business to serve to their customers the best marketable commodity now in vogue—hatred and contempt for the Irish race. Both have united together in attacking, with savage hatred and festive malice, a brave nation, who, amid every incitement to violence, are but endeavouring to defend their hearths and homes in a constitutional battle. The wave of bigotry which is at present passing over England will soon die away, but the memory of the men who have stifled freedom in Ireland, and imprisoned its chosen representatives without allowing the privilege the law grants even to swindlers and murderers—free intercourse with their solicitors—will be handed down to the contempt of posterity."

After this, the reader will award the palm of mendacious and unscrupulous abuse to the *Univers*. A poor anonymous writer in an obscure journal actually beats the noble lord. However, these puerile personalities, and not very successful attempts at abuse, are not the kind of weapons by which powerful governments are dislodged. The chief practical importance of the agitation is not in its effect upon the constitu-

encies. "To us," writes the *Daily News*, "it appears that the only serious aspect of the onslaught is the promise it gives of activity in the coming session. The youthful energy of Lord Randolph Churchill, communicating itself to Lord Shaftesbury, has spread through the ranks of his party. They probably do not see any reasonable prospect of checkmating the intentions of the Government, but they are all at least determined that Ministers shall have as much trouble as possible in carrying them out. It is known that Mr. Gladstone will take the first opportunity of introducing his scheme for the reform of parliamentary procedure, and will defy all other attempts at legislation till these proposals, having been carried, the legislative machine itself is put in working order. Three weeks ago we pointed to evidence in a speech of Sir Stafford Northcote of deliberate purpose to oppose this scheme, whatever it might be, and succeeding addresses of other leaders of the party have placed the proofs of this intention beyond doubt. The mistake in tactics of openly proclaiming hostility to a scheme, the details of which are not known, has been only partially covered by subsequent protestations of anxiety for the rights of minorities and reprobation of dealing with such a question in a party spirit. The Tory party has, of course, always shown itself exceedingly careful for the rights of minorities, and hostile to oppression of all kinds. As to the talk about the Ministers and their supporters dealing with the rules of debate in the House of Commons in a party spirit, that is, if the expression be not too strong, sheer nonsense. If it were preordained that for all time henceforward the Liberals were to sit to the right of the Speaker, and the Conservatives to the left, such a suspicion might be reasonable. But, as we have been repeatedly told during the past fortnight, the day of retribution is even now not far distant. The constituencies are to 'find out' Mr. Gladstone, and thereupon to turn him out. With what object would the Ministry in power forge chains for others

when they know that in the regular ebb and flow of popular opinion they may, sooner or later, inevitably have to wear them on their own limbs? Ministers may not hit upon absolutely the best way of coping with the difficulty that has, during the last few years, clogged the business of Parliament. But they do not profess infallibility, and will be only too glad to take counsel with the House of Commons. It is a matter of national regret that in such circumstances the Conservative leaders should have stultified themselves by hotly proclaiming hostility to a proposal which has not yet assumed definite shape.

"In this matter the Opposition will fulfil their natural mission by opposing. There is evidence abroad that in another direction they will initiate a policy, and persistently press it upon the acceptance of the Government. It is easy to read between the lines of all the Conservative speeches recently delivered, from the highly-polished and vitriolic sentences of Lord Salisbury to the able statements of Mr. Gibson, the determination to formulate next Session a demand for compensation to the Irish landlords for injuries alleged to have been sustained by them under the operation of the Land Act. This is, we will admit, considering the general barrenness of opportunity, and of course omitting from present view the question of soundness of

argumentative position, an excellent move in tactics. It is a two-edged sword, hacking at the Irish Land Act, and striking at the apparition of an English Land Act conjured up by excited fancy. If the principle of compensation for the landlords can be established in connection with the Irish Land Act, an important precedent will have been established to mitigate the possible horrors of legislation with respect to English land. Even if by the rejection of their scheme they fail to secure this substantial gain, its mere proposal will serve the purpose of the hour. The great occupation of Conservatives in opposition is to fish for the Whigs, and their brightest hope is to catch them. The proposal to compensate Irish landlords is, rightly or wrongly, counted upon temporarily to draw away from the ministerial ranks some of the men whose defection at particular stages of the Irish Land Bill last Session seemed to imperil the measure. This of itself would be sufficient to recommend to the Conservative party the particular line of policy which they are understood to have adopted for next Session. Both in the House of Lords and the House of Commons the question of compensation for landlords will be mooted, and by supplementing the debates on Parliamentary procedure will go some way towards maintaining the liveliness of the Session."



KLADOWA, ON THE DANUBE.

CHAPTER XLVII.

A MEMORABLE RECESS—TORY ATTACKS—CONTESTED ELECTIONS—
MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS—STRONG FEELING IN FAVOUR
OF MR. GLADSTONE.

N many ways the recess of 1881 was one long to be remembered. A protracted and exhaustive sitting of Parliament, it might have been hoped, would have been succeeded by a recess of unusual quiet. After a

storm in the world of nature, we have every reason to anticipate a calm. In the present instance, however, we had an exception to the general rule. Neither for Ministers in general, nor for Mr. Gladstone in particular; neither for the chiefs of the Opposition, nor ordinary members; neither for Tory or Liberal partisan in the recess of 1881 was there much time for rest. Day by day uttered speech—and night by night showed forth knowledge—not a little to the annoyance of the ordinary newspaper reader, who, in what is called by newspaper editors, the silly season, expects to be entertained with the usual paragraphs respecting the sea-serpent, the mildness of the weather, the enormous gooseberry, and other wonderful phenomena of nature which are sure to appear when Parliament is over, and the enormous columns of our dailies have got to be filled somehow or other. How is this to be accounted for? How is it that the rest which all men need was passionately rejected by all? The answer to this question is that the legislation of Mr. Gladstone as regards Ireland had, in Conservative quarters, produced intense dissatisfaction and vehement anger, and that Ireland itself was torn and riven in reality with all the agony of civil war. Hence we had speeches and meetings, and newspaper articles without stint. The *Morning Post* defended the number, the unprecedented number, of

Tory vacation speeches on the ground that the ordinary elector needed to have even patent facts presented to him many times, and in various lights, before he fully understood their meaning. And if this is so with the individual, much more was it conspicuously the case with agitators of political units. Popular sentiment may be easily aroused, but popular opinion is not so easily changed. As Liberals usually address themselves to the emotional side of the voting community, these electoral triumphs are more easily won than those gained by Conservatives, because the latter seek to gain their end by argument rather than by appeals to sentiment. Argument, however, tells in the long run, and, therefore, the repetition of facts, however familiar they have grown, or of reasons, however trite they may seem, is not altogether to be deprecated, especially in times like these. If the Government are pursuing a reckless and damaging policy, as Conservatives allege, the constituency cannot be told this too often.*

Such was one way of looking at the enormous amount of speech-making which, it must be admitted, characterised the recess,—a speech-making which created many a groan in the hardened man of the world. As he takes up his daily paper, and reads the old, old story, all over again of Ireland, Afghanistan, and South Africa, and our policy in Egypt and Turkey and the East, it was quite impossible that new light could be shed upon such subjects. Yet these were, day after day, and week after week, served up afresh. But the politicians were pleased; the *Morning Post* was not more pleased than the *Daily News*, which regarded such an awakening of

political life with feelings of the greatest satisfaction. As the history of England, it was remarked in that paper, testifies through all its chapters, it is when the people are most in earnest and fullest of life and energy that Liberal principles make the swiftest and most energetically sustained advances. It is not denied in any quarter that an influence largely at work in 1874, to bring the Conservatives into power, was the lassitude which naturally follows upon prolonged expenditure of energy. The task accomplished, the constituencies, with the proverbial freedom from gratitude which is enjoyed in politics, were as anxious as the lotos eater for needful ease, and as steeped in fretful distaste for the toil of ever climbing the climbing wave. In this humour Mr. Disraeli found them, and the natural and not blameable instincts of Toryism readily and cheerfully supplied the need of the moment. That the need was only temporary, was proved by the departure taken in the second session, when, in accordance with an axiom in statesmanship, familiar rather than venerated, attention from affairs at home was diverted by stirring up affairs abroad. The political lassitude of the English nation is a very short-lived phenomenon. Something must be found for its speedy relief, and there is no need at this date to recall the action of the Conservative Government.

The *Daily News* observed:—"From the General Election of last year a remarkable upheaval of political life manifested itself. In one curious particular, it was even inconveniently present with us during the year of 1881. The oldest official could not call to mind any session when the applications, on the part of the public, were more numerous than in the session of 1881. Sometimes even on dull nights the overflow of the Strangers' Gallery would have sufficed to fill the pit of our largest theatres. This new interest on the part of the public found its counterpart in the attendance of members. Every one will remember Mr. Mitchell Henry's plaintive appeal to the Speaker on the question of the working

hat. His keen eye, surveying the limited accommodation of the House, had noticed a singular confluence of hats placed on the benches, in token of the engagement of particular seats. Driven to wander about the lobbies for lack of resting-place within the House, he had met hon. members, duly hatted, whom he subsequently found seated in places which at the moment of his coming in contact with them outside, he knew were retained by the device of covering them with a hat. The inference was obvious, and Mr. Mitchell Henry's solemn indictment of members who had deliberately endowed themselves with two hats with intent to secure a seat in a too-crowded House, led to the famous working hat debate, in which the Speaker bore himself with more than his wonted dignity and decision. Well, all these evidences of exceptional interest in politics reappeared in the recess. The beat of drums and the clang of tongues commenced much earlier than usual. Declining to revisit Midlothian, Mr. Gladstone nevertheless, as we have seen, was foremost in the fray at Leeds, and elsewhere, and as was to be expected, speech-making all over the land was sustained with unwonted vigour. It ought not to have been so we all know. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." The session over, the recess should have been one of rest, recreation, and repose. Alas! alas! it was nothing of the kind.

In the ranks of the Opposition it was really amusing to witness the party of action in the Opposition triumphed over the party of passivity as personified by Sir Stafford Northcote. Very early, in what should have been a period of well-earned repose, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons was himself thrust into the forefront of battle, not altogether without suspicion of kindly intent on the part of nominal friends akin to those with which King David selected the post of honour for Uriah the Hittite. Since then the full force of Opposition deployed in battle array, Lord Salisbury down to Mr. Ashmead Bartlett took the field, and

from Lord Henry Scott up to Sir Richard Cross were all at work. Their task was an easy one—to find fault with everything that had been done or said by Mr. Gladstone or any of the Government. Not content with censuring what Government had done, they went out of their way to censure a scheme of Parliamentary Procedure Reform, at the time not drafted. Of this Mr. Gladstone had no reason to complain. A Ministry must be more than mortal if it can come quite unscathed out of such an ordeal as that to which her Majesty's Ministers were opposed. Yet a careful and impartial reason of the criticism of the recess, it was contended, supplied a triumphant vindication of the policy of the Government. In face of the prosperous issue of our policy in Afghanistan and the East, the later orators of the recess had to centre their vituperation chiefly on ministerial policy on Ireland; and contrary to the general rule, which assumes that the Government for the time being is in possession of fuller information than its adversaries can possibly be, such leaders of the blind as Mr. James Lowther were intensely bitter, and unsparing in their criticism. It might have been thought that the fact that Irish difficulties were legacies from a Conservative Government would have moderated the criticisms of Conservative orators. That expectation was certainly not fulfilled, and the attack on ministers was absolutely unlimited. That so little damage was sustained was the best proof that the vulnerable points were few. But the mere fact of this activity on the part of the Opposition created a necessity for some sort of parade of the ministerial forces, and it was a pleasure to all when it was found that Lord Hartington had resolved to enter the lists. If there was one point on which Liberals and Conservatives agreed, it is respect for his lordship. All appreciate his personal character and matured opinions. Even Lord Salisbury went out of his way to say a word in Lord Hartington's praise,

though it was done, it is to be feared, chiefly to injure the character of his colleague.

Lord Hartington's speech at Blackburn, like that delivered by Sir William Harcourt, the same night, at Derby, was chiefly occupied with Irish politics. His lordship briefly replied to Lord Salisbury's strictures. After a few introductory remarks upon extra Parliamentary utterances in general, and the tactics of the Opposition speech-makers, came at once to the Treaty of Berlin. "There was only one side of that theory to which they, the Opposition, seemed," he said, "to have attached importance. To the provision which secured the evacuation of Turkey by the Russian army, they did, indeed, attach immense importance; but to those other, and, in our opinion, equally important provisions, which gave independence to Bulgaria; which gave some hope of freedom to the Greeks of Thessaly; which gave an extended frontier and hope of a better future to the Principality of Montenegro, or which gave some hope of better government and freedom from oppression to Armenia, and the Armenian people. These things our opponents either actively opposed, or, when they were included in the Treaty, they appeared to slight. Even now, Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary of the late Government, says that, in his opinion, it does not matter two straws whether a certain bit of territory belongs to Montenegro or Albania. As a matter of fact, I believe that the territory which Montenegro has acquired, is a territory of very considerable importance to that state, and essential to its future development, and, what is more, is essential to its future peaceful development. But that is not the question, or the main question. The question is whether the Sultan, or the Government of Turkey, are, or are not, to understand that the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin are to be executed as a whole. That the Treaty of Berlin was not a one-sided instrument, intended solely for the purpose of removing the Russians from Turkey, but that the provisions are made, and

that the conditions are to be observed as faithfully as those made in their favour. Lord Hartington's quiet sarcasm created, we are told, a good deal of amusement. When he asked what the Opposition orators had offered towards guiding the country, save sneers and reproaches, the echo of the meeting came back in laughter. When, returning to Afghanistan, he expressed his astonishment at the assertion of a statesman of "Lord Salisbury's well-known accuracy," there was a sudden burst of merriment which nothing in the speaker's tone or voice seemed to merit. The audience accepted it as a rare piece of fun, as they did also the later description of the statesman who had sneered at Mr. Gladstone's style of pulpit eloquence, himself lifting up his hands to Heaven, on a Manchester platform, and announcing, as glad tidings of great joy, an alliance between Austria and Germany. Scuttling out of Cabul was a phrase which also brought down the house. The close review of the subject was attentively followed, and its conclusion, claiming that the Government has carried Europe and our allies with its policy, and that the country is satisfied with the terms upon which it has escaped from foreign complications, was marked with general applause. The next question, that of the condition of Ireland, was listened to with peculiar interest. A few alarmists had half predicted that the visit of a member of the Government, might be made the means of unfriendly interruption by a section of the Irish population, but the Liberal leaders had always ridiculed the notion, alleging that there were no more loyal supporters of the Government than in that district. They even proved how correct was that idea of the position. The audience cheered with equal unanimity Lord Hartington's deprecation of force, except in the extreme urgency, and his declaration that in the restoration of peace and order in Ireland, the Government will spare no labour, and shrink from no responsibility. Sir W. Harcourt, in his speech at Derby, made great fun of the Opposition orators

of the recess. "Nobody," said he, "had a more sincere respect for Sir Richard Cross than I have. May I gladly take this occasion to acknowledge the generosity and consideration which I have received from him in the discharge of duties, the difficulty and burden of which no man knows better than myself; but, gentlemen, really the late Home Secretary has displayed a fecundity of utterance which I have no pretension to imitate. He has been publishing a voluminous treatise against her Majesty's Ministers, which he has brought out in parts—a serial which has to come out, not in weekly, but in daily, I might almost say, hourly parts. He speaks in the fashion, I don't know whether I should not almost call them speechlets of very much of the feuilletons, of the Spanish romances, but with this difference: his speeches are a good deal more decorous, and sometimes certainly not less entertaining. We have survived the batteries of Lord Salisbury. We are still alive after the sharpshooting of my friend Mr. Gibson. We have not perished under the unsavoury projectiles, even of the bravoes of the minor theatres. Now we are subjected to a different kind of process, and we are to be done to death by a sort of dose. We are to be extinguished by these homœopathic globules of rhetoric. The difficulty I find in this fragmentary kind of oration is that sometimes one loses the thread of the discourse, and that by the time you get at the seventeenth, you have forgotten the tenth." It was thus over the walnuts and the wine, the Government orators kept up the spirits of their friends, and made merry at the expense of their foes.

It must be owned that the recess was a long one, but perhaps the most wonderful result of the recess of 1881 was that which actually threatened Manhood Suffrage in all our great towns. The late Government has often been twitted with the abortive character of its principal legislative measures; but, as a set-off to this, it may be pleaded that, during its term of office, a small measure was passed, which in its

effects has proved to be a third Reform Bill of no small dimensions. By the Act of 1867, the franchise was conferred on all householders in the boroughs who occupied a dwelling-house, or any part of a house, occupied as a separate dwelling, separately rated for the relief of the poor. By the Parliamentary and Municipal Regulation Act of 1873, the condition that such part of a dwelling-house must be separately rated for the relief of the poor was omitted. The result of this change was certainly not foreseen by the majority of the Parliament that passed it, and it is very strange that the matter should have escaped the watchful vigilance of working peers like the Earl of Redesdale. In 1881, it was found, by the decisions of the Revising Barrister, that the Lodger Franchise no longer presented any difficulty. That was at once removed. No longer will rival Registration Associations have to struggle against the difficulty of obtaining annually the lodger's notice of claim, and his attendance in support thereof before the Revising Barrister. In the autumn, in St. Pancras, where the new provision came into force, the lodger claims allowed, at the last revision, were only 854; but at once they were increased, under the new definition of a householder, to 10,848. The change was not merely in the facility of placing persons upon the register and keeping them there—the old rental qualification for the lodger (£10 per annum for apartments, without furniture) was practically abolished. In future, a man may come upon the register, no matter how low may be the rent of his lodgings. Practically, in the boroughs at any rate, we had so nearly reached Manhood Suffrage, that few men, except casuals, criminals, paupers, and lunatics, will be enabled to secure a vote if they desire it.

A difficulty that the Government had to encounter—the appointment of Mr. Sendall as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal—was one entirely of its own creating. Mr. Sendall seems to have had no experience to fit him for the post. He had passed a creditable career at Oxford, and had filled some minor

official appointments with credit to himself and with satisfaction, to his employers; but that was no reason why he should be forced on Natal against the manifest wishes of the colony. Speaking at Liskeard, in the course of the recess, Mr. Courtney, as Under Secretary for the Colonies, thought it expedient to allude to the appointment, which he defended to the best of his ability. The post, he said, was a difficult one, and one to which the Colonial Office should send the best man they could find. "Lord Kimberley," he said, "has chosen the man he thinks best fitted for the post, and Lord Kimberley has no more connection with Mr. Sendall than I have." Public duty and public policy, if Mr. Courtney was right, were the only motives that led to the appointment. If that were so, the Colonial service, it was argued, was in a very low state indeed. Be that as it may, the Colonial outcry against Mr. Sendall was warmly re-echoed at home. Opponents of the Government seized with avidity upon the latest job of Mr. Gladstone and his party, and held it up to scorn and obloquy. But, at the same time, impartial persons asked themselves, what is the justification of all this hostile criticism? Where was the evidence that the responsible Minister had jibbed or blundered? It may be admitted at once that Mr. Sendall's is not a name with which the country is familiar, but the public departments, it was contended, contained numbers of men of high administrative ability who are almost unknown outside a very limited circle. It was argued that Mr. Sendall's present, or rather late position—that of Assistant Secretary to the Local Government Board—was some guarantee that he was not without capacity, and it was not fair or reasonable to assume that in the present political state of affairs in South Africa, Lord Kimberley would have chosen an officer for this post with the recklessness imputed to him. The *Daily News*, commenting on the appointment, wrote:—"Some of Mr. Sendall's critics in England put forward his want of South African experience for a reason against his

appointment. We venture to think that it would be a positive advantage at the present moment to send to Natal a man who has not been identified with any of the party controversies or conflicts in South Africa. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss this question, because, as a telegram which we published from our correspondent at Pietermaritzburg explains, the colonists object to him on wholly different grounds. They profess to see in Mr. Sendall a nominee of Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of the Cape Colony. They therefore demand a man of standing and experience shall be sent as governor, whose salary they are willing to raise to £4,000 a year. There is manifestly much more in this agitation than appears on the surface. In ordinary times the representative of the Queen in the Colony holds the rank and enjoys the emoluments of a Lieutenant-General, with a salary of £2,500 a year; but owing to the critical state of affairs in the Transvaal and in Zululand, the Colonial Office found it expedient to give to Sir Garnet Wolseley, and subsequently to Sir George P. Colley and Sir Evelyn Wood, the position of Governor, with exceptional powers for dealing with extra-territorial questions. The colonists apparently desire to give permanence to an arrangement which enhances the importance of the colony, and prepares the way for the establishment of responsible government. That they entertain no personal objection to Mr. Sendall is shown by the fact that when, a few weeks ago, a rumour reached them that Lord Kimberley intended to promote Mr. Napier Broome, now Administrator of Mauritius, to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Natal, they expressed their emphatic disapproval, although Mr. Broome had formerly been Colonial Secretary at Pietermaritzburg, and therefore possessed great local experience. Moved by that ambition which is often so creditable to small communities, they desire to raise Natal to the position of a first-class government. We are entirely sceptical as to Lord Kimberley having any intention to reduce Natal to the level of a district of

the Cape Colony. If Mr. Sendall is recommended by Sir Hercules Robinson, who has had great experience as an administrator in every part of our colonial empire, and who deservedly enjoys a high reputation as a governor of mixed races, the public could desire no better testimony to his merits. Moreover, Lord Kimberley, in filling up the vacancy which Sir Evelyn Wood's retirement creates, necessarily has to take into consideration not only the feelings or the prejudices of the 20,000 colonists who are settled in Natal, but also the interests of the 350,000 natives who constitute the most formidable numerical element in the population, and who are manifestly unable, either by resolutions in the Legislative Council or by public meetings, to make known their wishes."

The situation was getting unpleasant, and just as people were expecting the new governor of Natal to be treated much as the Bostonians did the tea in the harbour, the following correspondence appeared in the daily papers:—

"15, Southwell-gardens, S. Kensington,
"December 2nd.

"My Lord,—The events which are taking place in the Colony of Natal with reference to the appointment of a lieutenant-governor, and the determination apparently evinced to increase the difficulties of a situation in itself sufficiently anxious, induce me to place myself entirely in your lordship's hands with respect to taking up the appointment for which you have recommended me to her Majesty. While greatly appreciating the honour conferred upon me by your lordship's choice of me for this important office, I have no ambition to force myself upon an unwilling colony, and if the proposal of the Colonial Legislature to alter the conditions of the Governor's appointment should commend itself to your lordship on the ground of public expediency, my only feeling in the matter is a desire that no claims of mine may interfere to prevent that arrangement being carried out. Attempts have been made to throw discredit on your lordship's

selection by statements founded upon ignorance and misrepresentation, as to which I need only observe that your lordship acted after long consideration and with the fullest knowledge of my position and antecedents in the public service of the Crown. Again thanking your lordship for the confidence with which you have distinguished me, and which I trust I may continue to deserve, I have the honour to remain, my lord, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "WALTER J. SENDALL.

"The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley."

—
"December 4, 1881.

'Dear Mr. Sendall,—I have received your letter of the 2nd inst. placing yourself entirely in my hands with respect to the lieutenant-governorship of Natal to which you have been nominated. It is only due to you that I should say that my opinion of your capacity for that post remains unchanged, notwithstanding the opposition which your appointment has met with, and that I have no doubt you would have fully justified my recommendation of you to her Majesty, which was made after very careful inquiry and consideration; but looking to all the circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that it will be for the advantage of the public service that the wish of the Colonial Legislature for the appointment of a governor instead of a lieutenant-governor should be complied with, and that your appointment as lieutenant-governor should therefore not be proceeded with.—I remain, faithfully yours,

(Signed) "KIMBERLEY.

"Walter J. Sendall, Esq."

The communication was received with great approbation, and all felt that Lord Kimberley and Mr. Sendall had alike been saved from what threatened to be an unpleasantness of a very serious character.

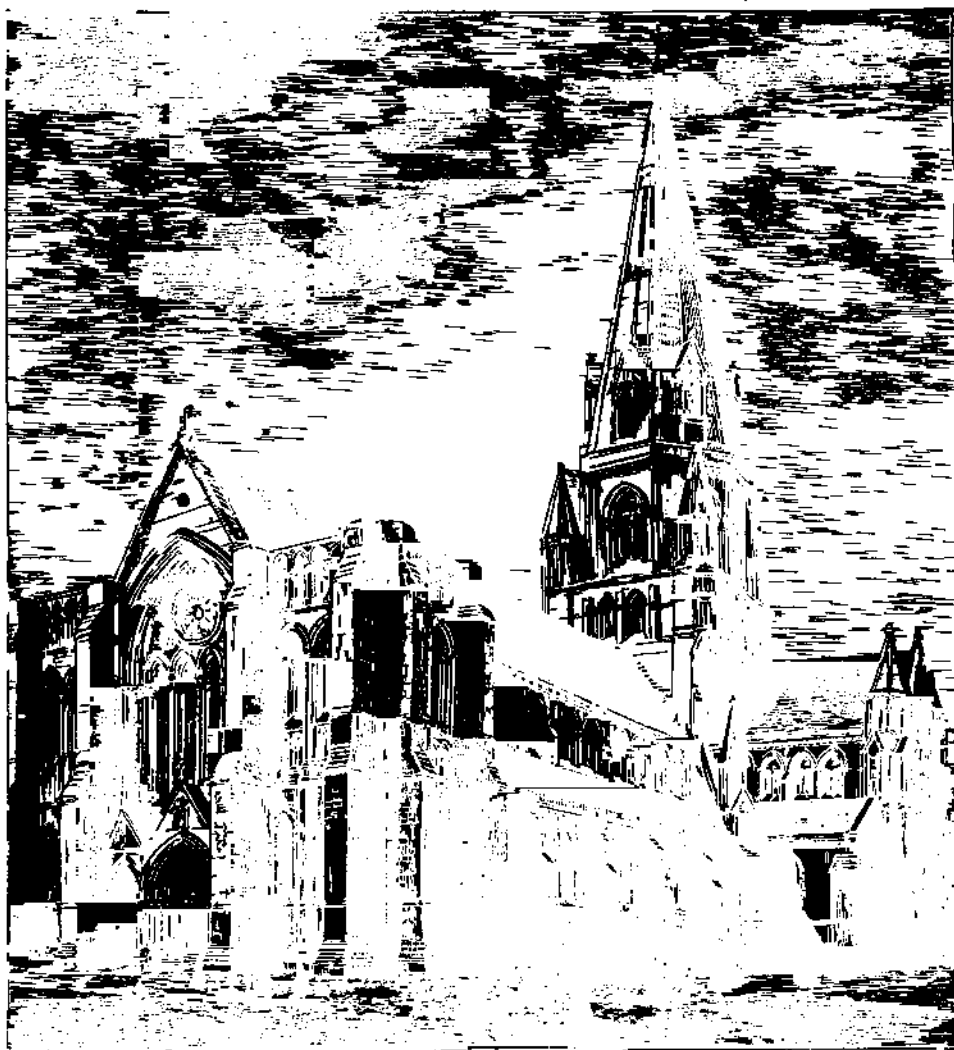
Another difficulty with which the Government was hampered, was with respect to the disagreement between H. R. H. the

Duke of Cambridge, the commander-in-chief of the army, and Mr. Childers. It appeared there was a difference of opinion and policy between the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary at War. Prominent public men are often credited with motives to which they are strangers, but it was an open secret that the Duke of Cambridge was strongly opposed to Sir Garnet Wolseley succeeding Sir Charles Ellice as Adjutant-General, and there were, it was said, many reasons why he should thus oppose it. In the first place, it may be safely assumed that the Commander-in-Chief objected, as junior lieutenant-general, to an office second only to his own in importance and responsibility. The Queen's Warrant abolishing Purchase, and the subsequent Act of Parliament, which was based upon it, practically left promotion as a mere matter of selection. But the Duke of Cambridge has never taken kindly to the change, and, as a matter of fact, promotion by selection is almost as rare an event now as it was before the abolition of purchase. When asked, when examined before the Royal Commission on Army Promotion and Retirement, whether, when a vacancy in a regiment occurs, the next officer in the regiment has the vacancy, the Duke answered:—"That is the way in which it has been done by me since that power of selection has been given to me; but, of course, suppose I were to be succeeded by anybody else who took different views, it is quite within his competency to have nothing but selection." The *Echo* at the time remarked:—

"We should rather say that Parliament, having expressed its desire that promotion should come by selection, it is not within the competency of the Commander-in-Chief to stick to seniority; but be that as it may, it is certain that the Duke is as much opposed to promotion by selection to the higher posts of the army, as to the less important posts, and if Sir Garnet is to be promoted, he can only be promoted by selection. But probably a still stronger objection to his promotion rests in the fact

that the Quartermaster-General is the leading military supporter of those reforms, which have been sanctioned by Parliament, which are being insisted on by Mr. Childers, but to which the Duke of Cambridge has hitherto offered an uncompromising and a successful resistance. That this wide divergence does exist, and that the Duke of Cambridge does not scruple to ignore the direct commands of Parliament, any one may see for himself who will take the trouble to read the evidence given by the Commander-in-Chief before the Royal Commission on Army Promotion and Retirement, and before the Commission presided over by Colonel Stanley." As a single instance, take the following. An appendix to a general order of April 18, 1873, lays down the interchangeability of all officers appointed after that date between the two regiments of their brigade, but that order has never been acted on, "because," replied the Duke, "that order was so framed that I was in hopes that before it could possibly come into operation, it would be cancelled, and I trust it will be, because I think that the interchange would be an utterly impossible plan. It would destroy the *esprit de corps*; it would be more distasteful to the army, and I cannot see the slightest advantage from it." The Commander-in-Chief went on to say that he had no objection to the legal power of transferring these officers from the one regiment to the other, but that anything beyond that would be considered most objectionable, and that he would oppose it to the best of his ability. Parliament thus orders a thing to be done, and its servant says that to the best of his ability he will prevent its being done. Now Mr. Childers insists on the Parliamentary arrangement being carried out. "Either," he said, in the last session of Parliament, "either we must follow the advice of those who recommend the complete union in a territorial regiment of the four battalions, or we must repeal our whole legislation; undo all our policy as to a territorial army, and convert the *dépôt* centre barracks, for

which Parliament voted £3,500,000, into something else; alter the whole system of brigade enlistment, and by making each regiment recruit for itself through the agency of its own *dépôt*, add, perhaps, 15,000 according to the appendix to Lord Airey's report, perhaps 15,000, or according to some, 20,000 men to the army." It is only fair to add that the arrangements of Mr. Childers appeared objectionable to many besides the Duke of Cambridge. It seemed absurd to remove old and honoured names of regiments, yet Mr. Childers, in his zeal for army reform, did this. Of course the Duke of Cambridge had the officers on his side; they are always conservative, and the Duke is popular in the country, not only as an officer of high rank and as a member of the Royal Family, but also on account of his readiness to lend his aid to works of charity. But that his views are diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Childers there can be no doubt. There is scarcely a single change in the army, introduced within the last few years, which he has not strongly condemned. He has, however, not resigned, nor carried them into effect, but remained in office to prevent their being carried out. The result was a deadlock. Even the appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley as Adjutant-General is no sufficient guarantee that the opposition to the changes Parliament has insisted on will be withdrawn. "Henceforward," said that gallant general, a little while since, "the mode of life of the regimental officers will have to be very different from what it used to be: many hours of idleness daily; the long periods of leave must be abandoned; he must make up his mind to the drudgery of teaching his own men, as the German officers do." But the Duke of Cambridge, it is known, looks coldly on this transformation, and will do all he can to prevent it. It remains to be seen if Mr. Childers will insist upon the execution of his own reforms. The efficiency of the British army is of more importance to the British nation than the prejudices of the Duke of Cam-



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. MARY, EDINBURGH.

bridge, and loyal obedience to Parliament or resignation should be required. A good many people seem to think that the post of Commander-in-Chief has always been filled up by a member of the Royal Family, but as a matter of fact, since the accession of the present royal house, and excluding the Duke of Cambridge, only two members of that family have held the post—the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of York—and in neither instance could the country be congratulated upon the selection.

Another little question, which some people wished in the recess to magnify into a great one, was that relating to England and the Vatican. A Mr. Errington was sent to Italy, and a great discussion took place about it, as to whether we were not going to have an agent at the Vatican, a thing abhorrent to every well-regulated Protestant British mind. The *Liberty*, for instance, after discussing the current reports about Mr. Errington's mission, says:—"For what potent reasons should England now belie these noble traditions? The journals of the Vatican tell us that without its aid the British Government will never restore peace to Catholic Ireland. They inform us that Mr. Gladstone realises all the importance for England, Scotland, and Ireland, that the archiepiscopal sees of those countries should be filled with learned and pious men, and for these, he, the author of Vaticanism, is to go to the Vatican. They tell us finally that England needs the moralising influence of the Papacy, forgetting their old refrain of the moral and religious superiority of the heterodox English to the Catholic Italians. We need not refute these arguments." The *Liberty* concludes by asserting that as the absurd rumours representing Mr. Errington thus despatched to Italy are not contradicted by the English Government, they find credit in Parliamentary circles, and hopes the Ministerial press will give a distinct denial to them.

It was with pleasure, in November, it was noted that the judges in the Queen's Bench division of the High Court of Jus-

tice had struck a more deadly blow at electoral corruption than it had ever received before. Ten persons who had pleaded guilty, or had been found guilty, of bribery at the elections in Sandwich and Macclesfield, were brought up for judgment, when two were condemned to six months' imprisonment, and two to nine months' each. These four gentlemen were the principals in the bribery which was practised in the two boroughs; the other six were the agents they employed in the work, and they also received sentences of imprisonment for longer or shorter intervals of time. The imprisonment, it was stated, was not to be a mere detention in a kind of compulsory and regulated leisure, which is the lot of first-class misdemeanants, as they are called, but is to be that of ordinary misdemeanants. It is this distinction which gives the greatest severity to the judgment. Mr. Justice Denman, in delivering judgment, justified it on the ground that the Judges could see no possible reason for treating bribers in any other way than other misdemeanants of bad character. Two of the men thus caught were the election agents of the Conservative candidate. Another was described as a leading Conservative at Deal, and they were all persons of influence and consideration. They engaged in the electoral corruption with no purpose of private gain. It had been the custom of these corrupt constituencies; and men of respectable position, honest and upright in all their private dealings, engaged in it without any sufficient sense of the degradation it involved. They knew that bribery was punishable, but no one was ever punished. They must have been familiar with the state of the law on the subject; but, hitherto, the law had been treated as if it were practically in abeyance. They only did, therefore, what hundreds of others were doing at the same time in other parts of the kingdom, and what it had been the custom to do in these boroughs. It certainly did seem hard that in their particular case slumbering justice should wake up; that they should be

taken while others were left. The severity of the sentence in some quarters produced a reaction in their favour, and it was argued that the justice of the case would have been met by their imprisonment as first-class misdemeanants. Accordingly, Sir W. Harcourt, as Secretary of the Home Office, was immediately petitioned on the subject, but happily he turned a deaf ear to the appeal.

Even though the sentences should be regarded as open to some mitigation, it is none the less satisfactory that it has been shown that the High Court of Justice will, in Mr. Justice Denman's words, "never regard acts of bribery as other than most serious misdemeanours." It has long been pointed out that the only way to deal with electoral corruption is to make the respectable legal agents and their principals criminally responsible. In these cases the legal agents have been singled out and punished; and though possibly it may be felt in many quarters that the imprisonment might have been of a less onerous character, it is quite certain that nothing but imprisonment would meet the case. To fine men for acts of bribery is mere child's play. The fine is paid and the warning is scarcely heeded. But now that men can be amerced in person, and not merely in pocket, they will refuse to run the risk of detection and punishment. Respectable solicitors will look askance at election agencies which involve the dealing with money which is intended to be illegally spent. These convictions, however, must not slacken the zeal of the Attorney-General in his attempts to legislate against corruption. They are exceptions to the rule of impunity, which still applies to nine-tenths of the bribery committed at the last election. The machinery of prevention and detection needs to be strengthened, and some means must be found for insuring that prosecutions shall go on. The extent to which electoral corruption can be carried is shown by the condition of Macclesfield, where, out of 6,000 electors, more than 5,000 were bribed in some way or

other. In Sandwich 128 persons were reported by the Commissioners as guilty of acts of bribery and corrupt practices; and 1,000 were corrupted or bribed. There were 127 persons who received bribes from both sides. It is not enough to disfranchise such nests of corruption. They are only signs of a widespread evil. Bribery and corruption have grown to such a magnitude that prompt and vigorous means must be used for their suppression; and the sentences passed will at least give satisfaction by showing that even as it now stands the law is capable of being enforced.

The daily papers every day contained advertisements intimating that a committee had been formed to secure the release of the men convicted of bribery, on the ground that they had had no previous warning of the severity of the punishment to be awarded to bribers. Such, however, as was pointed out was not the case, especially as regards the three solicitors (who may well be taken to remember the Bridgewater bribery trials of 1870). Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, in the presence of his colleagues Lord Blackburn, Sir John Mellor, and Sir James Hannen (all happily surviving), in passing sentence on one Fenelly, a partner of one of the candidates, who had upon great pressure furnished money for bribery at the Bridgewater election, is reported to have said (the extract is from the *Times* report of May 11, 1870):—"Your case has afforded us an opportunity of giving general warning to the whole community that this is a crime which the Court will feel itself bound to use the utmost of its power to repress in all future cases in which for subsequent offences persons shall be brought up for punishment, and in such cases we shall do all we can, by the most rigorous execution of our power, to put a stop to these pernicious practices. Considering, however, that this is the first instance in which any one has been brought up in this court to be sentenced after a conviction for bribery, we will not go to that extent, as it might involve some harshness or injustice.

We shall not, therefore, do in your case what we have quite made up our minds to do in future cases. And I take this opportunity of publicly declaring that we shall in all future cases think it our duty to enforce the law to its utmost extent, and that we shall think it our duty to subject any one convicted of future bribery to the most degrading and humiliating punishment by refusing to make the offender a first-class misdemeanant. We shall not do so in your case, because it is the first instance in which we have been called upon to put the law in force. But we feel it to be our duty to mark the sense of the gravity and enormity of the offence against which statute after statute has been passed, and which is aggravated by the circumstance that it was committed after an Act had been passed showing a serious intention in the Legislature to put down corrupt practices at elections. We therefore think it necessary to impose upon you a severe sentence, and that sentence is imprisonment for twelve months and a fine of £1,000."

One note of complaint was heard by the appointment of Mr. Knox Little to a canonry; but that was to be expected, for the bitterness of theologians is proverbial. In the course of the vacation, a Rev. Dr. Potter, of Sheffield, is reported to have said "that if for nothing else, Mr. Gladstone should be impeached for throwing a cloud over the prerogative of the Sovereign in forcing on the Church, under the name of our Protestant Queen, a notorious law-breaker and defiant dishonourer of this Protestant Episcopal Church, as it is called, in the coronation oath." Canon Knox Little is an Irishman; so also is Dr. Potter. But, according to the reverend doctor, "Irishmen are either the world's best angels, or the world's worst devils." Dr. Potter is, of course, included in the former category; as for the Canon, it is quite sufficient to know that the Irish Fenian and Land Leaguer is the most savage; the Irish Romanist the most benighted; the Irish Ritualist the most bigoted, blind, and

unmanageable of their several classes. To this last belongs Canon Little. Clearly the Doctor makes out that Mr. Little should not have been made a canon by Mr. Gladstone, and he himself left out in the cold. In some quarters, language was employed still more uncourteous, and as any stick serves to beat a dog with, any method of discrediting Mr. Gladstone and his Government was resorted to. At all times it is hard to please every one, and for a politician and the head of a party perfectly impossible.

In the course of the recess another new grievance appeared. Mr. Gladstone was despotic; he would allow no one to interfere in his plans, or in the direction of public affairs. His motto was, "*Aut Cæsar, Aut Nulles.*" He was so obstinate and imperious that he refused all aid, and ignored his colleagues, and ruled by himself. This charge was not a very heavy one, and failed to produce any great amount of effect on the public mind. After the Ministry had been compared by their opponents, in the fierceness of their wrath and in the delirium of their public oratory, to swimming pigs, to assassins, to cowards, and the devil, it was a relief, at all events, and to some quite consoling, to find them likened only to a parcel of lazy apprentices. They were, said some of the critics and newspaper writers and orators of the Opposition, too lazy to hold cabinet councils, and to call together Parliament before the usual time, when every one knew, in the then frightful state of Ireland, we ought to have had cabinet councils at least once a week, and a December meeting of Parliament. This, of course, was due to Mr. Gladstone's haughty and selfish ambition. He wanted to be supreme dictator, to rule the country without Parliament. As a matter of fact, it were better to put the matter the other way. In the absence of cabinet councils, the chiefs of departments are kings, and it was more true, under the circumstances, that Mr. Gladstone's colleagues were ruling without him, than that he was ruling without them.

Some of the elections of the recess were of especial interest and importance. At Berwick, for instance, there was a vacancy created by the elevation of the sitting member to the peerage. Considerable doubt was entertained as to the result of the election. In some quarters it was hinted that Mr. Gladstone had committed a grave mistake in raising Sir Edward Marjoribanks to the House of Peers, as the result of the new election to fill up the vacancy so created would certainly be the return of a Tory. However, it was not so, and the success of the Liberal candidate, Mr. Jerminham, was of the most desirable character. At Berwick, as a Roman Catholic, naturally Mr. Jerminham secured the Irish vote, and it was observed with pleasure, by the friends of religious freedom, that for the first time, for centuries, an English constituency had returned a Roman Catholic representative. A consideration, however, not very reassuring to that large class who hold, as they have plausible grounds, if they search the records of the past, for believing that the Roman Catholic religion is always a source of trouble and danger in a country professing to be Protestant, and in all lands, whether on this side of the Atlantic or the other, the inhabitants of which claim to be self-governing and free. Considering how much trouble Roman Catholic Irish Members create in the House, it is not to be wondered at if English constituencies are reluctant to add to their number.

The polling for the election of a member for Tiverton, in the place of the late Mr. Massey, took place in the autumn. Lord Ebrington, Liberal, was returned, polling 705 votes against 453 by his opponent, Mr. Loosemore, Conservative. At the General Election the Liberal majorities were 44 and 153 respectively. Lord Ebrington is the eldest son of Earl Fortescue, and was born in 1854. He was the 50th new member sent to Parliament since the last General Election. His return makes no difference in the balance of political parties, the late Mr. Massey having belonged to the Liberals,

A little while after, there was an election at Stafford, on, the death of Mr. Macdonald, the working man's candidate, a man who was much respected in the House of Commons, and had made a respectable position for himself there, and throughout the country at large. To fill the vacancy occasioned by his sudden and lamented death, two candidates came forward, Mr. George Howell, of London, as the working-man's candidate, and Mr. Salt, a local brewer and Conservative, who had previously represented the borough in Parliament. The contest was warmly carried on, especially by Mr. Howell and his friends. The Liberals of all shades supported him to a man. Eminent Liberal M.P.'s went down to the place to make speeches on his behalf, and Mr. Gladstone himself wrote a letter saying all he could in favour of Mr. Howell, and intimating what a satisfaction it would be to himself, personally, and what a benefit to the cause, if Mr. Howell were returned. Alas! however, Mr. Howell was thoroughly beaten, and Mr. Salt, by a very respectable majority, was placed at the top of the poll. The result of the election went far towards consoling the Conservative party for the disappointments experienced at Berwick-upon-Tweed and Tyrone. The election gives back to the House of Commons a gentleman of some experience both in Parliamentary and official life. Mr. Salt held, during the last years of the Conservative Government, the office of Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board. His defeat at the last General Election was one of the most striking evidences of the force of the popular enthusiasm which swept Lord Beaconsfield from power. He had many of the personal qualifications which recommend Conservative candidates to constituencies. Not taking strong views on any question except when it chances to touch the pre-eminence of the Church, he does not rub too roughly against the prejudices of his fellow men. Besides this general recommendation, he has, in the eyes of Stafford, the especial one of being a neighbour, and he made a house-to-house

visitation, while the Liberal candidate was content to limit his appeal to the electors to speeches delivered from the public platform. The diverse modes of canvass did not appear greatly to have moved the constituency, for out of an aggregate of over 3,600 electors, only 2,667 went to the poll. Of these, 1,482 declared for Mr. Salt, and his brief exile from the House of Commons was again intermitted. Naturally, the Stafford election was appealed to as a proof of Conservative reaction. At the General Election of 1874, Mr. Salt headed the poll with 1,238 votes, Mr. Macdonald coming in second with 1,183. At the last General Election Mr. Salt stood third on the poll, with 1,230 votes, whilst Mr. Macdonald polled 1,345, and Mr. C. B. M'Laren came in first with 1,498. These figures are significant for several reasons. It will appear that on ordinary occasions, Mr. Salt, appealing to the electors of Stafford as a Conservative neighbour, who lives on the outskirts of the town, who may be seen on the bench of magistrates, and who is captain of the militia, is able to poll 1,238 votes. At the last General Election the general depression of his party affected him to the extent of eight votes, but that only serves to show the solid basis on which Mr. Salt's claims rest. Since 1880 the Irish have been coerced, and an Irish Land Bill to make peace between landlord and tenant has been passed. Naturally, the Land Leaguers object to coercion, and to anything which would make the Irish peaceful and contented. The word went from Kilmainham, the abode of the great Parnell, and from pleasant Paris, where the Treasurer of the Land League, Mr. Egan, enjoys a far more agreeable existence than in Dublin, that every effort shall be used to slight and thwart the leader and the party who passed the Irish Land Act, and that the whole influence of the Land League shall be thrown into the same scale as the Conservatives. With this object Mr. O'Donnell visited Stafford, and, as the avowed emissary of the League, urged the Irish voters of the

borough to record their votes against the Liberal candidate. This transference of votes, which, in 1874, and more largely in 1880, supported Mr. Macdonald, accounts for the success of Mr. Salt. As was to be expected, to many of the electors a working man's candidate as such is unpopular. It seems sad that men like Mr. Richard Davis, who began life as a navvy, should be ignored as a working-man's candidate, while a London journalist, like Mr. Howell, should be looked upon as such. But at Stafford this prejudice does not seem to have affected the body of the voters, and hence the lesson of the Stafford defeat, as to over-confidence, and as to the fickleness of the people, is not to be lost.

The Tyrone election was a great blow to the Land Leaguers. It was resolved to run Mr. Rylett in opposition to the Government candidate, and most energetic exertions were made on his behalf. As illustrating the kind of argument used by Mr. Parnell and his followers, we select the following:—"On Saturday Mr. Parnell attended a meeting in support of the candidature of Mr. Rylett, held at Cookstown. He was well received, and he appealed for support for Mr. Rylett, as a Protestant, against coercion, and who advocated the support of the purity and independence of the Irish party, and their adherents, to the doctrine of the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland. He considered that the landlords should have no more rent paid than the original value of the land before the tenant improved it by his labour. He urged the people to be united, Catholic and Protestant, and, if always united, no Government could refuse the irresistible united democracy." Mr. Healy, M.P., spoke at Trillick and Omagh, also on Mr. Rylett's behalf, and said that while Mr. Dickson said that further agitation would be deplorable and disastrous, Tyrone gave a "No" to that statement, and Tyrone should help the Irish party to crush one of the thorns in its side, the *Northern Whig*, which rose to oppose the Irish party behind Buckshot Forster, Billy Harcourt, hypo-

crite Gladstone, and that whited sepulchre, John Bright. Mr. Healy, M.P., addressed a meeting at Eskera, county Tyrone, in support of the candidature of the Rev. H. Rylett. He said it mattered little what Mr. Dickson was, if he was not a Nationalist, for a Whig was only a Tory in disguise, a sheep in wolf's clothing. "The Land Act would get a fair trial, but it was sent as a magnificent memoir of peace, and would be turned into a weapon of war until landlordism should be abolished, and the tillers of the soil should be cemented into the owners of the soil." Mr. Sexton, M.P., also appeared on the scene, and is reported to have used much the same sort of language; but, wonderful to say, the voters were not led away, by all this claptrap, and Mr. Dickson was returned by a triumphant majority at the head of the poll.

Of the Home Rule Party, one of the most brilliant members was Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Member for Meath, who, at the end of the Parliamentary session, had a severe attack of illness, which led him to place his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister, or rather, led him to apply to the Prime Minister for the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds—the regular way by which an M.P., when desirous, can lay down the honours and burdens of his position—honours and burdens for which, it was deeply to be regretted, Mr. Sullivan's constitutional delicacy, coupled with his laborious duties as a barrister and political writer, entirely unfitted him. The correspondence between Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Gladstone on the subject was rather interesting, as it raised a question of constitutional procedure in reference to the vacation of seats in Parliament during the recess, and the correspondence seems to have extended over two or three weeks. In reply to Mr. Sullivan's formal request for appointment to the Chiltern Hundreds the Prime Minister (who prefaces his answer by an exceedingly warm and complimentary reference to Mr. Sullivan's position in the House of Commons) stated that the law on the subject was interpreted to mean

not only that the writ could not be moved unless Parliament was sitting, but that a vacancy could not be created during the recess. Mr. Sullivan thereupon wrote to say that his impression was that although the writ could not be issued until Parliament met, there was nothing to hinder the Royal prerogative as to conferring an appointment, and thus relieving him of the position. He added that the point might be of some moment to him, as he was being engaged as Parliamentary counsel in a matter of some railway and other private Bills coming before Parliament next session, and that he wished consequently to be free from even the appearance of conflict with the well-known rules of the House of Commons forbidding members to have pecuniary interests or profit in matters coming before the House. Mr. Gladstone has finally replied to the effect that although what he conceives to be the prevalent custom will not be broken, the vacancy will be made in sufficient time to obviate any difficulty as to Mr. Sullivan's personal practice.

But, after all, the election in which the public took most interest was that for Londonderry, which took place in December, 1881, and which was occasioned by the appointment of Mr. Hugh Law as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in place of Lord O'Hagan, who resigned on account of advancing years. The candidates were the Irish Solicitor-General and Sir Samuel Wilson, an Australian merchant, who had purchased the Hughenden Manor Estate of Lord Beaconsfield's executors, and who was anxious to set himself up for statesman and politician, and Mr. Dempsey, who was put forward in the interests of the Land League. In a short while, however, it was discovered that even the Land League candidate had not the ghost of a chance, and the result was a severe contest, in which the friends of each candidate did their very best to win success. At no time was the candidature of Mr. Dempsey regarded seriously. It was a candidature of passion rather than political principle. It represented the very intelli-

gible anger of a section of the Irish people at the practical suspension of some of the guarantees of freedom. It was probably intended to draw away a few Liberal votes from Mr. Porter, and thus to give indirect help to the Conservatives. Mr. O'Donnell's public boast that he went down to help the Conservative candidate, taken together with his speeches in favour of Mr. Dempsey, suggest that he found it was not easy to persuade the voters to vote for Sir Samuel Wilson, and that he hoped to draw them off from Mr. Porter by another and more desperate expedient. In this attempt he failed. The Home Rule candidate represented a passionate disgust with the Coercion Act, but to vote for him was to play into the hands of the party who, on this side the Channel, are every day crying out for more severe repression, denouncing the mildness of Government, and even charging the agrarian outrages on Mr. Forster and Mr. Gladstone. The alliance which Mr. O'Donnell ostentatiously proclaimed was all to the advantage of the Conservatives and to the disadvantage of the Irish people. It gave them the satisfaction of winning a few Liberal seats in England, and lent a momentary sanction to the boast of Conservative reaction. But it was founded on a double insincerity. Both sides agreed to punish the Government. Yet the Home Rulers knew it could hardly do less if it is to govern Ireland at all, and the Conservatives knew that if Mr. Lowther and Lord Salisbury took the place of Mr. Forster and Mr. Gladstone, they could not do more than has already been done without challenging a conflict from which even they would shrink. According to Mr. O'Donnell, "The Conservative policy in relation to agrarian reform in Ireland is now practically identical with the platform of Mr. Parnell and Michael Davitt." The situation was a little mixed from the very first. Sir Samuel Wilson, the Conservative candidate, was a supporter of the Land Act, of which he spoke in terms which exhibited a most strange contrast to the language of the leaders of his

party on this side St. George's Channel. If the Conservatives of Londonderry read the speeches of Conservative leaders and would-be leaders on this side of St. George's Channel, they find the Land Act spoken of as communism, confiscation, robbery, high-handed violence, and everything that is wrong in statesmanship, and bad in morals; but their own candidate, who asked to be sent to the House of Commons to support the leaders who use such language, speaks of the Land Act in terms of appreciation and approval as high as those of the Liberals themselves. Well, in Ireland and England alike, the utmost interest was excited in the contest, as every one felt that the return of Sir S. Wilson and the defeat of Mr. Porter, would be a terrible blow to the Government. "Many months ago," wrote the *Morning Post*, a few days before the election, "we warned the Government that if they neglected this movement in the bud, it would be too strong for them. We were almost alone in supporting Lord Beaconsfield's view that the question is a national one. Mr. Gladstone tried to make it a land question, and failed. Even now the Irish Solicitor-General is pushing his way into Parliament by pandering to the predatory instincts of the tenant farmers. We undertake to say that the placards of rent reductions, exhibited by Mr. Porter, are unparalleled in the history of Parliamentary corruption, and attention will be called to them immediately on the opening of Parliament." The howls of the Irish Conservative Press were fierce and piquant. Mr. Porter had voted for Mr. Bradlaugh—if he had not done so he belonged to a Government which supported Mr. Bradlaugh. Mr. Bradlaugh was an infidel, an atheist, and a promulgator of infidelity and atheism. The inference was obvious. Mr. Porter was an infidel and an atheist, and all that was bad, and so quite unfit to represent in Parliament so enlightened and respectable a constituency as that of Londonderry.

The declaration of the poll was as follows:—

Mr. Porter (L) 2,701
Sir S. Wilson (C) 2,054

Liberal majority..... 647

Mr. Dempsey, the Land League candidate, who had retired, received 56 votes.

A Dublin correspondent telegraphed :—
“ Again the Land League, or at all events the cause which it represented, has sustained a crushing defeat in Ulster. They were not satisfied with the defeat inflicted on them by the return of Mr. Dickson for Tyrone, in spite of the utmost that Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Healy, Mr. T. P.

either of their opponents; and although they have not had the aid of Mr. Parnell or his immediate lieutenants, they have had the assistance of Mr. O'Donnell and of an abundance of speaking power; and (if there was any virtue in it) they have had the advantage of being able to point to Mr. Parnell actually in prison—no small advantage merely when the question as put by the Land League sympathisers themselves is coercion or no coercion. Mr. Rylett, although certain of defeat, went to the poll in Tyrone, and thus prevented his supporters from voting for the Tory candi-



SIR H. STOKER.

O'Connor, and the Rev. Harold Rylett could do to prevent it, that result being their sole object; for they knew well throughout that contest that the return of Mr. Rylett was beyond the range of possibility. All sorts of reasons were assigned for the Land League defeat on that occasion, but the principal one was that their candidate was late in coming into the field, and that moreover Mr. Rylett had actually before his own candidature promised his support to Mr. Dickson. There can be no such excuse in the present case, for the Land Leaguers were as early in the field as

date. Mr. Dempsey has not had the courage to go to the poll in Derry, but his retirement at the last moment in order to ensure the return of the Tory candidate and to inflict defeat on the Solicitor-General has been of no avail, and the Solicitor-General has defeated, by a substantial majority, the combined Tory and Land League forces. As an illustration of the growth of true Liberal opinion in Ulster it may be noted that it was admitted on all hands that heretofore it would have been utterly impossible for a Liberal candidate to have been returned without the aid of the Catholic vote.

The Catholic vote has in this instance been transferred partly to the Tory side, and yet the Liberal has a large majority."

A Belfast correspondent telegraphed to the London daily papers:—"No election in Ulster for many years past has created such excitement over the entire province as the one the result of which was declared to-day. In Belfast to-day the newspaper offices were crowded from about noon awaiting news as to the declaration of the poll, and when the announcement of the Solicitor-General's victory arrived, there was great rejoicing at the triumphs of the Liberal cause. There has been much excitement in various parts of the North of Ireland. Bonfires have been burnt in some districts, and most intense satisfaction prevails among the supporters of the present Government at Mr. Porter's return."

The Press Association said:—"The official declaration of the poll only confirmed what had been known some hours previously. The Solicitor-General was unfavourably received by the crowd, and had to be escorted by armed police to his hotel. Sir Samuel Wilson, in seconding a vote of thanks to the Returning Officer, moved by the Solicitor-General, intimated that a petition would be filed. This is understood to be founded on a circular promising reduction of rents if the Solicitor-General were returned, and it is stated that high legal authorities, including Mr. Gibson, Q.C., have given opinions in favour of a petition. Notwithstanding Mr. Dempsey's retirement, 56 votes were recorded for him, probably by voters who had not seen his retiring address. Mr. Redmond, M.P., and Mr. O'Donnell, M.P., afterwards addressed the crowd, urging them to renew the contest whenever there was a chance, and stating that it was the rattling of Conservative Presbyterians which turned the election. It is confidently said that the Catholic vote was almost solid for the Conservative candidate."

Mr. Andrew Marshall Porter, Q.C., Solicitor-General for Ireland, of Merrion-

square, Dublin; St. Nissan's, Howth, and Stephen's-green Club, Dublin, is the eldest son of the late Rev. John Scott Porter, of Belfast, and was born in that place on June 27, 1837. He was educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, entering the Queen's College, Belfast, in 1853, and graduating B.A. in the Queen's University, Ireland, in 1856. Having studied for the law, he was called to the Bar in Trinity Term, 1860, joining the North-Eastern Circuit on the summer circuit of the same year. He soon obtained an extensive practice, both in the Equity and Common Law divisions, was elected Barrington Lecturer on Political Economy (by competition) 1861-4, and accepted silk in 1872. Four years later he was elected by Convocation member of the Senate of the Queen's University in Ireland, and has been twice re-elected, and in Trinity Term, 1878, was elected a bencher of King's-inn, Dublin. Mr. Porter married, in 1869, Agnes Adinston, daughter of the late Lieut.-Colonel Horsburgh, of Horsburgh and the Pirn, Peeblesshire. He is the 52nd new member who has been returned since the general election of last year, but his return on the present occasion makes no difference in the balance of political parties.

Commenting on the election next day, the *Daily News* wrote as follows:—"The Solicitor-General for Ireland has been returned by a substantial and decisive majority for the county of Londonderry. A telegram from Dublin, which accompanied the announcement of the numbers, stated that in that capital Mr. Porter's success was regarded not so much in the light of a Conservative defeat as a crushing blow to the Land League in Ulster. There is much virtue in this 'not so much.' Mr. Porter's victory was both a Conservative defeat and a blow to the Land League. Whether it was more of the one or of the other we will not inquire. The forces of the two parties of revolution and of reaction were united. Mr. O'Donnell was the minister of reconciliation between

the followers of Mr. Parnell and the followers of Lord Salisbury. Mr. Dempsey retired in favour of Sir Samuel Wilson. The fifty-six votes which were given for the vanishing candidate of the League represent, it may be hoped, a vanishing cause in Ulster. The voters on whom Mr. O'Donnell reckoned for the defeat of the Solicitor-General, either swelled his majority or were too few in number to ender much service to Sir Samuel Wilson. Mr. Porter's majority is less than that of the Liberal candidates at the last general election. But Mr. Porter had to contend against a Tory and Land League coalition, while Mr. Law and Sir Thomas McClure had to face only a legitimate Conservative opposition. Lord George Hamilton, in his speech at Glasgow, charged the Government with promoting Irish disaffection in order to pass their Land Bill. He knows perfectly well that the process was the reverse. The Land Bill was passed to allay Irish disaffection, with which the Tory candidates in Derry county, as formerly in North Durham, did not scruple to ally themselves. In spite of this unscrupulous combination, in spite of events likely to confuse and irritate the public mind, and in spite of the most infamous electioneering arts of religious slander, the Solicitor-General has won a victory which is of good hope for Ireland.

"The Londonderry election affords an encouragement to persistence in legislative well-doing which is welcome, but which ought not to be needed. Nothing can be more foolish than the despair which is felt, or for sinister purposes feigned, as to the future of Ireland. The Ireland which we have to do with is the Ireland which our forefathers made. Lord Rosebery spoke with good sense on this point at Hull. The operation of sowing the storm is an exciting, and even an amusing one. That of reaping the whirlwind is not so uniformly agreeable. In this, too, as in other matters, one man, or usually one generation, sows, and another reaps. Our forefathers had the excitement of governing

Ireland with a high hand. Tyranny and injustice, which are a scandal to European and Christian history, have left their handwriting on every page of its annals. Religious intolerance had a field-day of centuries. Commercial greed, as Sir Hardinge Giffard was fain to acknowledge in his speech at Lowestoft, struck at the roots of Irish prosperity, and even more fatally at the moral springs of industry in the Irish character. The insensate hatred of race, the antipathies of an almost animal dislike, more fell than religious bigotry or the avarice of monopoly, added its poisonous ingredient to the caldron of which Ireland had to drink for hundreds of years, and which is now commended to the lips of England. The wrong-doing of centuries has been followed by the repentance of generations, and by partial atonement. But that repentance is as yet only a confession of error accompanied by incomplete redress. *Habemus rem confitentem* is a phrase which might with truth be used by Ireland in respect to England. If we were not afraid of degrading a serious subject by an unworthy parallel, we might say that the conduct of England towards Ireland resembles that of the soldier in Mr. Pickwick's story, who, having stabbed a young woman in the arm with a bayonet, called the first thing next day, expressing his regret, and his hope that nothing more would be said about the matter. It is not very consoling to the present generation to bid them turn their eyes backward to a past in which the mischief was caused, and to a future in which it will be healed. They are not responsible for the past, and they will not enjoy the future. But they have a share which they cannot escape in this collective and transmitted national responsibility. The present cannot be understood without looking before and after. Usually it happens with political generations as with individual rulers, that the first to break with long-enduring wrong have to bear the accumulated penalties of the mischiefs which they strive to remedy, and which are embodied in a system of

which, in striving to amend it, they proclaim themselves the representative. Louis XVI. was an innocent and well-intentioned Prince, as compared with his immediate predecessors. Yet his head fell on the scaffold, and theirs remained more or less comfortably on their shoulders. One or two generations of English statesmanship have been occupied in partially undoing very imperfectly admitted wrongs. The inadequacy of the remedies is proved by the fact that each measure of relief and reform has had to be followed by another more complete, and this, in its turn, by a third, and so on without perceptible end, or without reaching the goal.

"The fact is, that Ireland is passing through a period of revolution, and a period of revolution is never a very comfortable one to live in. The statesman cannot look very far ahead who does not see that the changes in the ownership of the soil and the condition of its cultivators which were affected by sweeping acts of violent spoliation in France, by more orderly legal processes under Stein and Hardenburg in Prussia, and more recently still by the benevolent despotism of Alexander II. in Russia, are being brought about by successive measures of Imperial legislation in Ireland. We do not of course say that the processes or the results in any of these cases are precisely similar. If this were so, great social reforms would be merely mimetic processes, translations from one political language to another. Legislation would be a matter of precedents for lawyers, with a very slight application to altered circumstances of a sort of political *cy-près* doctrine. In this case there would be no scope for original and inventive statesmanship. But, allowing for differences of conditions and agencies, a transformation analogous to that which was accomplished in France, later still in Prussia, and latest of all in Russia, is in process of accomplishment in Ireland, through instruments scarcely conscious, it may be, of the scope of the work in which they are engaged. The mistake made by English legislation, when unintelligent good intentions took

the place of a perverse recklessness, and almost of a malicious purpose of evil, in the dealings of this country with Ireland, was one which the late Lord Beaconsfield would have joined with Mr. J. S. Mill in calling one of insular barbarism and ignorance. The Irish land system, like the various land systems of India, was judged of and interpreted exclusively by English analogies. The Irish landlord and tenant were presumed to be the precise equivalent and counterparts of the English landlord and tenant. The Land Act of 1870, and still more the Land Act of 1881, practically confessed this mistake. They were based on a real, though veiled, acknowledgment of what in historic truth and by still persistent usage was the fact, that the Irish tenant had in most cases distinct proprietary rights in the soil. The Acts of 1870 and 1881, though in deference to English prejudice the acknowledgment was disguised and minimised, gave statutory recognition to what, if law in Ireland had followed Irish and not English custom, would have been an unassailable and unquestioned common law right. It remains to be seen how far this system of divided ownership, with rights determinable by a special tribunal, will work. So far as the operations of the Land Court and of its subordinate tribunals have gone, there seems no reason to look with any despondency upon the measure. There is no dead-lock. The machine moves, and works. The courts are crowded, and by judicial decisions and extra-judicial agreements a great number of controversies are being settled. It is possible, however, that the acknowledgment of a partial proprietary interest in the soil on the part of the cultivator may be but a step towards the establishment of a true peasant proprietary over large portions of Ireland. The real settlement of the Irish Land Question, and with it of a good many other troublesome Irish questions, may be found rather in the application and development of those portions of the Acts of 1870 and 1881 which are associated more especially with the name of Mr. Bright,

The diminished authority and responsibility of the Irish landlord, who is likely to shrink into something scarcely distinguishable from a mere rent-charger, place him in an anomalous position, which will be more and more invidious as years pass on, and as its origin is forgotten. He will have increasing motives for selling and the tenant for buying the land cultivated by the one and partially owned by the other. Distinct foresight in these matters is impossible; but the probabilities point to this issue."

It was curious to note that the next morning neither of the Tory dailies—the *Standard* or the *Morning Post*—had a word to say on the matter.

"The County Derry election," wrote the *Echo*, "has resulted in the return of the Irish Solicitor-General, by the substantial majority of 647. Derry is now one of the staunchest Liberal constituencies in the North of Ireland. In 1868 it returned two Conservatives without a contest, but in 1874 the lowest Liberal was nearly a thousand votes ahead of the highest Conservative; at the last General Election the mean Liberal majority was 800. At the present election the Conservative candidate had some advantage in his allegiance to the Presbyterian Church; the Liberal had the drawback of belonging to a sect which orthodox Protestants regard with considerable aversion. The introduction of Mr. Dempsey as a Land League candidate was regarded in England as a very Hibernian mode of fighting the Government; but those who know Ulster declare that it was regarded as a necessity, since it would be almost impossible to persuade the minority of Catholic voters to support a candidate who was backed by Orangemen. The withdrawal of the candidate of the League almost at the last moment seems to indicate that his chief supporters had finally determined to run the risk of attempting to lead their supporters into the Orange camp. Only yesterday the news was telegraphed that they were succeeding in this effort; the declaration of the poll has proved the contrary. Mr. Porter's majority is only

250 below that of Mr. Law, and 150 below that of Sir Thomas McClure last year. The Liberal vote is 300 less than last year; the Tory vote about 50 less. It would appear, therefore, that the Land Leaguers failed in bringing over their voters to the Tory side, and that, for the most part, they either stayed at home or voted for the Government candidate. If this was not the case, then it is obvious that the defection of Land League voters from the Liberal side was balanced by a considerable defection from the Conservative to the Liberal Party."

The *Times* said:—"Against the sullen disaffection of whole classes of the community the ordinary resources of the Constitution are almost powerless. This is the real difficulty which besets the Irish Executive, and it is one which every Government, whether Liberal or Conservative, would have to encounter in the present condition of the country. In such circumstances, inasmuch as the return of a Conservative at the Derry election would have been worthless as an Opposition victory, and mischievous in its influence on the Executive, the success of Mr. Porter will be satisfactory to all good citizens without respect of party."

The *Manchester Examiner* said:—"The result of the election, however, while it shows that the Londonderry voters are earnest Liberals still, may be accepted as a proof, also, that they are content to leave the amendment of the Land Act to its original authors, rather than to a member of the party which persistently opposed it, and which is still virulently denouncing it, on the English side of the Channel."

The *Yorkshire Post* said:—"Not only was the county thoroughly placarded with posters showing how rents were being reduced from 50 or more to 25 per cent, and urging tenants, 'if they wanted their rents reduced in like manner,' to support Mr. Porter; but circulars appear to have been issued making a specific promise of a large reduction of rents if Mr. Porter were returned. Of course such an offer was not

to be resisted. It is not surprising to learn that it is intended to petition against Mr. Porter's return. Under the circumstances, it may be considered creditable to the great body of the Conservatives in the county that, with this bribe to tenants before them, the Conservative vote, 2,107 in 1880, has only declined by 63 votes."

The *Birmingham Daily Post* said:—"It would not have been greatly surprising if Mr. Porter had been defeated, and we certainly should not have despaired if this untoward result had occurred. But this very consideration renders the victory all the more important. If Liberalism is strong enough in Ireland to hold its ground against such combinations as those witnessed lately in the county of Tyrone, and now again in the county of Londonderry, there must be a much deeper and more settled confidence in the policy of the Government than Conservative critics would have us believe; and the existence of this feeling affords a well-founded hope of the return of peace in Ireland."

The *Manchester Courier* said:—"When one reflects on the virtue of the Liberal Press, which a few years ago could not find words strong enough to reprobate the iniquity of the French Empire in daring to bribe electors to return Government candidates by promising to make a road or a bridge at the expense of the State instead of at that of the Commune, and then finds the favoured candidate of a virtuous Liberal Government returned by means of a shameless bribe taken from the pockets of a single class, there is only one reflection to be made. What it is need not be stated."

The *Liverpool Mercury* said:—"The feeling in favour of the Government must indeed be strong in the North of Ireland when we find a Liberal candidate returned by so large a majority, in face of an opposition which represented a combination of Toryism and Home Rule, and which resorted to the most unscrupulous means in their effort to show that the Land Act is not approved by the Irish people."

The Orange placards at the Derry elec-

tion were a curiosity in the way of electioneering. Here is one specimen. "Will you Christian people of England decide for your God, for your virtue, for your morality, or will you decide against all these? He who votes for Wilson will be for them. Let, therefore, the cry of the Christian people of Derry as they go to the poll be, 'Who is on God's side vote for him.'"

As a further illustration of the way in which the battle was fought, the following is noticeable. The Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, advocating the cause of the Conservative candidate, Sir Samuel Wilson, thought to score a point by writing a letter in which—referring to the difficulties last session in connection with Mr. Bradlaugh's admission to the House of Commons as the elected representative of Northampton—did not shrink from committing himself to this statement:—"Worse still, if possible, the oath *has been taken* with a cynical confession that for him it has no meaning and no force. . . . Every vote for the Solicitor-General is practically a vote for Mr. Bradlaugh." It might well have been regarded by the Bishop as a dearly purchased party triumph, if his candidate had headed the poll as the result of such an utterance as this. As it turned out, the Bishop's intervention was as fruitless as his statement was unvarnished; his *protégé* having been rejected, and the object of his denunciation heading the poll by a decided majority.

Let us turn to less exciting matters. The Education Department in the recess was very busy receiving deputations. The appearance, at one of them, of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the head of numerous representatives of the National Society, was a sufficient indication of the interests supposed to be involved. But the excitement was by no means confined to the Established Church. The Wesleyans also sent their deputation. On the other hand, the most important schools have been diligently considering the changes foreshadowed in the education code, and by

memorial or otherwise have been earnestly urging their views on the Education Department. It appears the position was this:—Our Ministers of Education—for we have two of them, and a good deal of confusion as to responsibility is the result—were of opinion that the code is susceptible of considerable improvement with regard to increased efficiency of instruction. It is noteworthy that some of the reforms they suggest were simply the abolition of alterations introduced under Lord Sandon. The institution of stipendiary monitors has been found to aggravate the evils incidental to the pupil teacher system. It can hardly surprise us that the permission to regard two children of twelve years of age as equivalent to one pupil teacher should very speedily have been found inconvenient, and, so far as efficiency is concerned, disastrous. The child's school-book, which was to be an official record of each scholar's instruction, and eventually a passport to employment, has been found impracticable among free and independent Britons. The system of honour certificates which secured a free education to children who had made a certain proportion of attendances within two previous years, has not worked well, perhaps because of the perverse restrictions by which it is limited. But Lord Spencer and Mr. Mundella, not satisfied with effacing the aims of their predecessors, meditated substantial reforms, a rough draft of which was made public. They propose to alter the mode of apportioning the Government grant, not at all with a view of lessening it, but with a view of giving the taxpayers more for their money. The general effect will be that the amount earned will be less dependent on mere attendance, and more dependent on successful teaching. It will be of less profit to managers than formerly to crowd a school with children unless they can prove that they have been well instructed. At the same time, all children who have been in the school for six months must be presented, and the requirement of 250 attendances is to be dropped. The stan-

dards are to be slightly altered, but by no means to the extent required by educational reformers, and in raising to the fifth standard the line below which specific subjects are not to be recognised, the department would seem to have erred, if at all, on the side of caution. Some of the most important proposals affect the school staff. An assistant is to be reckoned sufficient for only sixty children, instead of eighty, as hitherto; a pupil teacher for thirty, and not more than three pupil teachers are to be allowed in any department of a school. Greater demands will also be made in regard to the organisation of infant schools. If there are more than fifty infants, they must have a separate adult teacher, and if more than sixty, a certificated teacher. Several of these improvements mean the expenditure of more money by a certain proportion of school managers. As a rule, School Boards will not have to lay out an additional penny, because they have adopted already the required method of organisation. But the case is different with the so-called voluntary schools. Hence the sectarian deputations. The department appear to insist, and we believe with justice, that any increased expenditure required would come back again in larger earnings, on account of greater efficiency. If the sectarian schools are so near the limit of their resources that they cannot afford the outlay of a few pounds, to be received back in twelve months' time, it is clear that for the sake of a paltry half million in voluntary subscriptions, there is a danger of sacrificing the efficiency of national education.

If the Irish in Ireland were big talkers, as was to be expected, they were left far behind by their happier brethren the other side of the Atlantic. In the *United Irishman* appeared the following letter in the month of December:—"I have been thinking for some time of getting up a surprise party for one of those big hell-hounds in Kerry—Lord Ventry, Sammy Hussey, or Lansdowne's agent, Trench. In short, I will be one of six Kerry men to subscribe

fifty dollars, between now and St. Patrick's Day, towards furnishing ways and means of ridding Ireland forever of one or other of those never-to-be-sufficiently-damned scoundrels. I think three hundred dollars would be enough. I'll write you a letter in a few days which you can hand to the right sort of Kerry man. There are many of them in New York city. Let five of them get together and agree. I don't want to know anything more than they mean business." At the same time, the Chicago Convention held its sitting, and came to the conclusion that the Irish in Ireland should pay no rent. The action of the closing session was really a declaration of war against England. The Rev. Father Walsh, treasurer of the National Land League, created intense excitement in the Convention by shouting, "I am a Nationalist. I ask, has Ireland any just cause for rebelling against England? I answer yes, and swear it by the eternal God." Revolutionary speeches followed on all sides. One delegate subscribed one hundred dollars, and agreed to pay more till the sum reached 1,000. A priest subscribed fifty dollars, and offered his services as chaplain to the army. Subscriptions amounting to 30,000 dollars were promised, and 21,000 were paid in before the Convention adjourned. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and Mr. Healy, M.P., were present, but made no speeches. The former subscribed fifty dollars to the quarter of a million special levy which the Convention voted for Ireland. The *Irish World* argued that the Chicago Convention was a victory for its policy, and said, on the fundamental principle of free land, Ireland, as a nation, must be rebuilt.

The Lords of the Admiralty, we were glad to find, in the month of December, had made up their minds to carry into effect the resolution adopted some time since, by which the ration of spirits in the navy was not to be issued in such an indiscriminate manner as has hitherto been the case. The issue of the ration to officers, excepting warrant officers, will be discon-

tinued entirely, and the value of the spirit thus saved will be handed over as a contribution to the funds of the officers' messes. No one entering the navy henceforth will receive a spirit ration in kind until he attains twenty-one years of age, and all warrant officers and men will be allowed, in lieu of the spirit ration, to receive either its value in money, or a ration of tea and chocolate and sugar; and commanding officers are directed to make such regulations as will allow men on duty during the night and early morning watches, to avail themselves of the substitute for grog before turning in. On very special occasions, when officers are on detached service, and it is impossible to avail themselves of mess stores, a ration of spirits may be issued to them; but this is to be entirely at the discretion of the commanding officer, who will report to the Admiralty his opinion as to the necessity of the case. These regulations cannot fail to meet with every one's approval, and will have a most material effect as regards the improvement—mental, moral, and physical—of the men. Sir Garnet Wolseley has given the strongest evidence in favour of the discontinuance of the spirit ration to troops in the field. The best men under his command in South Africa were, he states, total abstainers, a fact which those who derided what they are pleased to term a milk-and-water circular, will do well to remember. It is notorious that most of the punishments in the Royal Navy are connected with drink, and under such circumstances the Government are bound to do all they can to keep Jack out of the way of his too easily besetting sin. Still more may be said. If, anywhere, men are expected to keep their heads cool, and to, at all times, have their wits about them, it is when they are at sea. Drunkenness at sea has undoubtedly been the means of the loss of life, of many a valuable ship and her precious crew, and it is to the credit of the Government that it has at last taken a step in the way of Temperance Reform.

The Board of Trade Returns for Novem-

ber confirmed the favourable anticipations that have lately been indulged in regarding the improvement in trade. Compared with the corresponding month of last year, the exports show an increase of £1,849,000, or nearly ten per cent. Chemicals, which, according to Lord Beaconsfield, afford an unerring test of the condition of trade, show an increase of eleven per cent., and most of the principal articles of export show a much larger increase. It may be

by the decrease in the imports of food consequent upon a better harvest. Thus we find that the imports of barley have fallen off 29 per cent., oats 44 per cent., wheat-flour 35 per cent., Indian corn 39 per cent., and meat 44 per cent. Taking the eleven months from January to November, our exports show an increase of upwards of £9,000,000, as compared with last year, and as compared with the same period of 1879, of more than £39,000,000. There is good



FORTRESS AND TOWN OF USIPITSHA, SERBIA.

noted, too, that the disproportion between the increase in quantity and value is less marked than it has been for some months. Turning to imports, we find a very large decrease, the total being £34,269,000, which shows a decline of £4,160,000, or nearly eleven per cent., as compared with the corresponding month of last year. But this may be accounted for to some extent by the bad weather that delayed the arrival of many vessels, and still more

reason to believe that when the returns for the entire year are published, our exports will be found to have been larger than for any year since 1874, a rather awkward fact for Fair Trade croakers.

We gather from a speech made in December, at Burton-on-Trent, that the present Government had done not a little to increase the efficiency of the Army and Navy. Although the late Ministry were for ever talking of the glory and greatness

of England, of her influence in the Councils of Europe, and her ability to go through any number of campaigns, the British Army was so miserably inefficient that the Zulu War severely taxed its strength, and the total sum allotted for the purchase of armour plates for the Navy in 1880 was but £76,000, of which only £37,000 was spent. Reckless expenditure in other directions compelled the Government to stint the money which the First Lord of the Admiralty should have spent. Under the present Administration it has been otherwise. The first year Lord Northbrook came into office, he spent £229,000 in the purchase of armour plates, and in 1881 the sum allotted for this most essential service was £225,000. It could have been wished that Mr. Trevelyan had been somewhat more explicit as to what the Admiralty was doing in the way of supplying the Navy with more powerful guns; but we must, for the present, remain content with his assurance that the "Admiralty is keeping pace with what is done elsewhere." Returning to the Army, Mr. Trevelyan maintained that in the last twelve months more has been done for the efficiency of the army than has been done in any equal space of time ever since Sir John Moore took the British Army in hand after its great disasters at the end of the last century. But Mr. Trevelyan does not shrink from pointing out that our army can never be what it should be until promotion is by selection rather than by seniority. The objection that this would lead to a system of political appointments is best answered by pointing to the navy, where selection has long been the rule, and there is no trace of political influence having any effect. About the same time he remarked that whatever may be the intrinsic merit or the approximate military success of the new military arrangements, it is altogether subordinate to the feeling of satisfaction which arises from the increasing popularity of the army with the classes from which it is recruited. The best devised plans for the army would be imperative were we not

in a position to obtain a sufficient supply of the material out of which soldiers are fashioned. We are doing so now at a rate which, in some respects, is unexampled. To say that all vacancies are properly filled, does not adequately describe it. That has been the normal condition of recruiting since short service came to be generally understood. But the present popularity of the service is to be measured, not so much by the number of recruits enlisted as by the number of those who are rejected, although they possess sufficient physical qualifications. It is difficult to assign a cause for this. But it is reasonable to suppose that the abolition of corporal punishment, the assured service and highly approved position of the non-commissioned officers, and a more generally diffused knowledge of the advantageous incidents of military service, are not without their influence. Whatever may be the cause, however, there can be one feeling of contentment at a result which, under a really voluntary system, without the payment of a bounty, and in a condition of the labour market that gives the recruiting-sergeant no exceptional advantage, enables us to more than fill the ranks of the army with a class of young soldiers in many respects superior to any that have been before attracted to the colours.

A great sensation was created by a discovery that in one of the Industrial Schools of the metropolis the boys had been treated with such harshness that some of them had been compelled to run away. At Glasgow, and in other places, there was an outcry raised as to the harshness and cruelty exercised on some of the unfortunate inmates of these Industrial Schools. The result was, Colonel Inglis, the Government Inspector of Industrial Schools, wrote, by direction of the Home Secretary, to the managers of reformatory and industrial schools, impressing upon them the imperative obligation which lies on them to exercise personal vigilant supervision in order to secure that the inmates should, in all respects, be properly and humanely treated,

and that, while discipline should be enforced, kindness should be the rule of the school. He adds :—

"It is especially important that the managers should, by actual inspection, satisfy themselves as to the quality and quantity of the food, clothing, and bedding ; should ascertain that full effect is given to the provision for industrial training and general education, and should see that the punishments are kept within reasonable and legal bounds, and faithfully recorded in a book kept for the purpose. Sir William Harcourt is of opinion that the managing committee should meet at least once a month, and should in every case keep minutes of their proceedings. They should appoint visitors, one of whom, at least, should visit the school weekly, and report to the general committee. He wishes the inspector to be at once furnished with a return of the names of the committee of your school, as well as with a copy of the existing rules as to the meetings of such committee ; also with the number of such meetings since the 1st of January, 1881, and the number of members present at each. He also wishes that for the future a similar return should be sent into my office with the quarterly returns."

* A document, of which the following is a copy, signed by Colonel Inglis, was enclosed with the foregoing letter :—

"I am directed by Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt to request the managers of reformatories and industrial schools to direct their attention to the necessity of enforcing a strict record of all offences and punishments in the book which is kept for the purpose, including the minor punishments inflicted by the head teacher. It is also his wish that, on the first of each month, a copy should be made of the entries in the punishment book during the preceding month, on a form to be prepared for the purpose ; and such record shall, on the first of each month, be placed in a conspicuous position on the wall of the school-room, and not removed until after the annual visit of the inspector. A copy of

these records to be forwarded to this office with the quarterly accounts."

In November appeared a correspondence, which created not a little stir, between Mr. Gladstone and Sir Bartle Frere, the great Indian statesman, and recalled ruler of our South African Empire.

"10, Downing-street, Whitehall,

"August 15th.

"Dear Sir B. Frere,—I write briefly in reply to your recent letter,* with no controversial intention, to say that I think you have unintentionally fallen into some error of fact.

"The mode in which I connected your name with the recent Afghan war is fully explained in page 205 of Vol. I. of my *Midlothian* speeches. * It was simply treating you as an advocate of the 'policy of advance.' With the actual proceedings of Lord Lytton I never directly or indirectly connected you. Of those proceedings you are quite right in supposing that I have spoken in the House of Commons, and elsewhere, in the strongest terms ; but I have never thought or said that the forward policy involved of itself a moral error or reproach.

"You will, I think, agree with me that the lengthened passage in page 205 explains the short one in page 49. Had I been the corrector of my speeches, I should probably have inserted the word 'cited' after 'authority.' If I am wrong in my statement, or in any statement, of a declaration of ~~yours~~ respecting Africa, I shall be most ready to make my apology for the error.

"I have certainly differed from you widely on grave matters much affecting the public interests, but I am not conscious of having been led at any time into the use of any expression concerning you which was not

* *Afghanistan and South Africa.* A letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., regarding portions of his *Midlothian* speeches, by the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., F.R.S., etc., with a letter to the late Sir John Kaye, and other papers. London : John Murray, 1881.

consistent with the fullest respect and regard.

"Believe me,

"Very faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

"Pitmedden Oyne, Aberdeenshire,
"(Permanent London Address, Athenæum
Club), September 17th.

"Dear Mr. Gladstone,—Owing to a mistake in direction, your note of the 15th of August only reached me here on September 15th.

"I will not depart from the intention you mention to write with no controversial purpose; first thanking you for the kindness of the feeling you express regarding myself personally. But I cannot plead guilty to having fallen into any error of fact in what I wrote to you. There was an Indian 'policy of advance' when I wrote to Sir John Kaye in 1874. Some of the most influential advisers of the Indian Government, including men who had previously been strenuous advocates of a stationary, or negative policy, were so startled by Russian movements towards Merv, that they proposed to make its occupation a *casus belli* against Russia, and to send a fleet to the Baltic to enforce the remonstrances of the British Government.

"Every word I then wrote to Sir John Kaye was part of an emphatic argument against any such 'policy of advance.' Whether I was right or wrong in regarding the proposals I combated as the natural and inevitable result of the previous policy of neglect, is another question, which I need not now argue.

"But there was another, and a later 'policy of advance,' carried out into action when Afghanistan was invaded from India, by order of the late Government.

"With that policy, be it right or wrong, I had never anything whatever to do. I heard nothing of it, nor of the arguments by which it was supported, except through the Press, till long afterwards.

"You assure me that you had no inten-

tion of connecting me with the actual proceedings of that advance.

"But I submit that, as matter of fact, the vast majority of your hearers and readers of the Liberal party, as well as their opponents, did draw from your words the same conclusion that I drew—viz., that you meant to connect me with those proceedings as one of the advisers and authors of the war, and, consequently, that I was to be regarded as unworthy of credit when I spoke or wrote in defence of my action in South Africa.

"I further submit that, as matter of fact, no one can find in anything I ever wrote or said, any suggestion of such hasty advance or precipitate retirement as were the disastrous sequels of that 'policy of advance' into Afghanistan.

"The only 'policy of advance' into Afghanistan I ever advocated was an advance towards cordial and friendly relations between two nations—England and Afghanistan—who had been at war, and were still imperfectly reconciled.

"For advocating such a policy towards Afghanistan, I was at first censured by Lord Dalhousie, though he afterwards justified me by himself adopting the line of policy I recommended. In my advocacy of such friendly policy, I always had the cordial support of his successors, Lord Canning and Lord Mayo.

"These seem to me to be matters of fact, which I believe admit of no question, and had they been as clear to you then as I trust they some day will be, you would not, I feel sure, have expressed yourself in a manner to lead your followers into an error so injurious to my reputation as a faithful reporter or adviser to her Majesty's Government in South Africa.

"In what I have now said I refer mainly to your condemnation of the policy I advocated in Afghanistan.

"The case of Africa is different, for the facts there were so complicated, and had been so much distorted, suppressed, and misrepresented, that the utmost I could expect from the most cautious non-official

critic at the time you spoke, was a suspension of judgment until the facts were more clearly ascertained.

"I, hope if I live, to complete a plain narrative of affairs in South Africa during the time I was connected with them. It will, I hope, satisfy you and all reasonable men that I was justified in action, as well as in intention, in all that I did or advised while out there. I trust I shall not be misunderstood as complaining of what has happened.

"The public servant who loses, as a consequence of party strife, any reputation he may have earned for judgment, justice, and sound patriotism, has no more right to complain than he who loses any less valued possession, health, or limb, or life, in his country's service.

"But I wish to do what can be done to clear my memory from the stain of what I believe to be unjust aspersions consequent on criticism which, however intended, was, I feel convinced, unjust. This is my only reason for again intruding at such length on your over-occupied time.

"Believe me,

"Very faithfully yours,

"H. B. E. FRERE.

"The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P."

"Hawarden Castle, Chester,

"September 22nd.

"Dear Sir Bartle Frere,—I never had any reason, until I read the opinion expressed by you, to believe, nor do I believe, that I was so grossly misunderstood by anyone in this country as to be supposed to connect you with the deplorable measures taken in Afghanistan during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. But I certainly was under the impression that you were favourable to the policy of military advance on the north-west frontier of India. My motive in referring publicly to you was the desire to give my opponents fair play by allowing them the benefit of your high authority. This, however, could be no motive for mistaking your cause, and if I was wrong in the opinion I have just

named, I very much regret it, and am now, as I always should have been, most willing that the expression of my regret should be made public. With respect to South Africa, my opinion on most of the policy pursued there during some recent years is very decided, but I am not aware of having sought, at any time, without warrant, to treat it as yours; whereas, indeed, I remember trying, while in opposition, to speak in an opposite sense, and to point out that the annexation of the Transvaal was no act of your South African administration.

"I remain,

"Very faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

"Kenner, Alloa,

"October 20th.

"Dear Mr. Gladstone,—It is with great regret that I add anything but a simple acknowledgment to your note of September 22. You assure me that you are incredulous as to your having been supposed by any one in this country to have connected me with measures in Afghanistan, to which you strongly objected.

"I will not detail the evidence on which I ground my own conviction to the contrary. Your opinion or mine, on that point, was not in question.

"I have been speaking throughout, of my own share of what should have been done, in 1874-5. The occasion for my advising her Majesty's Government ceased with my retirement from the Indian Council in 1877, as did also my opportunities for offering such advice, when I subsequently went to South Africa.

"On the subject of any political movement ordered by her Majesty's Government after I left the Council, I offered no opinion, and I wish to express none now.

"As to the opinions you believe me to have held on a policy of military advance, in the north-west frontier of India, that also I submit is not the question. I argued in 1874 in favour of a policy which should secure for us a firm friendship with the Afghans, such as would enable them to

support their own position, independent of Russian or other foreign aid. What views I might have held, or what advice I might have given some years after, when all circumstances had materially changed, I have not discussed, and will now not discuss, for they cannot affect the justice or injustice of what you said in 1879. You say you referred publicly to my supposed opinions from a desire to give your opponents fair play by allowing them the benefit of my high authority. But for what was my authority to be quoted?

"For the action with which you say you did not desire to connect me, and with which you say you did not believe that any one in England would connect me? Or for the advice I really gave, that war should be rendered unnecessary by a good understanding with the Afghans?"

"If the latter, for which my opinion alone could be justly quoted, I do not see how it could give any benefit of my authority to a course of action of a different character at a subsequent period, under different circumstances, regarding which I had not been consulted, and could have given no advice.

"I accept the permission to make public your expression of regret as defined in your letter. I should have preferred that the expression had been made public by yourself, as I had done nothing to provoke the attack which had been made upon me in my absence from England.

"If, however, I avail myself of your permission, I must remind you that no such expression of your regret now can undo the injustice of which I spoke—injustice, not to me personally, but to the advice I have given regarding South Africa, which was generally condemned, not on its own merits, for it has been more than justified by subsequent events, but for the ground of your having condemned me as an unsafe adviser, who knew not the spirit by which British Government ought to be regulated and controlled in its dealing with less civilised neighbours.

"It is perfectly true that much of the

policy pursued by the British Government in South Africa of late years was not of my advising, while as regards the Transvaal the statement that its annexation was no part of my administration might have been added that during the short period I was connected with the administration of that province, I earnestly pressed on her Majesty's Government, both Conservatives and Liberals, the necessity of redeeming the promises made at the annexation for granting to the Transvaal, as also to the neighbouring colony of Natal, the same measure of perfect self-government which is now enjoyed by the Cape Colony under the sovereignty of the British Crown; and had my advice been then followed, there would have been no just cause for complaint on the Boers' part that promises made to them on behalf of her Majesty's Government, at the time of the annexation, were unfulfilled.

"My chief anxiety has been, and is, for the work rather than for the workmen; for what is being done in South Africa, rather than for what may be thought or said of those who have been or are now doing it.

"If I could feel that great national interests were not being sacrificed in South Africa, I should have little regret for anything that has befallen me personally in the strife of parties

"Believe me,

"Dear Mr. Gladstone,

"Very faithfully yours,

"H. B. E. FRERE.

"W. E. Gladstone, M.P."

"10, Downing-street, Whitehall,

"October 23rd.

"My dear Sir B. Frere,—I am truly sorry that any correspondence between us should assume a controversial tone.

"There would be no advantage in my noticing matters in your letters, including what purports to be a quotation which I cannot understand, or do not admit. I never knowingly used any words which could convey to an uninflamed mind the idea

that you had advised the measures taken by the late Government against Shere Ali.

"In justice to opponents on whose behalf, as I believe, your authority was quoted, I admitted that you, with another most distinguished and highly respectable gentleman, had been friendly to a policy of advance in Afghanistan.

"Receiving your assurance that this is an error, I am naturally much gratified, and, if you regard my erroneous admission as a wrong to you, I am quite willing to express my regret for having, in the manner I have described, been led into the error, and further to make public my regret by the publication of this or of any former letter.

"With regard to South Africa, I can only state, or re-state, that my object was, during all the recent years, to say as little as I could, and to let that little bear as much as I could towards you and your views. Were I further to develop my ideas, it would not improve the matter.

"I conclude, then, by saying that I have not anything to retract, but that I have the greatest pleasure in repeating my acknowledgment of your high character, your long experience, your distinguished abilities, and the courtesy and kindness I have always received from you.

"I remain,

"Dear Sir Bartle Frere,

"Very faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

"Blytheswood, Renfrew, N. B.,

"October 28th.

"My dear Mr. Gladstone,—I have received your letter of the 23rd. I, as well as yourself, have no wish to prolong this correspondence. As regards quotations, I have not, that I am aware, quoted anything in my letters to you except from your letters to me, and your collected and published speeches. You do not specify the quotation which you say you cannot understand, or do not admit. If it is the sentence noted as a quotation in my last letter to you, *i.e.*, on the ground of your having condemned me as an unsafe adviser,

who knew not the spirit by which British Government ought to be regulated and controlled, my authority for it will be found at page 205 of Ridgeway's edition of your speeches, in November, 1879, which I accepted as authorised, for it was published as revised by the author.

"Whether your words, as there recorded, would or would not convey the idea that I had advised the measures taken by the late Government against Shere Ali, I will not discuss, nor will I enter into the wider question of the military advance into Afghanistan in 1878-9, as distinct from taking up the position we now occupy in Quetta, Beloochistan, which was what I recommended in 1874. I can only repeat that I was not consulted, and had given no opinion on the advance into Afghanistan when you spoke in Scotland in 1879, being responsible only for what I had said years before, under very different circumstances, and to a different effect.

"Concerning South Africa, I cannot reconcile what you say in your last letter with the statements to which I objected as wholly misleading and unfounded, contained in pages 49 and 205 and 209 of your authorised edition of your public speeches.

"I cannot conclude without acknowledging your very many kind expressions towards myself personally. They increase my disappointment that you still say you have not anything to retract in what you said of me without, as I still think, any warrant or just ground.

"I remain,

"Dear Mr. Gladstone,

"Very faithfully yours,

"H. B. E. FRERE.

"The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P."

Here the correspondence dropped. Some of the smaller wits among the Tory party seemed to think the correspondence was a damaging one, and the *Spectator* went so far as to admit that Mr. Gladstone did not do himself justice in it, for the simple reason that he was too anxious to be just

and generous to his opponents. But no one not a bigoted partisan will consider that the correspondence is in any way dishonourable to Mr. Gladstone. In reality, it is nothing of the kind.

In December, a piteous appeal was made to the British public on behalf of many ladies in Ireland who had been reduced from affluence to poverty by the non-payment of their rents. Of this fund the Lord Mayor of London was the head, at the urgent appeal of an influential committee of ladies in Ireland, headed by the Countess Cowper. Accordingly, his lordship opened a fund at the Mansion House, to which the Corporation of London subscribed £210, and earnestly recommended the matter to the practical sympathy of the public, declaring that the heartrending condition of the unfortunate ladies, many of whom were compelled to have resort to the workhouse, seemed to demand national interest on their behalf. A committee, consisting of people of all parties, was at once agreed to, and, strange to say, Mr. Gladstone's acquiescence in the arrangement was described as the virtual surrender of the functions of the Government in Ireland to the Lord Mayor of London. It is not any part, however, of the functions of Government to subsidise private associations, and no one had proposed that Government should advance, or Parliament should vote, a sum of public money for the purposes contemplated in the Mansion House Fund. Those who were guilty of this confusion were actually doing all they could to make the Mansion House Fund fail. They were using it as an instrument or protest of party attack. Whether or not the Government was doing its duty in the sphere which belonged to it, that sphere, it was evident, did not touch in any way the range of operations contemplated by the Lord Mayor. No argument for or against the Ministry was to be drawn from his action, or from the necessity for it. The Select Committee of the House of Lords, which reported a short time since on the Irish Jury Laws, accurately de-

scribed the origin of the difficulty which besets the administration of justice in Ireland. "In many parts of the country," says the report, "we find, on the one hand, a community almost exclusively agricultural, and on the other hand, an organisation extending throughout the whole of that community affecting persons of every vocation and creed, and endeavouring to set up, and enforce, in opposition to the law of the land, a law of its own." The Land League has been dissolved, but the people are there, and will not assist in punishing the crimes committed in its name. The Committee say though the criminal may have been detected in the act of committing crime, though he may have been arrested, bearing upon his person traces which can leave no doubt as to his guilt, though his identity may have been clearly established, the jury have again and again disagreed, or found a verdict of acquittal. Victims of outrage will not prosecute; witnesses refuse to give evidence; juries decline to convict. More than this, the peasantry shield the criminal. He comes from a distance by an underground railway, like that which passed American slaves to the Canadian frontier. He goes back by the same route. No wonder, then, that justice is baffled, and that the Government is checkmated.

As defined by the Lord Mayor, the work which he proposed to set on foot was not only innocent but laudable. "Since I have occupied," he wrote, "the position of Lord Mayor of London, the pressing question of what the English people could do to alleviate the distractions of Ireland has been prominently before me, but I was unwilling to enter upon the mere receipt of subscriptions, unless I could see that there was some hope of the movement becoming a national one, and of the end which we all so anxiously desire being attained. It appeared to me that a partial success could only, might only, aggravate the existing dissension, and that nothing but an overwhelming movement could effectually combat the widespread disaffection which

shattered the bonds, and threatened to destroy the framework of society." The Lord Mayor then expressed the desire felt to aid law-abiding citizens, and in that direction, alas! much, too much, it was evident, required to be done. To help Boycotted persons and households; to do work for men whose labourers refuse to work for them; to attend sales and see that the effects of evicted tenants are not bought in at low prices, owing to a combination of neighbours not to bid, are among the public objects of the Property Defence Association. They have been long at work, and public opinion on this side of the Channel was undoubtedly in their favour. Whether it is a wise or an unwise policy, it is a perfectly legitimate thing for Irish landlords to combine to help one another. The organisation of the Masters' Union to assist employers in dealing with Trade Union strikes is a case in point. Englishmen will cordially subscribe to assist Irish ladies who are dependent on Irish rents, and an appeal of the same kind on behalf of Irish landlords generally will meet, undoubtedly, with a similar response. But the objects to which the money was to be devoted had clearly to be defined. It was essential to keep them within purely social limits. They must not interfere in any way with the functions of the Executive Government.

Perhaps the most trenchant criticism of the Land Bill, which appeared in the recess, was that of Mr. Edward Gibson, who, in a letter to the *Times*, full of complaints, wrote as follows:—

"Sir,—When the Land Act was before Parliament, it was admitted by Mr. Gladstone that the majority of the Irish landlords had stood their trial and had been acquitted; that the report of the Bessborough Commission had declared that the greatest credit was due to the Irish landlords for not exacting all that they, by law, were entitled to exact; and that only a limited number of the class had been 'distinguished by conduct differing from the predominating number.' That different conduct was stated to be 'arbitrary raisings

of rent, and harsh and cruel evictions.' Parliament was given clearly to understand that the Government intended the Land Act to be applied to check such raisings and evictions, and that the majority of the Irish landlords would, in the authoritative language of Lord Selborne, find the value of their properties 'restored, and enlarged, and increased, and not diminished,' by the Act.

"The Act has now been in full operation for some six weeks. There are numerous Sub-Commissioners roving over the different provinces. The result, is very startling, and very serious. The decisions are all one way. All rents are reduced. There are variations and differences which appear to rest on no principle, and to be wholly unintelligible; but the broad fact stands out that the rents of Ireland are being steadily mowed down by reductions equal to 25, 35, 50, and 80 per cent. They are made to closely approximate to Griffith's valuation where they are much above it, and when the original rents are but a little above Griffith's valuation, or actually below it, the rents are promptly reduced to some arbitrary line.

"The fact that the rents have not been raised within living memory will not save the landlord from a decree of reduction, accompanied by an order to pay the tenant's costs. The Chairman of the Connaught Sub-Commission, sitting at Swinford on Monday, in the middle of a litter of judgments, gave one in an offhand way, as part of the routine, which, if foreshadowed to Parliament, would, I am satisfied, have been scouted by the Ministers as an impossible and grotesque application of the Act. The rent of a farm whose acreage was 54 acres, 1 rood, 14 poles, whose valuation was £31 15s., was reduced from £40, which had not been varied for forty years, to £32 2s. 6d., and the tenant was given his costs. The closing words of the report of this ukase are noteworthy:—'They always administered this great and statesmanlike measure firmly and impartially, without fear and without favour.' (Applause in Court.)

The cheers which follow the majority of the decisions require no comment.

"The Assistant Commissioners appear to think it is so clearly expected from them to reduce rents, that even when they, in substance, give a decision for the landlord, they cannot forbear making it apparently for the tenant by some trivial reduction. Thus, in a recent case on a farm of 215 acres, they reduced the rent of £53, which had been paid for nearly thirty years, to £50, a reduction of about threepence an acre. Such a state of things never was contemplated by Parliament. When the Prime Minister last repudiated the claim for compensation, he must have considered that the Act could not have been so administered. It is impossible for a single sentence of any member of the Government to be referred to, in or out of Parliament, indicating the faintest chance or possibility of the Act being worked or administered as it is now. The landlords of Ireland have met the Act frankly and generously. They had a right, at all events, to expect that, if they were to get no favour, they should be given a fair field.

"The Government are distinctly responsible for the administration of the Act. That administration is not creditable. It is assuredly not what Parliament was led to anticipate. This has naturally startled public opinion.

"The strain of the working of the Act has fallen upon the Assistant Commissioners, and the Government is directly and solely answerable for the selection of these men. The Act, as introduced, gave the jurisdiction to the County Court Judges—men with ample salaries, assured position, trained to weigh and estimate evidence. Mr. Gladstone, in committee, gave as an alternative to the suitor the power of taking his case before a Sub-Commission rather than before a County Court Judge. The public had at least a right to expect that the men appointed on the Sub-Commissions would be impartial, experienced, well-trained, adequately paid, and given as much independence of *status* as possible.

"It is not too much to say that too many of the appointments, particularly those first made, to the office of Assistant Commissioner, were not what impartial and fair-minded men would have anticipated. It was felt that many of them had been selected with the belief and intention that their sympathies and habits would incline them strongly and steadily to take the tenant's side, and to reduce rents wherever they could without indecency.

"It is widely felt that the Sub-Commissions were not constituted, as any Court of Justice should have been, of impartial men, who were wished and intended to act without bias, independently between all litigants who came before them. Some of their defenders say they should be regarded as arbitrators rather than as judges. If so, it must be as arbitrators selected by one side to decide against the other. I make no reflection on these Assistant Commissioners for accepting the posts which the Government conferred on them. The Government fixed the pay, the tenure, and the qualifications, and they were bound in fixing the conditions to consider whether they were such as would secure the services of men whose antecedents, experience, training, and independence would have commanded public confidence. The Assistant Commissioners (except those first appointed) only hold office for a year—the legal members getting £1,000, and the lay members £750, for the 12 months' job. The *status* of the legal gentlemen who would accept such offices naturally cannot be high, and some of the laymen selected are entirely unknown; yet to this, novel tribunal of untrained, underpaid men, many of them quite obscure, employed 'on trial' for a year, is handed despotic power over the whole landed property of Ireland! One of these Sub-Commissions may dispose of more property in a month than the Queen's Bench Division in Dublin would in a year; therefore, the *status*, position, and pay of the gentlemen to be appointed to the office are of supreme importance. Mr. Gladstone recently referred to the judicial and im-

partial administration of the Act by men selected by Parliament. The Assistant Commissioners were not selected by Parliament, but by the Government, and common decency demands that the Government shall be influenced in this vital part of the administration by a 'judicial and impartial' spirit. I forbear now to notice the use made, on behalf of the Solicitor-General for Ireland in the recent Derry election, of the most extreme decisions yet given, and as to many of which appeals were pending. That is a matter of grave importance, demanding the most searching criticism, and its legality will most probably be questioned before the Election Judges.

"The Assistant Commissioners should assuredly not be allowed to exercise jurisdiction in their own localities. One tenant-farmer Assistant-Commissioner has recently been fixing the rents of the county where his own farm is situate, and where naturally his independence is embarrassed.

"It is of extreme importance that the appeals which have been taken from the decisions of the Sub-Commissions should be heard without delay. Every day that passes may lead to exaggerated hopes on the part of tenants and exaggerated fears on the part of landlords, and may encourage the Assistant Commissioners to proceed unchecked and undirected in their curious career. There ought to be absolutely nothing to prevent those appeals being heard at once. The Commissioners are now sitting in Dublin hearing cases about leases, as to which there is no urgency whatever, and the questions involved in which are not of general application. No justification can be offered for a single day's unnecessary delay in hearing the rapidly growing list of appeals."

In reply, the *Times* remarks Mr. Gibson's charges are not in all cases correct. He was wrong when he stated they had reduced rents in all cases. It is hard, it adds, to please an objector of this kind. A large reduction, it appears, is wrong because it is large. A small reduction is

equally unjust because it supplies clear proof that there ought to have been no reduction at all. Mr. Gibson finds fault with Government for the wrongful dealings of the Courts. But the one real point he made was in pointing out the need that the pending appeals from the Sub-Commissioners should be heard, without delay, by the Commissioners-in-chief. This, the *Times* said, we have reason to believe will be done. The appeals will be taken at an earlier date than was at first fixed for them, and, until they have been heard, it is premature to pronounce upon the injustice or the reverse of the new scale of rents, and of guarding property against midnight prowlers, are within the proper range of self-help.

As the season advanced, the attacks on the Government increased in number and ferocity. It is difficult to say who was most bitter of the Opposition; but we must say that the sons of Dukes who sat for constituencies, more or less under aristocratic control, were the loudest and most vehement denouncers of the Gladstone Government. We have already alluded to Lord Randolph Churchill. Equally impetuous, in his small way, was Lord Henry Lennox in his address to his Chichester constituents. Lord Henry denounced the present Ministry as a radical, socialist, communist Government of a purist turn of mind. They had imprisoned four virtuous gentlemen, whose only fault was over zeal in the cause of their party. The Government, he said, had left Afghanistan in confusion, and had sullied the flag of England in South Africa as it had never been sullied before. He believed that the present Government was the result of a sudden craze, and he took the results of the bye-elections of the last eighteen months as a sign that a reaction had set in. The Conservatives had gained twelve seats against two gained by Liberals. Having referred to the result of the Londonderry election, and to the placard issued by the Solicitor-General, Lord Henry Lennox said that he thought it was a great

pity that Mr. Solicitor-General Porter was not in Maidstone Gaol with those three respectable men sent there in manacles for serving their party too faithfully. Alluding to the recent remarks of Mr. Chambers, that great political changes were imminent, his lordship said that the country would not allow the Government to enter on any great political changes until they had pacified Ireland. Of course Lord Henry attacked Mr. Gladstone, whom he hoped to see smoking his cigar with Mr. Parnell in Kilmainham. Mr. Gladstone, he ironically declared, was a heaven-born genius. He described him as ruining England, and as alternately villifying and apologising to his opponents. Mr. Gladstone, it was obvious, occupies the minds of his opponents as completely as he does those of his most devoted followers. They render him the tribute of their fear and dislike of their spite and their rancour. Such as they had they gave. Their offerings, if not precious, were at least the natural products of the soil.

Commenting on such exhibitions, the *Daily News* truly remarked:—"Mr. Gladstone's overshadowing authority is not merely formidable to his opponents. Now and then, within the ranks of his followers, unreasonable murmurs are heard. A good deal of mistrust is occasionally expressed at the decline of individuality in the Liberal party, or rather at the disposition to merge it in one great individuality. It is always Mr. Gladstone, and then again Mr. Gladstone, and, finally, Mr. Gladstone. The country and the House of Commons are under his dictation. We are not exaggerating the language common on the lips of embittered enemies and of disappointed friends. Evil omens as to the future are drawn from this hero-worship, this substitution, as it is fancied to be, of a person for principles in the conduct of public business, and especially in the direction of the Liberal party. Independence in political life is, it is said, disappearing, and will presently vanish. The commanding ascendancy of Mr. Gladstone over the mind and

heart of the nation, or of what for this moment is its ruling portion, is associated, say certain political pessimists, with phenomena new to this country. We mean the introduction of what is called the caucus, and of the machinery of American wire-pulling. There are wheels within wheels. There are local committees obeying the direction of a central committee, which in its turn is moved by a hidden engineer, half-intriguer, half-demagogue. Pressed between the upper millstone of Mr. Gladstone's personal authority and ascendancy, and the lower millstone of the caucus, the unfortunate member or candidate is ground to powder. He is crushed out of shape and recognition. He becomes featureless and shapeless. If this were a true description of political and Parliamentary life, the state of things would be deplorable. But it does not exhibit things as they are in any other likeness than that of extravagant caricature. Still less does it present a condition of affairs which has the smallest chance of becoming permanent. There is no chance that any successor of Mr. Gladstone at present known to the public will wield the authority which he exercises. This authority has come to him in the closing years of a long and illustrious career, marked by services which not one man in a generation has the ability or the opportunity, and still more rarely the ability joined with, or capable of creating the opportunity to render."

Perhaps of all protests against Mr. Gladstone, that of Carlyle's was the most comical. We read in Caroline Fox's *Memoirs*:—"Spoke of Gladstone. Is he not a man of principle? Oh, Gladstone, I did hope well of him once, and so did John Sterling, though I heard he was a Puseyite and so forth; still, it seemed the right thing for a nation to feel itself bound to trust, and to lean on him, and so I hoped something might come of him; but now he has been declaiming that England is in such a wonderfully prosperous state, meaning that it has plenty of money in its

breeches pockets, and plenty of beef in its great ugly belly. But that is not the prosperity we want, and so I say to him, 'You are not the life-giver to England. I go my way, you go yours,' with a most dramatic and final bow." This was written in 1867. "Which times were the most genuine in England?" asks the lady: "Cromwell's—Henry VIII.'s? Why, in each time to me," says the Chelsea sage, "there was something 'genuine, some endeavour to keep God's commandments. But now things have been going down further and further since George the Third." Rather hard this on Mr. Gladstone. It makes him the worst of a bad lot, instead of the leader and first man of the people. But Carlyle was a man of genius and originality and power of talk, tortured by dyspepsia, and the dyspepsia darkened and clouded all his mind. Towards the end of his life, and especially after the loss by death of his devoted wife, his invectives against the times, and the world, and society, and all the men and women in it, seem to have been of the most awful and violent character. We may well believe, as Caroline Fox wrote of him in 1842, when he was at his prime, and the world was learning to do honour to his genius:—"Carlyle's conversation and general views are curiously dyspeptic; his indigestion coloured everything." Even then, however, Carlyle took no roseate view of men and things. Under the date of March 24, 1843, Miss Fox writes:—"Sterling talked about the men he has seen on his visit to London. Carlyle very unhappy about the times, thinking everything as bad as ever, and conducted on the least happiness for the greatest number principle; the only thing good is that men are made to feel unhappy, and so prove that enjoyment is not the object of life." This is the excuse for the criticism of Carlyle on Mr. Gladstone which is reprinted here—though uttered in 1867—as illustrating the position held by Mr. Gladstone in men's minds of the first rank. It is curious to note that the criticism was published in 1881, just as angry Tories

were speculating, in conjunction with a few disappointed Liberals, on the personal power and supremacy of Mr. Gladstone.

Unquestionably the feeling of the Liberal majority of the country towards the Government and their party was in a large degree due to their personal attachment to the Prime Minister. The prevalent idea was that Mr. Gladstone was to be supported; great irritation was manifested when any disposition was observed or imagined to thwart him. But these feelings rested on a sound basis of rational judgment and sound sober sense. They were dictated by a clear discernment of the relation of means to ends. The Liberal party perceived clearly that the advancement of Liberal principles and their embodiment in legislation depended during that existing Parliament upon the maintenance of Mr. Gladstone's ascendancy and authority. An almost ruthless desire to use to the utmost an instrument of rare and unique fineness and force would have dictated such conduct undoubtedly as was pursued. Liberal instinct recognised the conjunction of the hour and the man, and was not disposed to let them pass unemployed. The great force of the various local and central organisations, such named caucuses, did not lie in themselves or their managers. Their strength was in the belief of the fact that they worked for Mr. Gladstone, that was for the man on whom mainly depended the great reforms desired by the more enlightened men of the country. There was no ground either for hoping or fearing that this state of things would be permanent. It was not likely to outlast Mr. Gladstone's public life. There was no prospect of the appearance on the field of public affairs of any one to whom the confidence won by his genius and character would be transferred. Lord Granville and the Marquis of Hartington have fairly earned the good will and respect of the party which they have long and ably served. But neither of them is capable of awakening the almost passionate devotion which Mr. Gladstone has excited. An eminent person has said that

suspicion is the very soul of Parliamentary Government, and the statement is neither more nor less than the truth. Rights which are not watched over with vigilant distrust are in danger of vanishing. But it is equally true that loyal and devoted enthusiasm to a really worthy leader are the conditions of progress and improvement. There are times, and these perhaps are the most frequent, when an attitude of criticism and control, of qualification and check, are most essential in the Liberal party to the Government which it supports. There are other times when a loyal and unbroken unity are necessary. In its attitude to Mr. Gladstone, popular opinion and feeling have recognised with a true discernment the work to be done and the means of doing it. When the conditions and the persons of political life are changed, the attitude of the Liberal party to its leaders will change also. There is no danger of the Liberal party becoming servilely obedient or a mere tool in the hands of personal ambition or electioneering management. The danger most assuredly is all the other way.

One of the questions on which there was great concern in many minds during the recess was that of the Scottish Establishment. According to the *Edinburgh Daily Review*, means were adopted, though not in a formal way, to ascertain the attitude of individual members of the Government towards Mr. J. Dick Peddie's Disestablishment resolution. That resolution, Lord Colin Campbell has publicly proclaimed he will meet with an amendment, and on his lordship's behalf there will be a sharp and influential whip. The Liberal Churchmen and the Tories will join their strength, it being understood that Lord Colin Campbell's motion will be perfectly satisfactory to the Conservatives. From the Scotch members, however, Lord Colin Campbell will get little support, unless there is such a division in the Liberal camp as will inevitably smash up the party in Scotland and result in a series of contests—not between Tories and Liberals, but between earnest

Liberals and Liberal Conservatives. This is the danger so far as Scotland was concerned. But it is not one in which Scotch Liberals are likely to be caught. They have had experiences of Liberal Conservatives and Conservative Liberals before, and found no distinction between the two. They have always in the end turned out more dangerous than honest Tories. Lord Elcho is an example. In the meantime a large number of the Members of the Government are watching the Disestablishment movement with close interest, and a considerable section of them, including several of the most influential statesmen in the country, are not only gratified by the turn events have taken, but have advised the party in favour of religious equality—one of the most cherished doctrines of the Liberal creed—to prosecute the agitation vigorously. These gentlemen, being in office are not in a position to take part publicly in the agitation, but they do not seek to conceal the favour with which individually they regard Mr. J. Dick Peddie's motion. How they will act when the time for the division on the motion comes, depends entirely on Mr. Gladstone and the Cabinet. Mr. Fawcett recently told his constituents that his personal desire was to support Mr. Peddie, and hitherto his chief, Mr. Gladstone, had not sought to fetter his independent action. The right hon. gentleman further stated, that if not allowed the freedom he expected, he certainly would not enter the lobby in opposition to the member for the Kilmarnock Boroughs. We believe that this position is pretty much that of Lord Advocate Balfour. His personal desire is to support Mr. J. Dick Peddie, but he does not yet know the attitude the Government intends to assume. Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Courtney, and Mr. H. Campbell Bannerman are all Disestablishment men, and some, if not all, of these gentlemen would be extremely glad to be allowed to act according to their convictions and desires, but naturally they are averse to committing themselves at present, until

they have received some direct communication from their leaders. Lord Hartington's position remains as he expressed when he spoke at Edinburgh several years ago as leader of the party. He will be guided by Scotch opinion. Between the present time and the opening of Parliament, and until the date when Mr. Peddie's motion is brought forward, it is therefore expected that the friends of religious equality will avail themselves of all possible and legitimate means of ascertaining the intentions of their representatives, and this policy, we may add, has been commended by several veteran and influential statesmen. It is also recommended that there should be great activity in the public discussion of the subject on the broadest basis, on the platform as well as in the Church Courts, and that petitions should be forwarded to the members for presentation in the House of Commons. A London correspondent adds, that when the question of Mr. Dick Peddie comes before the House, Mr. Gladstone will treat the matter entirely as an open question, leaving individual members of the Government to vote as they please. Mr. Gladstone will not himself support the resolution, neither will Lord Hartington, but Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain will do so if they are in town, and so will Sir Charles Dilke and others.

Incidentally, the foreign policy of the Government was referred to in the brilliant debate in the French Senate, on December 10th, between the Duc de Broglie and M. Gambetta, which a writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* described as worthy of the reputation of the foremost representatives of the Monarchy and the Republic. The Duc de Broglie's effective and incisive attack upon the policy which involved France in the difficulties and dangers of the Tunis expedition, was characteristic, not only of the oratorical ability of the academician, but was worthy of the diplomatic skill of the ambassador who represented the French Republic at the Court of St. James's ten years ago. The debate was one of those

with which we are unhappily only too familiar under the late Government. Ministers who are determined upon war or aggression can usually disguise their intentions until it is too late for Parliament to protest. When the war is begun the opposition is told that it is unpatriotic to embarrass the Government with objections while it is face to face with the enemy, and after it is concluded ministers entrench themselves behind the barrier of an irrevocable *fait accompli*. Of all this, English Liberals had too bitter an experience for the complaints of the Duc de Broglie not to be heard with sympathy on this side of the Channel. It is easier to complain, however, than to suggest a remedy, and the debate in the French Senate only deepens the impressions produced by many similar debates in our own Parliament that it is almost impossible for a popular chamber to exercise any control over a Government which is determined to carry out a scheme of aggression, and unscrupulous enough to conceal its design by assurances which combine the duplicity of Machiavelli with the cant of Mr. Pecksniff—a sharp hit this on a certain distinguished statesman at home. Altogether, the debate was exceedingly interesting to Englishmen, and especially that part of it in which reference was made to English policy in the Transvaal. "It ought," as the writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* remarked, "perhaps, to reassure those bellicose patriots who are forever declaring that the sun of England's glory has set because we did not insist upon holding the Transvaal against the wishes of the Boers, to find that two French statesmen of the first rank selected English policy in the Transvaal as the special subject of their panegyric. The Duc de Broglie held up the conduct of the English Government in the Transvaal as an example which the French Ministry would have done well to imitate, and M. Gambetta, so far from dissenting from this view of the Transvaal Convention, defended his policy on the ground that it was modelled upon that of Mr. Gladstone,

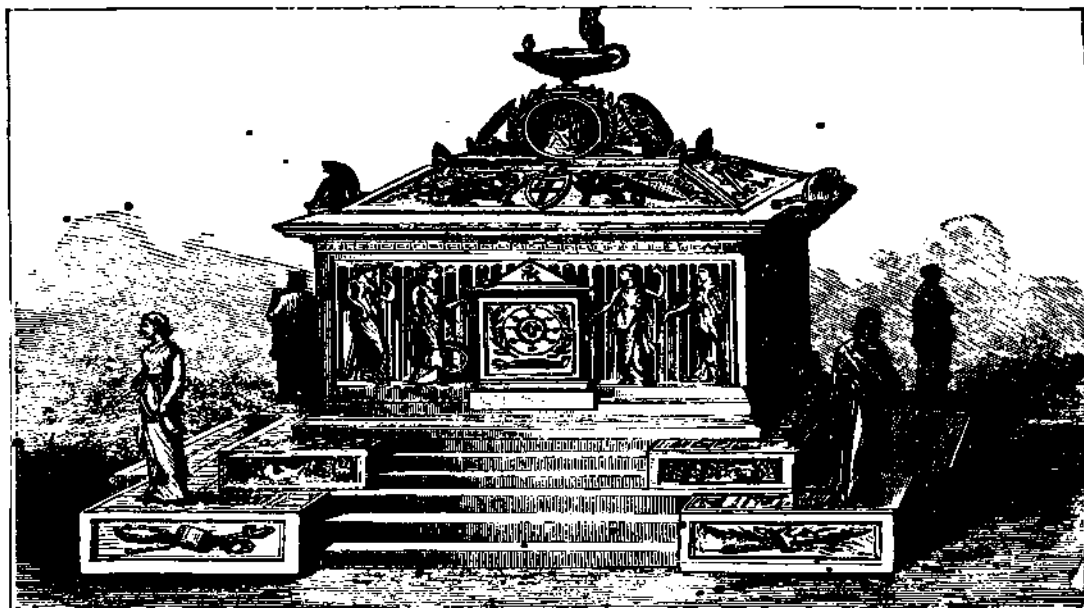
The Transvaal Convention and the Bardo Treaty, said M. Gambetta, contain almost the same clauses, and there is so close an analogy between the two documents that it is impossible to criticise the one without objecting to the other. England is to have a resident in the Transvaal; France is to have a resident in Tunis. England is to have a right of way for her soldiers through the Transvaal territory, so is France through the dominions of the Bey. England is to control the foreign policy of the Boers, and France is to have the same control over the foreign policy of Tunis. The parallel is ingenious but misleading. That it should have been made is a conclusive refutation of the common cry that the Transvaal business disgraced us in the eyes of Europe, but beyond that it does not go. There is a certain surface resemblance between the two Treaties, but there it stops. Our convention was made in order to extricate us from an *impasse* into which we had been led by the annexation of the Transvaal. It restored liberty which the preceding Government had taken away, and diminished the responsibilities existing on their accession to power. The Bardo Treaty did exactly the reverse. It curtailed liberties which formerly existed, and increased the responsibilities of France in Tunis. The Transvaal convention was an act of restitution made as a concession to the just claims of the insurgent Boers. The Bardo Treaty was extorted by conquest from a reluctant Bey. If M. Gambetta really wished to follow the English example in dealing with Tunis, he will conclude a treaty with the Bey—restoring the *status quo ante* the convention of the Khroumins, vesting his retreat as best he can with phrases, reserving rights upon which he does not intend to insist, and recognising a sovereignty which he is resolved not to exert. Nor is it by any means improbable that he may find that the best means of extricating himself from an embarrassing dilemma." At any rate, the reference to English policy under the Gladstone Government is a compliment

of the first order. It is often said that the opinion of foreigners is similar to the judgment of posterity—it is emphatically so in the present case.

Yet over our foreign policy under the Gladstone Government in the recess there were not a few clouds. It was observed in December that the condition of Afghanistan was considered a source of anxiety at the seat of Government in India. The *Times*, however, hinted that such apprehensions were unfounded. When the British Government surrendered the reins of power at Cabul to Abdurrahman Khan, it was vehemently asserted that the experiment would involve not only the Afghan people, but the English power in India, in endless and fatal embarrassments. These ominous predictions seemed to have been fulfilled in the brilliant but fleeting successes of Ayoub Khan. It would be absurd to expect the immediate subsidence of the prolonged and complicated agitations of Afghanistan as the result of Ayoub's defeat and flight. There is, however, no reason to believe that the powers of restoring order, such as is known in that part of the world, has been slower or more doubtful in the present case than it was after the establishment of Dost Mahomed's or Sher Ali's government. At present, there is no appearance of any rival claimant with dangerous pretensions and even a show of popular support. The ground-swell of turbulent disappointment among the Duranees and the Ghilzais may be most prudently met with patience and tolerance, backed by a firm will. Whether or not Abdurrahman will prove himself worthy of the succession to the Afghan sovereignty, cannot, as yet, be determined. But whatever may be the internal maladies of the Afghan state, there is nothing in the situation which, on any view of the rights and duties of Anglo-Indian policy, can be cited as a reason for intervention. Never was there a greater cause for a prudent avoidance of any measures, either of foreign or domestic policy, which might add to the embarrassment of the finances of India.

In another part of the empire, however, there was a step calculated to produce alarm. It would appear that some years ago Mr. Alfred Dent obtained from the Sultan of Brunei and from the Sultan of Sulu a delegation of their sovereign claims over a certain portion of the dominions owned by them, comprising the entire northern part of the island of Borneo from the Sulaman river—comprising the states of Paltan; Sugut, Baryaya, Sandallan,

minister, of a sum of twenty thousand dollars. Whether these personages have any right to cede what they have sold is open to some doubt, Spain contending that the Sultan of Sulu, the real owner of the northern portion of the island of Borneo, has no power to cede the territory in question, since he is the vassal of Spain; and the Dutch Government having been accustomed to claim jurisdiction over the whole of the island. There is little fear,



CASKET PRESENTED TO MR. GLADSTONE.

Kina, Batangan, and their many and other lands as far as the Silmco^r river; further, the provinces of Kimanis and Benoni—the province of Pappar and the territory of Gayaz Bay and Sapaigar Bay, with all the lands and islands belonging to them, and likewise the islands of Banguay. These cessions represent a territory considerably larger than the United Kingdom, and have been made in consideration of an annual payment to the Sultans, and their chief

however, at present, of these claims being pressed, Spain having more than she can manage in the Philippine Colonies, and the Dutch Government having decided that it would be unwise to defend doubtful rights in the Malay Archipelago at the risk of a rupture with England.

Be this as it may, it is certain that the British North Borneo Company, if they are to hold the territory, will have to hold it by the strong hand. They will, in fact, be in

a very similar position to the merchant adventurers of London trading in the East, who, in 1698, obtained the Royal Charter, which led to the establishment of British sovereignty in India. Surrounded by a fierce and hostile population, they must be soldiers as well as traders. The Dyaks, the Malays, and the Bornese are not the kind of people to witness with indifference the appropriation of their land by the foreigner. Wherever there is a factory there will be a garrison, and attack will invite retaliation. The end is not difficult to foresee. Granted that the Company is as strong as the list of its directors indicates, it will hold its own; if not, the British Government must intervene. For, as a matter of fact, the Company has been taken under the protection of the Government. Its proceedings are to be indirectly controlled by Secretary of State; disputes between it and the Sultans are to be referred to him; and no transfer of its grants is to be made without his sanction. The probability of serious fighting has been recognised, since "instructions have been given by the War Office for the supply of fifteen twelve-pounder brass howitzers, with the necessary ammunition, and to be complete in all details. Already, nearly one hundred and fifty tons of warlike stores have been despatched from the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich to the Company." The Government seem, indeed, to "have followed closely the precedent of 1698, and if the Company lives there can be but one result. Sooner or later the North Borneo Company, having conquered as much of the island as the Dutch will permit, will share the fate of its great predecessor, and of the smaller corporation that first sought to colonise New Zealand. North Borneo will become a British possession, administered by British officials, and garrisoned by British troops. It is true that the East India Company had factories in the island and were driven away or murdered by the natives, but Martini-Henrys and Gatling guns are likely to prove too much for naked barbarians. Yet it may well be

asked, What right have we to harry a people who have done us no harm? It will be said that the establishment of an English Government will be a benefit to the natives, by placing them under the control of a civilised authority. The answer to that is, that the natives do not want us, and that we have no right to force, as this Company proposes to force, the "blessings of civilisation" upon them at the cannon's mouth. But, looking at the matter from the lower ground of expediency, are we wise in adding to the enormous responsibilities that are already ours? With half our little army in Ireland, with a heavy garrison in South Africa, with Europe in a state of unrest, with a Protectorate of Asia Minor still to be repudiated, is this the time for increasing our burdens by taking possession of a territory inhabited by a people as fierce and uncontrollable as Afghans? Surely we were right when we said that the Ministerial explanations will be awaited with curiosity not free from anxiety.

A little cloud also came over the landscape in another quarter. In the *Daily News* of December 13th, we read the following:—"We lately stated, on the authority of a correspondent at Rarotonga, that twenty-one islands in the South Pacific are threatened with annexation by France. Although we hope that there is considerable exaggeration in this statement, yet there appears to be no doubt that the island of Raiatea, one of the Leeward group, has been actually occupied by the French naval authorities, and that in August last the 'Hugon,' war vessel, Captain Ménard, called at Rarotonga, one of the Hervey Islands, and gave the inhabitants notice that in the course of a few weeks a French admiral would pay them a visit and decide their fate. A correspondent at Rarotonga, in mentioning these facts, states that—'Every island in this (the Hervey) group, as well as all other independent islands lying east of us, has been visited, allured, and threatened.' The probability of the construction, at no distant period, of

the Panama Canal has given an unexpected importance to these islands, which contain admirable harbours, possess an increasing trade, and lie in the direct track of the projected Canal. Captain Ménard appears to have impressed both natives and Europeans with the conviction that he was in earnest, but it remains to be seen whether the French Government are prepared to sanction the forcible annexation of a large number of islands, the inhabitants of which are said to be intensely hostile to the idea of being made French subjects. In some of the islands there are British interests which call for protection. Raiatea is a centre of the London Missionary Society's operations in the South Pacific, and the important part which Rarotonga plays in

the Society's work in that region must also be well known to many of our readers. It is perhaps not unnatural that the French, in view of the prospective completion of the Canal, should desire to acquire a harbour and coaling station either in the Leeward or in the Hervey group, but this is a very different thing from the extensive scheme of aggression which is now attributed to them. We hope that the result will show that this scheme owes its existence to the unauthorised zeal of one or two French naval officers." It is not so many years since that the French and English were nearly at loggerheads about the occupation of Tahiti, and a possible renewal of such troubles is by no means a pleasant contingency.



CHAPTER XLVIII.

MR. GLADSTONE'S LETTERS—HIS SEVENTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY—
CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE LORD MAYOR—THE
PRESS ON MR. GLADSTONE.

T a meeting held at Dalkeith on the occasion of the opening of a Liberal Club, the following letter from Mr. Gladstone was read :—

"Hawarden Castle,
5th Dec., 1881.

"My dear Sir,—As some time may still elapse before I have an opportunity of addressing my constituents in person, I avail myself of the occasion offered by the opening of the Liberal Club at Dalkeith, to send my hearty good wishes on the occasion, to assure you and your coadjutors that I have not forgotten the marked encouragement which I received from the inhabitants of the town at the period preceding the last election in a degree nowhere exceeded in the county of Midlothian. The manifestation which then took place had no exclusive reference to an individual or an occasion, and I rejoice to see in the meeting about to take place a new indication of the enduring and unalterable attachment of the people of Scotland to the Liberal principles which the Administration they so largely contributed to bring into power has laboured to the best of its ability to promote. In no way could this celebration be made more effective than by its being placed under the presidency of one so respected as yourself.—I remain, my dear sir, faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE.

"To Provost Mitchell."

The letter was intended to save the necessity of a speech. Mr. Gladstone seems to have purposely kept away from his Midlothian constituents. He may be

pardoned for not putting in an appearance. As it was, his Midlothian campaign was the crowning glory of Mr. Gladstone's life. It was there that he inoculated, not only the electors of Midlothian, but of all Scotland and England, with an intense enthusiasm in politics which the Tory party never expected to see, of which many Liberals even had despaired, and which completely upset the Beaconsfield administration. Mr. Gladstone could never have equalled his Midlothian campaign, and it was quite unnecessary for him to attempt one in that neighbourhood on a smaller scale. He had won the Tory stronghold, and the fortress was safe and secure. At the same time he was not going to be ungrateful, or to be forgetful of his old friends and supporters, and hence the above letter, one of the few written in the recess in his own hand, the Secretary in most cases being now the medium of communication between Mr. Gladstone and his friends.

The writer of Westminster Papers pointed out in the *Citizen* the different way in which Mr. Gladstone and Lord Beaconsfield acted with regard to taking care of one's self. "During the last years of his life, Lord Beaconsfield," says the writer in question, "developed an extraordinary and sometimes pathetic greed of life. He would take any pains to save himself from conditions calculated to injure his health. Mr. Gladstone has tendencies in that direction, though they are very irregular in their action. He is fully sensible of the risks of exposure and over-fatigue, and when these have been incurred, nothing can exceed the docility with which he submits to the hand of doctor and nurse. He is also at these seasons full of good intentions

with respect to the future, but as soon as he gets well again, he counts as confidently as ever on his youth and strength. In short, it is the old tale over again—

'When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be.

When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.'

The writer adds:—"Nevertheless, I don't believe that after the coming session Mr. Gladstone will continue to hold the dual office of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. I am indeed certain that last session his own intention was that the Budget of 1882 should be the last of the brilliant scenes associated with his name. He calculated it would take two years to redress the calamitous condition into which the national finances had fallen in the weak hands of Sir Stafford Northcote, and oppressed with the weight of the spirited foreign policy. One more splendid Budget he will frame, and then lay down the task. This opportunity will be at hand next session, when he will have a large surplus at his disposal. It will not be quite so splendid as some he has had, or even as the one he left as a legacy to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is difficult in the space of two years to rebuild a structure wrecked throughout. Still, he will be able to do something worthy of his fame, and might thus write 'Finis' on the last folio of the Budget Bill." This is all conjecture. The real fact was, that Mr. Gladstone entered on his seventy-third year full of health and strength, and with undiminished energy for his work, much to the delight of the nation at large.

Since his accession to power, Mr. Gladstone has conferred Church dignities upon Mr. Butler, Mr. Knox Little, Mr. Oakley, and Mr. Baring Gould. "Further," says a writer in the *World*, "Mr. Malcolm M'Coll is understood to have already ordered his shovel-hat and garters, while it is certain that Canon Liddon would have been Dean of Westminster had not the appointment been directly opposed by a R—y—l person—

age, as Thackeray was wont to write. Mr. Gladstone can hardly be aware of the extent of the resentment his distribution of ecclesiastical patronage has produced among his most faithful supporters."

In January, 1882, the appointment of Sir John Holker to the place on the Judicial Bench formerly filled by Sir Robert Lush was hailed with universal approval. Sir John Holker was born in 1828, was called to the Bar in Gray's Inn in 1854, and was appointed a Q.C. in 1868. He was elected member for Preston, in the Conservative interest, in 1870, and was, on Mr. Disraeli's accession to power in 1874, appointed Solicitor-General, and in the following year succeeded to the post of Attorney-General, which he held until the retirement of Lord Beaconsfield's administration. "Mr. Gladstone," wrote the *Spectator*, "has heaped coals of fire on the head of Sir John Holker. It is a credit to the Prime Minister to have ignored the distinctions of party in making this offer, especially as Sir John Holker did some few years ago select Mr. Gladstone for a very personal kind of attack, by which it is almost needless to say that he lost more in the House of Commons than he profited in Preston, where the attack was made. Sir John Holker is, however, a thoroughly sound lawyer, and though a political Tory of rather an antique type, is a genuine law reformer, having introduced into the House the Reformed Criminal Code, which it is much to be regretted that he could not, at that time, pass. Sir John Holker will now be in his right place in the world, and will be exempted from the necessity of talking nonsense to his constituents at Preston on the subject of Fair Trade, and his constituents had about as clear an understanding as Alice in Wonderland of the significance of the slaying of the Jabberwick by the beamish boy."

"The late Government," wrote the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "set a good example by making judicial appointments, as they assuredly ought to be made, without reference to politics. This precedent has

been followed by the present Lord Chancellor, whose judicial patronage has been almost unprecedented. But the appointment of Sir John Holker is the first occasion, since party government was invented, on which an active political opponent, a law officer of the other side, has been promoted to the bench by any Government, except, perhaps, for purposes of bribery and corruption. Such, however, is the known legal ability and unimpeachable uprightness of the new lord justice, and his universal popularity both in the profession and in Parliament, that his appointment is certain to meet with a chorus of approbation. But it is not merely the facts of his promotion, but of his legal career, that distinguish Sir John Holker from 'ordinary judges.' He is the first 'local'—that is, the first barrister whose practice and residence has been, not in London, but in some country locality—who has attained high honours in the profession. He was for several years of his early career at the Bar, 'localised' at Manchester, and when about to take silk, he came to London, he stepped at once from a purely local Lancashire practice to that of one of the leaders of the Bar. As a politician who by his own admission 'had no strong opinions about anything,' and whose very indifference often made him exaggerate to grotesqueness the strong things his position required him to say, but who was nevertheless conspicuously honest and independent on questions which aroused his interest, he will be missed almost as much by his opponents as by his political friends."

"The appointment to one of the highest judicial offices of an ex-Attorney-General, still sitting on the Opposition benches of the House of Commons, is probably," wrote the *Solicitors' Journal*, "unparalleled in legal history. One of the nearest approaches to such a thing was the appointment by Lord Brougham, in 1831, of Lord Lyndhurst, the ex-Lord Chancellor, to the office of Lord Chief Baron. In the case of Sir W. Page Wood, who was appointed by Lord Cairns to a Lord Justiceship in 1868,

a long period of judicial service had intervened since he had ceased to be a law officer."

The Berlin *Tageblatt*, in a short article entitled *Andere Landes und Andere Sitten* ("Other Countries and Other Customs"), remarked that "Mr. Gladstone has appointed Sir John Holker as a Judge of the Court of Appeal, notwithstanding Sir John's notorious Conservative principles. This is a great surprise to the Germans, especially to the Conservative portion of the nation whose comprehension of the English Conservative system becomes fainter day by day. On January 16th, Sir John Holker took his seat for the first time as Lord Justice of Appeal. The other members of the Court present were the Master of the Rolls and Sir W. B. Brett. There was a large attendance of the Bar as well as of the general public, and the memory of the day will long remain an illustration of the fairness and justice of the Government."

Towards the end of the recess the following telegrams appeared in the papers, published at the request of Mr. Herbert Gladstone, relating to the telegrams addressed by the Prime Minister to the Lord Mayor, on the subject of the Mansion House Fund for the Defence of Property in Ireland:—

MR. GLADSTONE TO LORD MAYOR.

December 6, 1881.

Your lordship's received. My first impression is that the reasons which prevent our participating may possibly, in this case, prevent our advising; but I will write to Ireland and ask, that you may hear on Thursday.

MR. GLADSTONE TO LORD MAYOR.

December 8, 1881.

Irish Government concurs with me in my first impression. We believe the association to be a justifiable movement; but advice from us as to English aid involves many other considerations, and would we think be more likely to do harm than good. Your lordship will probably treat this as confidential.

MR. GLADSTONE TO LORD MAYOR.

December 13, 1881, 9.30 a.m.

I have not the terms of my last communication before me, but you are free to quote it if needful, or to mention that I told your lordship that your decision either way would not embarrass the action of the Government.

MR. GLADSTONE TO LORD MAYOR.

December 13, 1881, 11.30 a.m.

I have seen the telegram. Your lordship is at perfect liberty to quote it if you wish to do so.

An impression had been industriously fostered that Mr. Gladstone, in the telegram read at the Mansion House Meeting on the 13th of December, had expressed the opinion that the movement to raise a Mansion House Fund to aid the Property Defence Association was a justifiable one. The words were taken up and made use of by the advocates of the movement. In speaking at Manchester some days later, Mr. Herbert Gladstone referred to this supposed approval, and said:—"If he was not mistaken, Mr. Gladstone did use the term justifiable, but he applied it to the society which existed in Ireland, known as the Property Defence Association, composed of Irish landlords, and which up to the present time had not received material aid from England. The two things were distinct." Great fault was found with this statement, and it was attempted to explain away the Prime Minister's expressions of approval. The words of the telegram, however, it must be admitted, completely bear out Mr. Herbert Gladstone's account of them. The first telegram is evidently in answer to one from the Lord Mayor. It conveyed Mr. Gladstone's first impression as to the proposed movement, which was that the reasons which prevent our participating may possibly, in this case, prevent our advising. The next telegram, which is the one read at the Mansion House, in pursuance of a permission contained in the two later despatches, reports that the Irish

Government concur in the Prime Minister's first impressions; then follows the phrase of which so much was said as to the movement being justifiable, but questioning the propriety of advice from us as to English aid. The position, therefore, taken up by Mr. Gladstone was perfectly clear. He not only did not say that English aid to the Property Defence Association was perfectly justifiable, but he positively declined to express any opinion upon it at all, and it was held to be not perfectly ingenuous on the part of the Lord Mayor to have allowed the contrary expression to be so widely spread. He had the telegram in his possession, with full permission to quote it, yet he allowed a false representation of its purport to be used by the organs of his own political party, in order, if possible, to damage the Government. "This, however," remarked the *Daily News*, "is only in accordance with the mistaken policy which has governed the whole movement at the Mansion House. For the first time within our recollection, a charitable appeal from the Chief Magistrate of the City has been used for political ends. Day by day the public have been told that the Fund was being raised to make up for the shortcomings of the Government. The Lord Mayor was to take up the task which the Irish Government was incompetent or unwilling to do. The Mansion House Fund has consequently become very little more than a party demonstration against Government. A considerable proportion of the small sum was given by Liberals before its real character was so sharply defined. The Lord Mayor and his political friends will make their party demonstration, but will not do much for the defence of property in Ireland." The failure of an effort so ostentatiously made is, in many respects, to be regretted. The original idea of the Fund appeared to be that of assisting the poorer landlords of Ireland in the pecuniary difficulties which embarrass their action. The only point on which English sympathy might safely be appealed to on behalf of Irish landlords is on the suffering inflicted on them by the

no-rent policy of their tenants. Had the Lord Mayor proposed to raise a fund to assist such in putting the law in force for the payment of their claims, no one could have found any fault with it. A movement in this direction was much needed. It might have done much to make a great social transition easier, and to relieve or mitigate the sufferings which the existing state of things necessitated.

An amusing illustration of the way in which this effort to give a party complexion to the Mansion House Relief Committee appears in the following letter, sent by a gentleman, signing himself "Traveller," to the daily press. "Sir," he writes, "an amusing illustration of the folly of making a party use of the civic movement in defence of the rights of property in Ireland occurred a few days ago, during a railway journey between Paris and Marseilles. A Scotchman, who had filled in a cheque, which he intended to send to the Lord Mayor, purchased a copy of a Conservative journal, in which the Mansion House movement was made the foundation of an attack upon Mr. Gladstone. After reading the article, he exclaimed, 'I see that the object is not so much to protect the Irish landlord as to damage the Government,' and then proceeded to tear up his cheque. Perhaps this little incident may tend to explain the reason why this Fund is not better supported."

The Lord Mayor addressed the following letter to each of the Mayors of England and the Provosts of Scotland,

"The Mansion House, London, E.C.,

"Dec. 14, 1881.

"Dear Mr. Mayor,—I trust you will allow me to call your attention to the very influential and important meeting held here yesterday on the subject of rendering aid to the law-abiding people of Ireland, who are now so much disheartened and distressed by the peculiar phase which disaffection has assumed in that country. No doubt more astute organisers of rebellion

against the established Government of the country have arisen than any that have gone before. Under their direction and counsel the bulk of the population have now assumed a passive resistance to the law and the fulfilment of the most ordinary contracts and obligations. By this combination the bonds of society are destroyed, and the very existence of a civilised community in the sister isle is threatened. I enclose a memorandum of the meeting held here yesterday, and in accordance with the resolution then passed, I have to ask your co-operation in this emergency.—I am, dear Mr. Mayor, yours very truly,

"J. WHITTAKER ELLIS, Lord Mayor."

A similar letter has been addressed to the lords-lieutenant of the various English and Scotch counties.

After Christmas further light was thrown upon the matter by a further correspondence addressed to the newspapers, as follows:—"Sir,—The telegrams published yesterday in the *Times* and *Daily News*, together with the article in the latter paper, imputing to me, as Lord Mayor, a party move, render it necessary I should ask you to publish my letters to the Prime Minister, to which the telegrams are replies, and I leave the public to judge whether, coupled with my letters and the direct approval of the Property Defence Association of Ireland, there is not a more than tacit permission to the Lord Mayor to take such steps as he deemed necessary to aid it. The letters and telegrams were read *in extenso* at the meeting, and accepted by all present in this sense.

"If the Prime Minister's advice at the outset had been not to interfere, I should not have proceeded further, satisfied that such a course was in the public interest; but in the belief that the association is a justifiable movement, and conscious that I have no motive but to assist the law-abiding inhabitants of Ireland, without desiring to enter into any further controversy, I feel that I am fully justified in continuing our efforts in their behalf.—Yours truly,

"J. WHITTAKER ELLIS, Lord Mayor.

"P.S.—These letters are published with Mr. Gladstone's sanction.

"The Mansion House, London,
"December 24."

received this afternoon a deputation, consisting of the Marquis of Stafford, Lord Ardilaun, Lord Elcho, the Knight of Kerry, and Sir George Colthurst, asking me to appeal to



AIDERMAN FLLIS, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

THE LORD MAYOR TO MR. GLADSTONE.

"The Mansion House, London,
"December 5, 1881.

"Dear Mr. Gladstone,—As I anticipated, I

the public from the Mansion House in aid of the Property Defence Association (Ireland). It may possibly be the case that you have not at hand the programme which

they have put forward, and I have thought it well to enclose one to you.

"Their line of argument is that individual landlords are incapable of providing the necessary machinery to protect their property, and that combination is necessary, more particularly in regard to the tenant farmers and small proprietors, who desire to be loyal, but who are overridden by the action of the Land League—in fact, that the growing power of the Land League requires a counterpoise, which the association offers.

"I believe I explained to you my feelings that, if taken up by the City of London, the lines of action should be such as would carry the general spirit of the country with them; and you may, perhaps, remember that you suggested I should write you a letter on the subject which you could send to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and I shall be very glad to hear from Mr. Forster what course he believes will be best in the interests of the country at large. My sole object is to act without reference to party, for I believe that any step on the part of the English people at this moment which may tend either to incite the animosity of the tenantry or to ruin the hopes of the loyal population is one that should be carefully considered.

"The deputation waiting on me to-day declare that their means are exhausted, and that immediate action, either through the Lord Mayor or by their own appeal, is imperative, and they have required my reply by Thursday. I may add that I shall consider the advice given me either by you or Mr. Forster as confidential, and, unless you wish it, that I will not state the grounds of my decision. You will doubtless have noticed a leader on the subject in to-day's *Times*, and I have reason to believe the movement would be exceedingly popular.

"I have anticipated that you will receive this early on Tuesday morning, that you could communicate with Mr. Forster by Wednesday, and that I might have a reply by Thursday, when the deputation will

again attend.—Believe me, dear Mr. Gladstone, yours very faithfully,

"J. WHITTAKER ELLIS, Lord Mayor.

"The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P."

THE LORD MAYOR TO MR. GLADSTONE.

"The Mansion House, London, E.C.,

"December 12, 1881.

"Dear Mr. Gladstone,—No doubt you quite anticipated that the papers would animadvert upon the Mansion House proposal. I believe, however, that the public will eventually perceive that we only take the matter up where the Government must necessarily leave it—that is, after the civil officers, aided by the military and the police, have enforced the law; that it requires combination and united action to enable individual owners of property to hold and usefully and safely occupy the lands after the law has been vindicated; and that it would be impossible for Government to effect this.

"The papers and the public at present only infer that you approve. Would it not be better if this were stated as a fact? I expect I shall be called upon to be explicit on this head at the meeting to-morrow, and I hardly see how I can be so with your telegram before me.

"Assuring you of my earnest desire to act in accord with your wishes and in the public interest alone,—Believe me, your faithful servant,

"J. WHITTAKER ELLIS.

"P.S.—If I may quote from your telegram of December 8th, it is all that is necessary; but your request that it may be treated as confidential at present precludes my doing so.

"J. W. E.

"The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P."

We gather from this correspondence that the Lord Mayor missed the purport of these telegrams. He transferred the epithet "justifiable" from the Irish Association to which Mr. Gladstone applied it, and fixed it on the English Association, as to which Mr. Gladstone declined to give an opinion or advice. The *Daily News* wrote:—"We

believe that the Lord Mayor began the movement of that which seems at a standstill can be so called in the spirit which is sufficiently expressed in his letter to Mr. Gladstone. We looked on with a certain degree of sympathy, and though not hoping very much from the effort, gave it such encouragement to work as was in our power. But what did not begin as a party move, speedily became one. The Opposition saw in it, if not an attack, yet an instrument of attack on the Government, and used it eagerly and energetically. They endeavoured, more from blind passion probably than with distinct purpose, to weaken the Government for its proper tasks in Ireland, by representing it as accepting the help of the Lord Mayor in doing its own work, careless of the fact that this factious interpretation of the purpose of the Mansion House Fund would most likely involve its failure." The Lord Mayor was not able to resist this tendency. On the contrary, it seized on him. At Merchant Taylors' Hall, in congenial Tory company, the Lord Mayor thus spoke of the Mansion House Fund:—"We shall help Government, if only Government will take our help in doing that which they are apparently unable to accomplish for themselves, more than by listening to the clamours of an infuriate population." The Lord Mayor, when he gave utterance to that speech, had travelled a long way from the temper and motives in which he began the movement, as expressed in his letter to Mr. Gladstone of December 16th. The public at once perceived this. It saw that party spirit, animated by an eager desire to injure the company, had seized on the Lord Mayor's Fund, and that the Lord Mayor, so far from mastering this factious impulse, was led away by it, much, undoubtedly, to the permanent injury of the fund, and to the cause which that fund was originally intended to advance.

A day or two after the following letter appeared in the papers:—

"Sir,—Following up my promise to pursue this matter, I send you for pub-

lication a letter I have received from Mr. Gladstone, and also one written to me by the Governor of the Bank of England (Mr. Grenfell), and I trust, now, that the movement is set right with the Liberal party, and that the previous misapprehension is disposed of. Mr. Gladstone's letter is in keeping with his well-known generosity of disposition, and it would have been indeed a source of national regret if party feeling were allowed to interfere when it is so freely admitted on all hands that the happiness, if not the existence, of the law-abiding portion of the Irish people is at stake.

"I can only repeat what I have endeavoured to enforce from the first—that the object of the Defence Association is to take the matter up where the Executive must necessarily leave it; and I would add the words of a distinguished Conservative member of Parliament who, in enclosing a subscription of £500, states that 'the crisis is too grave to justify scruples.'

"Indeed, it may be fairly hoped that all parties will now join in making the fund sufficient in amount to be useful to aid the objects which have been so elaborately canvassed on all sides, and which, I trust, are at last sufficiently demonstrated.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"J. WHITTAKER ELLIS, Lord Mayor.

"The Mansion House, London, Dec. 27."

1. Telegram from the Lord Mayor to Mr. Gladstone:—

"December 24.

"I presume you have no objection to the publication of my letters to you, to which the telegrams were replies, as I wish to remove the imputation (which the *Daily News* asserts) that it was a party move on my part."

2. Telegram from Mr. Gladstone to the Lord Mayor:—

"December 24.

"Your lordship's intention seems to me fair and just."

3. Letter from Mr. Gladstone to the Lord Mayor :—

"Hawarden Castle, Chester,

"December 24, 1881.

"My dear Lord Mayor,—I think it only just to make an addition to my telegram not within the scope of your lordship's question.

"The injudicious and improper course taken by so many who have made use of the occasion for purposes foreign to it, have naturally led to retaliation, which can rarely be discriminating. But, while retaining the position I originally took as to the policy of the movement, I feel bound to express my entire conviction that your lordship's communications to me (and beyond these I do not presume to go) were those of a person whose mind was wholly free from the ideas and objects of party in connection with the movement which he meditated.—I have the honour to be, my dear Lord Mayor, faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE.

"The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

4. Letter from the Governor of the Bank of England to the Lord Mayor :—

"Bank of England,

"December 23, 1881.

"My dear Lord Mayor,—With reference to your letter published in this day's papers, I desire to say in a few words why it is that I was present at the original meeting, and the impressions left on my mind after attending it. I understood from the letters and telegrams between Mr. Gladstone and yourself that the Government approved of the movement. The Queen's Master of the Horse sent a most liberal donation. The Duke of Bedford—the husband of the Mistress of the Robes—was stated to have done the same. The explanations given of the practice of the Defence Fund in Ireland by Captain Somerset Maxwell, showed that the objections urged against the fund by those who feared a private civil war were groundless.

"The chief opposition to the scheme, at first, was from Tories. The objections

appeared to me to be only fair criticisms most properly offered by gentlemen on both sides, and to be capable of being answered by those who were responsible for setting on foot the movement.

"I confess to being a thorough party man, and I may possibly, therefore, have some differences of opinion with you and with others as to what part of an Irish estate justly belonged to the landlord, and what to the tenant; but I am not conscious of any difference with you as to the necessity of that which is left to the landlord being secured to him.

"The Mansion House Fund if properly administered and rigidly confined to the peaceful prosecution of the operations detailed by Captain Maxwell, still appears to me to be worthy of the support of all those who are desirous of availing themselves of 'the resources of civilisation,' to use Mr. Gladstone's words, rather than resort to the barbarous practices which most assuredly will be brought to bear upon Irishmen if they persist in their present schemes of plunder.—Believe me, yours faithfully,

"H. R. GRENFELL.

"The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

The Duke of Marlborough's letter to the Lord Mayor, which was speedily followed by that of the Hon. Mr. Lowther to the Lord Mayor, quite made it clear that the fund was taken up as a party move, and that it was hopeless to attempt to put it before the public in any other light. "If," wrote the latter gentleman, "I may be permitted to do so, I would venture to give expression to the opinion that the existence of the necessity for any such funds as those so worthily presided over by your Lordship, is nothing short of a national disgrace, for which, at the proper time and place, it is to be hoped that there will be no hesitation in calling those responsible to account." The *Times* rather justified the Lord Mayor, but all sound Liberals felt that the criticism of the *Daily News* was nearest the mark. The first circular of his

lordship was indicative of the spirit in which it was intended to commence and carry on the movement, and if anything were wanting to justify that view, it was supplied in the temper of the meeting at the Mansion House, and especially by a speech made by Captain Somerset Maxwell. As to the correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, and the use to which it has been put, there was a very suggestive sentence in the Lord Mayor's letter. "If," said he, "the Prime Minister's advice had not interfered, I should not have proceeded further." Precisely; and the Prime Minister would then have been held up to scorn as the head of a Government which would neither suppress lawlessness itself nor allow others to attempt the discharge of its neglected duties. Mr. Gladstone was not so simple as to fall into the snare. He would not advise at all, and then a sentence of his was taken out of its proper connection and used for the purpose of promoting a movement which was, to say the least, as much a movement against the Liberal party as for the support of the Irish party. The only moral of the story in some quarters was the necessity of a reform in the system by which Lord Mayors were made. "If," wrote a London Liberal, "the present occupant of the chair will only go on as he has begun the whole subject of municipal reform for the metropolis will receive considerable impetus during his mayoralty."

"Interesting and instructive indeed is the spectacle afforded this morning" (says the *Pall Mall Gazette*) "by the attempts of the Conservative journalists who have killed the Lord Mayor's Fund to prove that it was not they but their Liberal contemporaries who are responsible for its untimely fate. Their efforts, however, are unavailing. The *Standard*, with singular forgetfulness of what appeared in its own columns, 'unhesitatingly' affirms that it was the followers of the Government who precipitately stigmatised the fund as a demonstration hostile to Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. The assertion is absolutely untrue. The movement in its earlier stages

was received with approval by the Liberal Press. The *Daily News*, for instance, declared the Lord Mayor's object was not only innocent, but laudable, the same day (the 10th inst.) that the *Standard* was hysterically declaiming concerning the necessity of forming a private committee of public safety on account of the impotence of the Government, while less powerful organs of the party had been harping night after night for nearly a week before upon what they were pleased to call 'government by private tender.' It was not till several days later that we took occasion to refer to the subject, and then we uttered a warning to our Tory contemporaries which they are now admitting has been fulfilled to the letter. We said:—'The attempts to represent to-day's meeting as a rebuke to the Government will not, we venture to say, be found in the long run to serve the purpose of those who persist in it. They will have to drop their favourite picture of it as a vigilance committee, and limit it very strictly to the functions taken upon themselves properly enough by the Property Defence Association on the soil of Ireland.' The opportunity of making party capital out of the fund was, however, too tempting to be lost, and in to-day's apologies we see the result."

When the election for the Carmarthen Boroughs took place, the following correspondence appeared in the papers:—"Sir,—The accompanying very kind letter from the Prime Minister, the tenor of which I had reason to anticipate when I withdrew on the 24th, will explain to my many friends in the Boroughs why I have found it impossible to proceed with my candidature. As I hope that the lesson of union which it inculcates may have weight with other Liberals who, like myself, may find it difficult to postpone the prospect of immediate public benefit to the general duty of party allegiance, I send it you for insertion. It will of course be understood that Mr. Gladstone writes to me only in my character of a supporter of his Government and of an educationist, and

not in any way with reference to any other views put forward in my address, which was not indeed before him.—Yours truly,

"LEWIS MORRIS.

"Penbryn, Carmarthen, Dec. 28."

(Copy.)

"10, Downing-street,

"December 26, 1881.

"Dear Sir,—I learn with much regret that there has not been a perfect union of sentiment up to the present time in the choice of a Liberal candidate for the Carmarthen Boroughs, and that you may find it needful to secure such union by waiving your personal claim. This sacrifice would, I believe, be in unison with the general tenor of your public conduct; and though it would be regretted by your friends, I am confident they would feel you had not only acted on a sound general rule, but had also discerned the special necessity for union at this time, when members of the opposite party, in their eagerness to obtain seats, stoop to seeking them by promises to restore the corn laws, as in Lincolnshire, or by engagements, as in Durham, to vote for the liberation of persons whose action the Government, responsible for the tranquillity of Ireland, had deemed to be eminently dangerous to the public peace. Under more favourable circumstances, I should have been, and shall be, glad to see you take your place in Parliament, especially on account of your connection with the important discussion on Welsh education, which I hope may not be very long postponed.—I am, dear Sir, yours very faithful and obedient,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

On December 29, 1881, Mr. Gladstone completed his seventy-second year. Most of the members of the Cabinet and many Liberal M.P.'s and Liberal Associations sent Mr. Gladstone congratulations from all parts of the country. Lord Cairns forwarded an exquisite bouquet. Three years ago a movement originated among the working men of Chester to recognise Mr.

Gladstone's birthday in the same way as the Colston anniversary is celebrated at Bristol. This year the movement culminated in a banquet given in honour of the occasion at the Town Hall, which had been placed at the disposal of the committee entrusted with the arrangements by Sir Thomas Gibbons Frost, the Mayor of Chester. The chair was taken by Mr. James Tomkinson, the Liberal candidate for West Cheshire, and he was supported by Mr. Rathbone, M.P., Mr. John Roberts, M.P., Mr. Samuel Holland, M.P., Mr. Cornwallis West, and the leading Liberals of the city and county.

The Chairman proposed the toast of the evening, "The Health of Mr. Gladstone." At the mention of the Premier's name the whole audience rose and cheered enthusiastically. Proceeding, the Chairman said he thought he should be expressing the common sentiment when he recorded his opinion that never during the whole course of his career had the Premier's brilliant qualities of statesmanship been seen to greater advantage than during the Session of 1881. Whether we looked to his profound knowledge, his brilliant eloquence, his wonderful mastery and manipulation of detail, and last but not least, the extraordinary control of temper he had exhibited under the most trying circumstances during the past session—we experienced the greatest source of admiration. It was their appreciation of these great qualities and the brilliant mind of the man himself that caused them to wish that these qualities might be long preserved to do the work for their country which they expected of them in the future; and it was these qualities, possessed by the Premier in an especial degree, which gave his birthday celebration more than ordinary significance.

Mr. Samuel Holland, M.P., speaking very briefly in reply to the guests, said that having the honour to represent the county of Merionethshire at a gathering in honour of Mr. Gladstone's birthday, he assured them that it would be his endeavour in

Parliament to support Mr. Gladstone in carrying out those measures which the Liberal party were looking forward to receiving at his hands.

Mr. Rathbone, M.P., who was received with loud cheers, said that they were met that night to do honour to their great chief. There never was a moment when Mr. Gladstone's greatness stood higher and was more acknowledged in the world than at the close of the last session. Even in the face of the detraction that had pursued him so bitterly and so long, all parties admitted the magnificent ability and patience he exhibited, and at once the grasp of principles and the mastery of details which he had shown in carrying the Land Bill. As a simple act of physical power it was one of the most wonderful things that had yet been seen. When he first introduced it he walked into the House leaning on his stick, and most of them looked on with considerable alarm and sadness, believing that it was almost impossible that one who had so lately recovered at his age from an illness should undertake so great a work. But, instead of the ordinary work which they expected from him, he heaped labour upon labour, taking night and then morning sittings, and then morning followed by evening sittings. He believed there was no instance of a Minister going through such an amount of physical labour, and especially throwing such intensity into it, as had been exhibited by Mr. Gladstone. He was lately talking in the lobby of the House of Commons with one of the ablest Conservatives in the House upon the provisions of the Land Act towards the latter part of its progress in the House of Commons, and he broke out with these words, "It is a real pleasure to fight a Bill against Mr. Gladstone: he is so thoroughly honest. When you point out a blot in his measure, instead of hemming and hawing, and saying he will consider the question, the moment he sees you are right he says so, and has it put right at once." He (the speaker) was rather surprised at such an expression from such a quarter, and expressed his pleasure

at it. "Oh!" said his Conservative friend, "he is a great man." Mr. Gladstone was a great man, and being so he had formed a great party, and now led a great party, for in the whole history of the Liberal party they had never seen the party so united, so patient, so full of faith as it had been under Mr. Gladstone. It was necessary it should be so, or Mr. Gladstone could not have done what he had done. It was necessary that it should be so in the future, so that he could do the great things that the Liberal party looked for from him. Now, the patience of the Liberal party had been sorely tried. They must have all looked with surprise and regret at what had gone on in Ireland, after so great a measure of conciliation had been offered to that nation. They were apt to forget that it was only six months since the bulk of the Irish nation had known what the law was practically, and they could not expect that in six months the whole habits and character of a people could be changed. Again, the patience of the Liberal party had been tried by the mere fact of having to carry out a policy of coercion so utterly distasteful—he was going to say disgusting—to the minds of Liberals. But they must not forget that, with the party as with the individual, it was those who persevered to the end who would be saved, and it was only such who could save a great nation in a great emergency. They must not allow their emotions to lead them to forget that there were many things which they could not yet understand, knowing only what was known to the public, and not having all the information which the Government had before them. We might be quite certain of one thing, that coercion would not be borne one second longer than was necessary by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Lord Hartington, Mr. Forster, or Mr. Chamberlain. We knew that they were all more anxious than any of us to put an end to coercion. Although the atmosphere looked very dark in Ireland still, yet there were beams of sunshine, and very bright ones too, for, although they had their Conservative friends

urging them to suspend the jury laws in Ireland, the jury laws were now effective in Ireland even against agrarian crime. A little more patience, then a little more faith, and a little more loyalty to their leaders, and they might yet see the results of all they had done and all they meant to do under Mr. Gladstone's leadership. They might yet see—and he believed they would see—for he believed the right would prevail—Ireland conciliated. And in this country if they give Mr. Gladstone that support which he so rightly deserved they would have those measures for the relief of agriculture and the improvement of government in the counties to which they were looking forward carried in the very next session. To accomplish that they must prove to Parnellites and Conservatives alike that Englishmen knew the difference between license and liberty, and that they would not permit that liberty should be swallowed up by any license.

Mr. John Roberts, M.P., said he confessed that to some extent he was disappointed that the Sunday Closing Act of Wales had not come into immediate operation, but he did not regret the judges' decision, because when the Act came into force it would come altogether. He did not blame the draughtsman, though he had used words he ought not to have used, because no reasonable man could have anticipated the difficulty which had arisen. He regarded the measure as establishing a precedent for separate legislation for Wales. He claimed that the Welsh members were as devoted and as steady followers of Mr. Gladstone's Government as any in the House. Mr. Gladstone's life would be a political history of the last half century, and he need not say one word to cause them to revere him.

The Liberal Association of Liverpool held a dinner in celebration of Mr. Gladstone's birthday, presided over by Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., who said they could not forget that seventy-two years since Mr. Gladstone, the greatest man of the present century, was born in Rodney-street, Liverpool. The speaker reviewed the leading

events of his career, and in reference to his Irish policy, said his Land Acts and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church were sufficient to hand his name undyingly down to posterity, for he was the one statesman in this country who had made some little effort to remove the great injustice under which Ireland laboured so long. He hoped and believed the Premier would live to see the success of his Land Act and the obliteration of that ill feeling and bitterness which was the outcome of coercive measures. Although he (Mr. Caine) did not entirely agree with these Acts, he accepted them very unwillingly, and he could only hope and believe that the greater act of Parliament would obliterate the evil effects of the lesser one. The proceedings were characterised by great enthusiasm.

At a meeting of the Barnstable Liberal Association, the ex-Mayor (W. Avery) referred to the anniversary of the birthday of Mr. Gladstone, and moved that a letter be forwarded to the distinguished chief of the Liberal party offering him the congratulations of the Association, and expressing the hope that he would be long spared to continue his great work as Premier. The motion was carried with ringing cheers for Mr. Gladstone and his family.

The following resolution was carried with acclamation at a meeting of the Plymouth Working Men's Liberal Association held the same evening:—"That this Association begs to offer its warm and earnest congratulations to Mr. W. E. Gladstone on the attainment of his seventy-second birthday, and hopes that his life may long be spared to carry out the grand works of human progress with which his past life has been so closely and nobly identified; and also hopes that his private and domestic life may be crowned with every blessing of which it is capable." The resolution was telegraphed to the Premier.

The event did not attract much attention as regarded the general press. The *Standard*, however, made it the subject of an article quite as fair and discriminating as was to be expected in such a quarter.



Commenting on Mr. Gladstone's career, the *Standard* says:—"Though Mr. Gladstone's opinions and beliefs have been as unstable as the winds or seas, and though in him action and reaction have followed each other with a rapidity unparalleled in the records of English statesmanship, his hold upon the English people has never been lost. At times his influence has been apparently eclipsed; but suddenly a breeze has sprung up, the dark cloud has dispersed, and Mr. Gladstone has once more emerged full into view as a political force of the first order. Just as he has the power of inciting against himself animosities more keen and more warrantable than those which any public man of our time has aroused, so he has the faculty of stimulating and sustaining the enthusiasm of the crowd. This gift belongs to him not only in virtue of his attributes as a speaker and the 'meral earnestness' which he infuses into the smallest enterprise he undertakes. The people recognise in him more than a great master of rhetorical effect. They see in him one of the hardest workers of his day, the most eminent of living financiers, and the champion of those commercial interests which were understood, indeed, and expounded by Peel, but which have been better appreciated and better explained by Peel's successor."

"If the name of Mr. Gladstone in England," wrote the *Daily News*, "may be accepted, it sufficiently refutes the theory that the spread of those general influences which we call the spirit of the age, is incompatible with the ascendancy of individual genius, the same refutation is afforded by M. Gambetta in France and M. Bismarck in Germany." Referring to the last Session, the same journal remarks that of course Mr. Gladstone could have done nothing without his majority. "But that majority was of his creation. Its fidelity was essential to him; but that fidelity was the reflection of his own peculiar qualities of mind and character, and the response to them. The tactics which were to be adopted by the Irish party in

the House of Commons, were clearly indicated when, in the last week of December, 1880, that party chose Mr. Parnell as its leader, and decided to take its place on the Opposition benches of the House of Commons." We need not remind the reader of the humiliating Session which followed—perhaps in some respects the most ignominious of our Parliamentary history. The paper in question continues:—"The patience and energy of Mr. Gladstone, his command of principle and his mastery of details, his firmness in great matters and his pliability in small ones, his fertility of resource and openness to reasonable argument, have been confessed by antagonists. His conduct of business during the past Session was one of the most memorable instances of individual authority and capacity which Parliamentary history presents." This is high praise; but is it not abundantly substantiated?

Among the birthday wishes none were sincerer or more gracefully expressed than those of Mr. *Punch*, who wrote:—

"Seventy-two years old, friend Willy, seventy-two years old,

But never a sign that your heart's getting chilly,
a hint that your fancy grows cold.

You can smite in the fight like a younker, can
talk as of old for three hours by the clock,"

Though your voice may not be quite so silvery,
Willy, you've hair such a raven-hued shock.

"Those whom the gods love die young, friend Willy, so said your favourite Greeks;

They whom the gods love never grow old, is the moral *your* history speaks.

Happier later Trithonius, friend Willy, a wiser
Aurora's your friend,

Your youth's warm and bright in her light, friend Willy, and so may it be to the end."

A respected Independent clergyman raised his voice against Mr. Gladstone, at his time of life, being dragged to public meetings and compelled to make speeches of two or three hours' duration. It is to be questioned whether Mr. Gladstone would appreciate such well-meant interference—whether it is not better for him to speak, and let the steam off as it were, than to remain silent. As the head of the Ministry,

naturally Mr. Gladstone is ever ready to vindicate his conduct—to give a true exposition of the state of the case, and to hurl defiance at his foes. Like the old war-horse, he scents the battle from afar, he knows what a magic power there is in his tongue—that the time is coming when it shall speak no more—as he loves to remind us he is perfectly aware that the day is far spent and that the night is at hand. It is this which urges him on to fresh exertions, and gives the fuel to his fire. Evidently Mr. Gladstone realises the force of the passage of Scripture which says, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might, for there is neither wisdom, nor device, nor knowledge in the grave." It is not in Mr. Gladstone to rust out, he must die in harness; and no one knows that better than himself. Those little understand the man or his nature who beg that Mr. Gladstone would keep quiet. They might as well ask the Atlantic Ocean to do the same.

This birthday almost coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of his first entry upon public life; it was just before Christmas, 1832, that he was first returned, then quite fresh from his laurels at Oxford, for Newark, in the Conservative, or rather in the Tory interest. Of those who sat with him in the first reformed Parliament, how few remain now!—Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Enniskillen, Lord Forester, Lord Egerton, Colonel Pinney, Mr. Charles Talbot, Sir Thomas Freemantle, Sir William Hutt, Mr. M. Archdall, Lord Stratford, Lord Halifax, Lord Harrowby, Lord Donegal, Colonel Tynte—these are all we remember just now; and as to those who held seats in the unreformed House of Commons, their names must be counted on the fingers—indeed, we believe we have only two of them, says a writer in the *Rock*, Mr. C. Talbot and the O'Gorman Mahon. Undoubtedly Mr. Gladstone is now the oldest man in the service of his country; the fact is, no statesman in his time has worked so hard, or at the age of seventy-two has so much devolving on his shoulders.

Mr. Gladstone's birthday of course was spent at Hawarden, the home round which his later associations cluster, and to which many pilgrimages have been paid by the admirers of his genius. We can scarcely fancy such a gifted orator contented with the dull respectability of Harley-street, Carlton-terrace, the home of his ripe manhood, was a far more congenial residence. His friends and admirers were glad to see that occasionally he made his way to the northern heights of London for a brief interval of fresh air, while the busy work of the Session was proceeding; and at Mill Hill it was quite a common occurrence for Mr. Gladstone to come there on the Saturday and stay till the Monday. One of the fine old mansions there, with which tradition identifies the name of Nell Gwynne, was occasionally hired by Lord Aberdeen as a summer residence for his lady and her family, and it was as the guest of the Earl of Aberdeen that Mr. Gladstone, accompanied by his wife, occasionally visited the place. It has many advantages for a harassed statesman in search of quiet and fresh air. It has a beautiful situation on the top of one of the highest hills in Middlesex; the air of the place is singularly bracing, and, though close to London, it is quite out of the reach of the Sunday tourist, who finds nothing to attract him in its Sunday repose. In the village is a little chapel-of-ease, built principally through the active exertions of William Wilberforce, who spent a portion of his later years at Mill Hill in the house which was afterwards inhabited by Mr. Gladstone's friends and admirers, the Bunsens, and thus the associations of the place must have been to Mr. Gladstone of the most pleasing character. At the little chapel-of-ease built by William Wilberforce he was an attendant twice a day, though the incumbent was a man singularly destitute of the qualifications which make a man a good preacher. As the only clergyman near, of course Mr. Gladstone went to hear him, though the sermon must have been a bit of a trial, the fact being that most of the

Churchmen in that district preferred the preacher at the chapel connected with the Mill Hill Grammar School just by, and went to hear him instead. As a true son of the Church, however, Mr. Gladstone was never beguiled from his allegiance, and was to be seen on a Sunday in the midst of the little group listening as attentively as if the

Both before and after the service these distinguished gentlemen were together in the pastor's vestry. Mr. Gladstone shook hands heartily with the deacons and elders present, and expressed himself delighted with the service. The visit was strictly private, and Mr. Gladstone and his son walked home to Downing-street." The action



DOORWAY TO THE SOUTH TRANSEPT, CHESTER.

preacher had been a Canon Farrar or a Canon Liddon.

In the beginning of the year 1882 the following paragraph appeared in the daily papers :—"On Sunday evening last Mr. Gladstone and his eldest son were present at the service at Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle, and occupied Mrs. Spurgeon's pew.

created a great deal of remark. Commenting on it, the *Standard* wrote :—"The announcement that the Prime Minister was among Mr. Spurgeon's audience at the Tabernacle on Sunday night is in many ways a suggestive item of news. Fifty years ago the 'stern and unbending hope' of the Conservatives might have been in-



THE REV. CHARLES H. SPURGEON.

clined to scoff at the seer who would have risked the prophecy which has now come true. But in the course of half a century Mr. Gladstone has changed, and the Church, if in its main features the same as that in whose defence the young member for Newark wrote his maiden work, has so widened its sympathies and moderated its asperities as to leave room for an honest appreciation of even the energetic Baptist preacher, who for thirty years has exercised so marked an influence on a certain section of the community. When Mr. Spurgeon first began his ministrations in New Park Street Chapel, London did not know well what to make of 'the new light.' He was young, fiery, unfriendly critics said illiterate, and, it was agreed by most men, a little vulgar. The canons of pulpit oratory seem not to have been framed for him. His similes were drawn from sources hitherto untapped, and his endless anecdotes, apt though they were to the point to be illustrated, not unfrequently savoured of irreverence. Yet the preacher 'drew,' and the more he offended the smooth common-places of the polite world, the fuller his chapel became and the wider grew his fame. Park-street became too small for him, and the Tabernacle in Newington Butts had not been well finished before it was clear that a hall even double its size would prove too limited for the crowds which gathered from far and near to listen to the popular pastor. Mr. Spurgeon has so long been a recognised institution of the Metropolis, that it is hard to believe that, at a period still easily remembered, he was the object of much harsh criticism, and what almost amounted to vituperation. The caricature in *Punch* of 'Brimstone and Treacle' was indeed among the most good-natured of the many pictorial skits which appeared twenty or twenty-five years ago, and though, doubtless, most of these were the outcome of popular misrepresentation, yet it cannot be denied that, in a certain degree, they expressed a prejudice amounting to passive dislike. It was loudly proclaimed that the new popular preacher

would share the fate of so many of his predecessors—that he would soon be as forsaken as was Orator Henley, or Dr. Sacheverell; and that even his eccentricities, which were only aped from the more polished mannerisms of Rowland Hill, would scarcely save him from neglect. All these unkindly prophecies have proved false. Mr. Spurgeon is to-day as eagerly run after as ever. Any ill-feeling which he once provoked has entirely disappeared, and few strangers now pass through London without visiting his Tabernacle. Accordingly, when the Premier and his son, and at an earlier date Mr. Bright, paid him a visit, they were only following a custom which has grown very general amongst all classes in this country—Churchmen as well as Dissenters.

"Mr. Spurgeon first began to attract attention in the year 1853. At that time he was the pastor of a small Baptist congregation at Waterbeach, and, being under twenty, very fairly earned his title of the 'boy preacher.' He has, therefore, been before the world for nearly thirty years—a long time in the life of a pulpit orator, who, like other popular favourites, holds his lease of popularity by a very uncertain tenure. Mr. Spurgeon had, indeed, much to contend against. He was not a theologian, as we understand the term, and would probably resent the imputation that he ever desired to be one. German theories of faith are to him as blasphemous as the hypothesis of Mr. Darwin is ridiculous; and for the same reason. He does not understand them, and considers both equally inimical to the interests of true religion. His stock of information on all subjects, now so marked a feature in his character, could not at the age of twenty have been very extensive, for he left school to follow the bent of his life at a date when he had done little more than master the elements of education. We have spoken of his oratory. It was florid in the extreme, and his general style and gesture were, in those days, much more dramatic than they afterwards became. The lad was, in brief, raw, dogmatic, and,

to those whose idea of a teacher of religion had been formed on other models, far from prepossessing. It speaks, therefore, much for Mr. Spurgeon's solidity of character that not only has he kept his hold on the public mind during this long interval, but that he has lived down malice, bad feeling, and even ridicule. It is no longer the fashion to write sarcastically of the 'orator of Newington Butts,' and the rising generation would hardly appreciate the endless anecdotes which, before they were born, used to be told—or invented—regarding him and his startling sayings. Mere eloquence could never account for this success. The empty spinner of words soon palls on the public taste; and the preacher, no matter how learned, will in time discourse to empty pews, if he fail to keep abreast of the ever-changing aspects of human thought and aspirations. Dr. Cumming, of Crown-court, who was undoubtedly a sincere man, and in his day attracted great audiences, died almost forgotten. The secret of his failure was not difficult to divine. He served up simply the dry bones of a narrow theology. Mr. Spurgeon's continued popularity may, on one other hand, be explained by the fact that he thoroughly understands his hearers, and, whilst as earnest as was the Scotch clergyman, he more fully appreciates the necessity of interesting the minds and appealing to the hearts of his followers."

This bold conduct, this treating a dissenting minister as an equal with a church parson, as was to be expected, gave great offence in some quarters. It was too good an opportunity for enemies of Mr. Gladstone to lose. In the chief opposition organ appeared a letter from a correspondent who was dissatisfied with Mr. Gladstone's ecclesiastical appointments. Altogether it was a fine specimen of ecclesiastical reasoning. The writer recalled the fact that many years ago Mr. Spurgeon expressed a wish that the Church of England might grow worse in order that she might soon be got rid of. He then argued that if Mr. Gladstone's sympathy with Mr. Spurgeon

is what his presence at the Tabernacle would imply, we have a sufficiently satisfactory explanation of the unsatisfactory character of the Premier's ecclesiastical appointments. Mr. Spurgeon is a foe of the Church, Mr. Gladstone goes to hear Mr. Spurgeon, therefore he is a foe of the Church; Mr. Gladstone being a foe of the Church, appoints as Bishops, Deans, and Canons the men who will do the Church the most mischief. This may seem conclusive reasoning to those who would like another Shaftesbury as Bishop-maker, but it will hardly convince the many who take quite a different view of the Premier's nominations.

Different people see things differently. One newspaper correspondent wrote:—"The visit of the most intellectual of the High Church laymen to the most conspicuous Nonconformist chapel in England is an event of historic interest. Two great moral personalities, the Premier and Mr. Spurgeon, have accidentally fraternised within a dissenting enclosure, and the pleasing fact gives to the young era of 1882 a fine sign of the revived genialities of the Christian faith. The *en passant* eulogy of the *Standard* completes the apotheosis of the theological departure, and the expected wail of the *Church Times* can only now expect to be a whispered Anglican curse, perchance as acrimonious but certainly as impotent as the Athanasian malediction which it cast into the open grave of the late Dean Stanley. With an affection for the literary associations and many attractive religious traditions of the Church of England, I for one could wish that English Nonconformity received more frequent intellectual recognition from those who, isolated from its vast machinery and intense moral culture, misinterpret the motives and *modus operandi* of splendid agencies for good. But Mr. Gladstone's visit to the Tabernacle is further suggestive of what pulpit treats unbending churchmen lose in standing upon the much-laughed-at dignity which can only worship within the shadow of the belfry tower. Our British Noncon-

formity long ago won a front position in classics and literature; a man named Milton, and a dreamer named Bunyan, leading the kindly light which is now sufficiently diffused to dazzle the world of letters. Dissent has ceased to be uncouth, and its modern culture is contagious; its vulgarity and scandals are the accidents of those temperamental conditions from which no true belief nor society are free." The writer goes on to say that not a few of England's greatest preachers have been Nonconformists, and that Mr. Spurgeon is a famous example in that respect. He adds:—"If the Church boasts of preachers of whom the nation is proud, so do the great Dissenting communions. Mr. Spurgeon has turned Calvinism into poetry, and helped to fringe a theological desert with a gradual new birth of aromatic flowers. His orphanage is his Arcadia. He has made a once morose faith musical; small wonder then that he works under the benediction of the Bishop of London, and is allowed to tell his clear gospel story to one of the most influential statesmen of modern times." The Nonconformist view of the matter appeared in the *Nonconformist and Independent* as follows:—"Mr. Gladstone, in company with his eldest son, attended the service at the Metropolitan Tabernacle on Sunday evening, and heard Mr. Spurgeon preach one of his characteristic sermons. It is also stated that Mr. Gladstone afterwards conversed with Mr. Spurgeon in the vestry. The incident was an interesting and pleasing one, and has naturally attracted attention in the daily Press. The strongly-marked lines which in this country traditionally and practically divide class from class in society, and, perhaps, even yet more completely divide ecclesiastical denominations one from the other, make Mr. Gladstone's visit the more noticeable. Our habits of thought are such that we are apt to think it very remarkable if a man in Mr. Gladstone's position and of his pronounced religious and ecclesiastical opinions goes to any place of worship but the Established

Church; although a larger view of the matter and a more adequate estimate of Mr. Gladstone's personal characteristics might suggest that he might well desire to hear a preacher who has won a world-wide fame for his earnestness, aptitude, and power of popular address; who commands an immense following, accomplishes an enormous mass of religious and philanthropic work, and whose qualities have stood the test of more than a quarter of a century of public life. It must be owned, in the course of half a century, Mr. Gladstone has changed, and the Church, if in its main features the same as that in whose defence the young member for Newark wrote his maiden work, has so widened its sympathies and moderated its asperities as to leave room for an honest appreciation of even the energetic Baptist preacher who for thirty years has exercised so marked an influence on a certain section of the community. Mr. Spurgeon is, to-day, as eagerly run after as ever. Any ill-feeling which he once provoked has entirely disappeared, and few strangers now pass through London without visiting his Tabernacle. Accordingly, when the Premier and his son, and at an earlier date Mr. Bright, paid him a visit, they were only following a custom which has grown very general amongst all classes in this country—Churchmen as well as Dissenters."

The *Saturday Review*, in its wonted manner, did its best, though that was poor, to make fun of Mr. Gladstone's visit to the Metropolitan Tabernacle. "Some jealousy," it writes, "may be aroused in rival Bethels by this announcement, which, if we mistake not, is not the first of its kind. But it may possibly be that Mr. Gladstone is going to take what may be called a course, and that he will distribute the steps of that course equitably among the various tabernacles of his staunchest supporters. Scandal used to have it that a former Prime Minister, who was not the most brilliant of men, maintained his hold upon the nation by the regularity of his attendance at church with all his family around him. Mr. Gladstone, who

is one of the most brilliant of men, has moved with the times, and has improved on the practice of the lamented Mr. Percival. The battle of the Constitution is to be fought out in the precincts of Ebenezer, and Ebenezer must accordingly be secured. Mr. Gladstone's plan is unquestionably a wise one. The most assiduous attendance at the places of worship of the Established Church would not, we fear, secure him the issue of such a document as the celebrated Ministerial adjuration of the Nonconformist electors of a certain Welsh county two years ago. Or it may be that this access of roving devotion has another meaning. There are examples in history of great personages, both Christian and Heathen, who have been wont to inaugurate (the word is for once the proper one) great actions with functions intended to secure the favour of all possible duties. The rigid devoutness of certain famous frequenters of Homburg in the old days is notorious, and we have read somewhere of a Portuguese pirate on the Mozambique coast who never went to sea without an image of the Virgin, a Bible wrapped up in a cloth, a bottle of zemzem water, and a fetish of the very best quality, procured regardless of expense. Mr. Gladstone is also on the eve of a great enterprise—no less than the transformation of the House of Commons into a bed of justice bound to register his edicts. His heart is doubtless tender and devout, and he is particularly anxious not to offend the 'upper powers by casually omitting that method of propitiating them. An accurate and industrious Jeames detailed for the purpose would probably be able to trace all the windings of the course from which it is improbable that any form of worship would be excluded save one."

The *Saturday Review* would like to know what it was which made Mr. Gladstone shake hands so heartily with those deacons, a proceeding somewhat suggestive of Mr. Perkers' great recipe for winning an election, and wonders that Mr. Spurgeon and Mr. Gladstone both share "the demagogic idiosyncrasy."

It was not always the voice of praise that reached Mr. Gladstone in his old age, even from the Press. In London, at any rate, there were some very hostile critics. In the columns of the *World* appeared soon after Christmas a very bitter attack on the Premier, in the shape of a letter, which may be supposed expressed really what the writer felt, and which apparently was written in earnest, and not the mere spasmodic effort of a writer to get his paper talked about. The *World* is a society journal, and may therefore be supposed to represent the opinion of a certain class, if not enlightened, at least influential. "It is," commences the writer, "with a strange mixture of feeling that I now find myself compelled to address you. No—where have your great qualities and extraordinary powers been more cordially recognised than in these columns. No public man ever provoked such an intensity of hatred—hatred, not merely political, but personal—as you have excited among that aggregate of classes which calls itself society." Well, this is true, and for that Mr. Gladstone may take some little credit. Of the indolent, of the well-to-do, of the careless, of all who fattened by privilege and class feeling—Lord Beaconsfield was the idol; and the simple and stern character of Mr. Gladstone, his desire to do what was right, independently of the favours of society, had made him a terror such as they feared that perhaps his next attack might be the abolition of some interest by which they lived lazily, while other and honest men had to work for their daily bread. The writer continues:—"It is because you have never had fair play from those whose opinion rules the London world, that justice has at least been done to you by me. The animosity of which you have been the object, has been with many people a positive mania. The terms in which you have been spoken of are those of execration, loathing, and infamy. I believe that seventy-five per cent. of the gentlemen and ladies whom one meets in London clubs and drawing-rooms are firmly persuaded

that they would be rendering a positive service to community if they could invent for you some painless mode of translation to the invisible world." Yet the writer adds, and this is a fine testimony to Mr. Gladstone's power of fascination:—"Yet you move, and have always moved, in the best and most exclusive society in London. Your conversation has not that exquisite aroma of pungency which pervaded that of the lamented Beaconsfield, but it is varied, animated, and easy. Instances are known of persons, the dominant passion of whose life has been a mortal antipathy toward you, yet having met you casually at dinner have gone away with secret admiration. I shall never forget how, at the house of a charming lady in Carlton-terrace, some nine months ago, you delighted and fascinated the company; you were indeed, in a manner, fascinated yourself, for you have always been answerable to those charms which were admitted by your great rival, but which he never allowed to enslave him." A further tribute to Mr. Gladstone's power in society follows:—"Nor should it be forgotten that you have attached to yourself in a very peculiar manner the heads of the most patrician houses in England. It is the fashion amongst your detractors to say that men like the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Spencer are held to you by a tie, not of affection, but of fear, and that they support you as the only bulwark against revolution. That is no doubt the case with some of your Whig followers. It is not so with the two noblemen whose names I have just mentioned. They and many others are convinced of your patriotism, of your wisdom, and of your indispensability to our country, but they are the exceptions to the rule. It is only three years ago that a London mob broke the windows of your house in Harley-street. There have descended on you since then unintermittently volleys of invective in every place where society assembles itself together far more furious and bitter than were the signs of your unpopularity in London. The force of blind but perfectly blind and conscientious hatred

can go no further than it has gone with you. You are the most illustrious of the Queen's subjects; allow me to assure you that you are the one most detested and distrusted by the upper classes of the United Kingdom." The whole introduction, which we quote entire, is a fair compliment to the Premier, or rather a profound testimony to his wisdom and his power. The upper classes of the United Kingdom are a class apart, and have no interests or associations in common with the mass of the community at large.

The *World* continues:—"For this, of course, you do not care. Your ambition and your vanity, your vanity, which is so great as to be absolutely astounding in a man of your intellectual stature, are gratified. You have place and power; you have the consciousness that if the masses should at any time seem likely to fall away from you, you have only to make a few journeys, deliver half a score of speeches, and they will rally round you. Even those who predict most confidently your speedy fall are haunted by an uneasy misgiving that until your malignant influence has spent itself, no other Prime Minister will be possible. It is at once a misfortune to the nation, and a source of strength to yourself, that the privileged classes should entertain so passionate a bitterness against you. Your ascendancy with the mob is a monument to the reality of the feeling which separates and mutually inflames classes. The knowledge that you are regarded by the rich, the great, and the fashionable, as their foe, has not only caused the multitude to recognise in you its friend, but has intensified the conviction that its superiors are its enemies. I believe that this feeling has done more than anything else which could be named to organise the democracy. You have been called, and the title is droll, though appropriate, the People's William. You were repudiated by the upper and a large section of the middle class. The people resented as an insult to themselves this scornful treatment of their persons. choice. There is a genuine democratic

Will the sympathies of the working men of the United Kingdom be found on the side of property and privilege? If the country—and by the country I mean the democracy—is as Radical as you are persuaded it is, will it not rather regard with approval such a raid upon the principle of territorial ownership as you have instituted in Ireland? “This, I believe, is your calculation.” This, let us add, is a gratuitous assumption utterly unwarranted by anything Mr. Gladstone ever said or did in the course of his long and eventful career.

“In deliberately saying that it is,” continues the writer, “I do you no injustice, and I simply make an assertion which is in strict consistency with the whole course of your public action, though I am aware that it conflicts with the popular but inaccurate construction that is generally placed upon it. Now, I think that however wise you may be in your generation, only a hair-splitting equivocator can call such a policy as this conscientious. It may be conscientious relative to you, because your own conscience sees in it nothing of which to disapprove. A French statesman once said that he was persuaded Mr. Gladstone must supplicate on his knees every morning to be kept from a knowledge of his secret sins, and perhaps there never lived a man who acted so consistently the hypocrite to himself. The policy which commends itself to you by calculation ought to shock the moral sense of the English people by its unscrupulousness and audacity. You have great advantages on your side. You have a Hartington as your lieutenant, and you have Salisbury as your opponent. The enmity of a Salisbury at such a time is worth a hundred allies. You have appealed, and are deliberately appealing to the cupidity of the multitude. If that multitude has no sense of honesty, that appeal will be successful; on any other assumption it must fail. I have myself grave doubts whether the English sense of justice and fair play is not stronger than you seem to think. I do not believe that even the great democratic constituencies of the north are

prepared to regard the wholesale trampling under foot of the law in Ireland with indifference. History may be searched in vain for a parallel in iniquity and shamelessness to the policy which you are now developing in Ireland. There is only one explanation for it, and it is that which I have given. It is an explanation which constitutes the deepest censure ever yet passed upon an English minister.” The conclusion of the writer is strong. He has evidently worked himself up to the boiling point; but unfortunately he does not take his reader with him, and consequently rather overlooks his mark. History has a good deal to say of iniquity and shamelessness, both in England and other parts of the world, both in ancient as well as modern times, but where is the iniquity and shamelessness of seeking to win over the unhappy tenants of unhappy Ireland, and of giving peace to a country which was pining for the want of it? The attempt to do so was a noble one, and as such was supported by the English nation. It was, as all owned, a bold measure, but one required by the circumstances of the case. The Tory party could recommend nothing but brute force. Mr. Gladstone felt that by his Land Act he could remove the angry feeling which rankled in the Irish breast. Whether he has succeeded in his attempt is not to be told in one year or two. Angry feelings which have taken ages to grow are not to be put down in the twinkling of an eye. But credit must be given to Mr. Gladstone for the measure which he alone had the wisdom to conceive of and the courage to carry into effect. If he fails it is because failure is inseparable—because hatred in Ireland to England has risen to such a height that no peace can exist between the two countries. Naturally Mr. Gladstone prefers to trust to the latent good sense and good will of the Irish people; and he is not to be blamed that he has done so. If the record of the past contains no worse villainy than that, it must be light indeed, and, furthermore, let us assure the writer in the *World* that such

heaviest censure as it records is, in reality, Mr. Gladstone's highest praise. No one expects politics in the *World*. It is a journal of society devoted to chronicling the petty gossip and small scandals of the world of fashion, and of that wretched circle of outsiders who hang on its skirts in the hope to be deemed to belong to the world of fashion themselves. The shoe-maker should stick to his last.

Next we come to a little trifle of which Mr. Gladstone's enemies and opponents made the most. "The safety of the Prime Minister," wrote the *Globe*, in January, 1881, "one should think ought to be a matter of national concern, but Sir William Harcourt does not see it. If the Flintshire magistrates think fit to provide Mr. Gladstone with an extra guard of police, all well and good, but they must do it at the cost of the county. Sir William does not wish to establish a precedent by paying the expenses out of imperial funds." The remarks of the oldest evening paper, as it loves to call itself, were occasioned by the following report, which had appeared in the morning papers of January 4th:—

"At the Flintshire Court of Quarter Sessions, yesterday, the question of the expense of the posse of police engaged at Hawarden Castle for the protection of the Premier came up for consideration. At the close of the last session of Parliament a communication was received from the Home Secretary asking for an extra body of police to guard the Prime Minister. The court instructed the chief constable of Flintshire to provide a sufficient number of constables for the purpose, and decided to apply to Government to be recouped from the Imperial Exchequer for the outlay. The Home Secretary's reply was now received. He said that in London and elsewhere the police were frequently called upon to provide for the protection of persons for rather exceptional reasons, but such duties had always been regarded as part of the regular services of the police, and for that reason he did not wish to establish a precedent. Mr. John Scott Banks, Chair-

man of the court, said the Premier would shortly be going to London, when the police would be withdrawn, otherwise there was nothing left for them but to grumble. A magistrate observed that the Premier would be returning to Hawarden. The Chairman was of opinion that the necessity for the protection of the Premier would not last much longer now. Mr. Pennant thought it ought to be borne in mind that the action of the court was caused by the letters from the Home Secretary. The Chairman said he thought the chief constable was quite justified in asking for the extra police, but they did not wish to pay the expenses if they could avoid it. It was eventually decided that the court should defray the expenses of the police force engaged during the recess at Hawarden Castle."

In due time the subject was brought before the House of Commons, and led to the following conversation in the early part of March:

Mr. S. Leighton asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it was true that he required the local authority of the county of Flint to make an addition to the local police in order to afford extraordinary protection to the First Lord of the Treasury both during his residence in the county and during his visits out of the county; whether he refused on the part of the Government to entertain an application for the repayment of the cost; and whether he would now consider the propriety of charging the Government instead of the ratepayers with the expense of protecting Cabinet Ministers.

Sir W. Harcourt—This is rather a singular question. I have to answer to the first part of it that it is not true—indeed, it is entirely untrue—that I have made any such demand. In the early part of last year I caused such information to be supplied to the police as came within my knowledge, where it seemed to me necessary to warn the local authorities against dangers menacing life and property. Without entering into detail, it is sufficient to

prevailed, and the Gladstone family received from the British tax-payer £68,454 17s. 1d. for slaves acquired before the passing of the act. The argument, however, is very weak, and shows how hard pushed the enemies of the Government really were. If the Gladstone family received all that money, well, so much the better for them; but the Irish landlords have no parallel case. Their estates are worth nothing—their rents have vanished, not from any act of the Government or the Legislature of this country, but from the detestation of their tenants and their firm resolve to hold the land and pay no more rents. Never was there a cry more unfounded than that of the Irish landlords for compensation at the expense of the British tax-payer.

Col. C. T. J. Moore, chairman of the North Holland Quarter Sessions, Lincolnshire, has transmitted for publication the following copy of a letter from Mr. Gladstone in reply to the presentment of the grand jury assembled in quarter sessions at that place:—"10, Downing-street, Whitehall, January 6, 1882.—Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Gladstone to inform you that he had the honour to receive your letter of the 3rd inst., enclosing a copy of the presentment of the grand jury assembled at Boston. In reply, I am directed to state that the subject of local taxation is now receiving the careful consideration of her Majesty's Government; that they are desirous of giving to that consideration a practical character; and that the views expressed in the memorial enclosed by you will not fail to receive due attention.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, J. A. GODLEY." The letter is countersigned by Mr. Gladstone. Col. Moore, in transmitting this letter for publication, expresses the opinion that it will be a satisfactory proof to all who depend upon agriculture that the Ministry are alive to some of their requirements, and, he adds, that the communication being countersigned by Mr. Gladstone himself shows that it is not a mere official acknowledgment.

As an illustration of the way in which Mr.

Gladstone is pestered by individuals, let us give the following. It was reported in the daily papers that during the dinner given by the Premier to his tenantry somehow or other a man entered the room and quietly took his seat at the top of the table amongst the principal guests, and close to Mr. Gladstone himself. It seems that he had passed by the guests, some taking him for a tenant and others for a clerk. During dinner he drank freely of wine and cheered Mr. Gladstone to the echo. But before the speaking commenced he handed Mr. Gladstone a letter which that gentleman read and took no further notice of. The dinner concluded, the guests rose, and as Mr. Taylor, civil engineer and one of Mr. Gladstone's tenants, emerged into the street, he observed the man in question tugging at Mr. Gladstone's coat-tail, and impeding his progress. His desire appeared to be to accompany Mr. Gladstone to the Castle. At that moment Deputy Chief-Constable Adams came up, and Mr. Gladstone being released from the grasp of the man, the latter was arrested by Mr. Adams and taken back to the hotel. The deputy chief-constable afterwards went to the Castle and obtained a copy of the letter, which commenced "My dear Satan," and the writer went on to say that he had just come up from hell, and offered Mr. Gladstone his services, adding, "if you require brimstone I can give it you cheap." The letter was signed "Old Harry." The man refused to give his name; but it appeared from letters found upon him that he had been in some kind of trouble before. He is evidently a man of very excitable temperament. He remains in the charge of the police for inquiries to be made concerning him. In commenting on the affair the *Spectator* regretted that the incident should have been in any way made public, as there were quite enough of such nuisances already to which Mr. Gladstone had to submit. The *Echo* intimated that the poor man had been made mad by reading some of Lord Churchill's speeches in the recess. Of course the man must have been at the

first, and before he had read the speeches in question, a bit of a fool.

The man who sent an insulting letter to Mr. Gladstone and attempted to impede his departure from the Hawarden rent audit dinner on being arrested at first refused to give his name. He is Henry William Wilson. He had been discharged from his employment for misconduct. Since then he seems to have been drinking heavily. He states he has been constantly a correspondent of Mr. Gladstone's, and sent that gentleman some time ago a copy of the New Testament in shorthand. On the day previous to the dinner he wrote Mr. Gladstone, saying that unless he received a telegram at Birmingham by ten o'clock he should take French leave and pay him a visit. In the afternoon of the following day he made his appearance near Hawarden, and, after leaving a portmanteau at the lower lodge with the intimation that he was paying Mr. Gladstone a visit, proceeded to the Glynne Arms Hotel, where the rent audit dinner was being held. At the door he was accosted by a policeman, to whom he stated that he had a letter for Mr. Gladstone, and was allowed to pass. It now appears clear that he is partially demented, probably from heavy drinking. When asked why he had sent such a letter to Mr. Gladstone, he replied that this was a Christian country and Mr. Gladstone was a Christian, and therefore ought to assist him who was a poor young man without friends or employment. He tramped about his cell all the night following his arrest, seeming to be in a state of great excitement and singing snatches of songs. Ultimately he was sent to the care of his friends at Birmingham, and of him the world heard no more.

Towards the end of December a new scheme was attempted for the restoration of law and order. From an explanatory letter written by Mr. Forster to Mr. Butler, one of the gentlemen to whom the scheme was to give increased power, it appears certain magistrates in certain defined districts in the disturbed parts of Ireland are

to be placed in a new position. There are five such appointed to act in the counties of Clare, Limerick, Galway, Kerry, Cork, King's and Queen's counties, Leitrim, Westmeath, Roscommon, Waterford, and Tipperary. The magistrates are requested first to visit the various constabulary districts in the counties, and to confer with the military and civil authorities, and to report whether the police force needs increasing, and to suggest any more efficient system, whether of police patrol or by co-operation of military and police, for the protection of life and property. The circular said that the military and civil authorities had been instructed by the Lord Lieutenant to give all assistance in their power. It continues:—"The resident magistrates are also requested to report whether they consider the present detachment of troops within those counties should be changed, either in number or force, and to report as to the working both of the Protection of Person and Property Act and the Peace Preservation Act. The present arrangements which these resident magistrates may agree with the civil and military authorities in recommending are to be carried out subject to the revision of the Inspector-General and with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant." It is impossible to judge a scheme of this kind upon paper. Everything depends upon the machinery devised for its working, and the spirit in which it is carried out. It provides for the minuter survey of the disturbed districts, and perhaps was not introduced one moment before it was needed. However, some of the Tory papers sneered at this new act of Mr. Forster's as if the Government were making themselves unnecessarily active. Indeed, it was hard to please some of the opposition critics. That there was disorder at all in Ireland was all due to the criminal negligence of the Gladstone Government, and then when that same Government took steps to prevent and repress disorder there came another wail from the weak wittlings of the Opposition Press.

A return was issued yesterday of agrarian offences throughout Ireland during 1881, from which it appears that the total number reported was 4,439, in 3,953 of which the offenders were neither convicted nor made amenable, 1,725 of the latter class being in Munster, 1,123 in Connaught, 751 in Leinster, and 354 in Ulster. The total number of offences reported in each province was 414 in Ulster, 833 in Leinster, 1,957 in Munster, and 1,235 in Connaught.

Altogether dark as was the prospect in Ireland, the outlook at the end of the session was not one of disappointment and despair. Anarchy in civilised countries cannot be expected long to rear its hideous head, and Irishmen will find it is an evil too deep and terrible to be patiently endured, and will learn, sooner or later, to side with the friends rather than the enemies of order. Turning away from Ireland, there was something to repay Mr. Gladstone for his efforts in the East, especially in this case. The close of the recess saw the establishment in Afghanistan of the Ameer of our choice as ruler of the whole country of which he claims to be the Sovereign. No doubt there are difficulties and dangers, and there will probably be fluctuations of fortune. But, at any rate, for the moment, the rivals of Abdul Rahman are subdued. The visit of the new Ameer to the Viceroy, which is anticipated in the spring of this year, is a sign that a return to the policy which Lord Lytton interrupted is bearing good fruit. In another part of the world there has been a similar recovery from similar mistake and disaster. The massacre in Cabul and the defeat near Candahar have their African counterparts at Laing's Nek and Newcastle. A policy of justice has had results in the Transvaal analogous to those which are visible in Afghanistan. The restoration of self-rule and independence to the Boers, subject to the suzerainty of the Queen and to surveillance by England over their foreign policy and their native relations, were conceded by the peace concluded by Sir Evelyn Wood early in March. In

August the Government of the Transvaal was handed over to the people, and the signature of the Convention in October formally brought to a just and honourable close proceedings begun under a previous Government, in inexcusable ignorance marked in their course by many questionable details, and too long persisted in in spite of ampler knowledge. The Afghan question and the Transvaal question have ceased to exist. If what was noxious in the external policy of the late Lord Beaconsfield has been rectified, what was good in it has been carried out to its proper conclusion to the rectification of the Servian and Montenegrin frontiers, the adjustment of the boundaries between Greece and Turkey has to be added. The Treaty of Delimitation, which was signed on the 24th of May, has been carried into effect. The new territory assigned to Greece has been handed over to her, and with an enlarged area.

In connection with this subject we may mention that in March, 1882, the London Greek Committee was dissolved, and commemorated its dissolution in the usual manner by a banquet, Lord Rosebery in the chair. It is only a few years since Lord Beaconsfield described the Greeks as an interesting people, who could afford to wait. The Greeks thought otherwise, and with the assistance of our English Government, more nearly representing public opinion on the merit of their claims, they last year added Thessaly to the dominions of the king of Greece. This very much annoyed the people, who held that, under Mr. Gladstone, England had quite lost all her power and influence in continental affairs. The cession of Thessaly to Greece was in fact a typical instance both of English influence prevailing to a great extent, and of the harmonious working of the European concert. Lord Rosebery, whose speeches on festive occasions are invariably excellent, declared that the claims of Greece were not a party question. Unless this remark was intended as a courteous reference to the presence

of Alderman Cotton, it must be taken as one of those conventional compliments which it is sometimes thought prudent to bestow upon the vanquished after a substantial victory has been won. "It could not be supposed," said Lord Rosebery, "that those who love the Turkish Government could look with any particular affection on the Greek Government." But then the late Administration and the Conservative party were disposed, if not to

tempt. The Greeks, at all events, felt the difference in the situation when Mr. Gladstone came into power, and they feel still. The Greek Chargé d'Affaires, M. Gennadius, expressed in graceful terms when responding to the toast of his Sovereign's health, the gratitude which his countrymen feel towards their friends in England. It is unnecessary to recapitulate, or do more than refer with Lord Rosebery to the labours of Lord Granville



SCENE IN GREECE.

"love," at all events to support and befriend, the rule of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan. It would be unfair to say that the Conservative leaders said much in Parliament which showed uncompromising hostility to the cause of Greece. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury waited until they got to Berlin before they definitely resisted the claims of a nation to which they had been in the habit of referring with not altogether unfriendly con-

of Mr. Goschen, and of Sir Charles Dilke. Mr. Goschen had at Constantinople a very difficult mission to fulfil; but by dint of patience, perseverance, and courage, he ultimately, as we all know, succeeded. Greece has been, as Lord Rosebery said, living long upon her expectations, but it is now time for her to settle down upon and improve what she has got. Fresh acquisitions she may yet make, and probably no attentive observer of Eastern politics be-

lieves that the limits of her advance have yet been reached. But the annexation of Thessaly is more than she could have hoped to win for herself, and more than any country but England would have gone out of its way to obtain for her. The manner of the transference, which did credit to all concerned, has set a good example for the future. Not only was the transaction a bloodless and a quiet one, but the inhabitants of the ceded territory were at once admitted to exercise all the privileges of citizens, and to share in the unrestricted suffrage of free Greece. A country which so uses its victory proves that it has not been demoralised by hope deferred. On the services which Greece has rendered to civilisation it would be unpardonably tedious to enlarge. "Except the blind forces of nature," says Sir Henry Maine, with perhaps some exaggeration, "nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin."

It would have been, of course, impossible to ignore, even at a congratulatory dinner, the fact that Greece has not yet got everything for which she asked. Epirus is still a part of the Turkish Empire, and likely for the present to remain so. But two grounds of consolation may be suggested to the notice of Hellenic patriots. In the first place, they have acquired Thessaly without loss of life and without expenditure of money; in the second place, the agglomeration of races and the dissolution of European Turkey will assuredly make Epirus theirs in time. It is well known that Mr. Gladstone's Government did not assent without protest to the exclusion of Epirus from the late settlement. But details must occasionally be sacrificed to principles, and it was worth while that an inevitable event should be temporarily

postponed, in order that the method of peaceful arbitration might be made a precedent for the future decision of European difficulties. The minimising Powers may perhaps find that order would have been more firmly secured in South-Eastern Europe by doing at once what will have to be done some day. Slowly but surely Mr. Gladstone's policy, that policy which Lord Beaconsfield with less than his usual discretion likened to a proposal that the whole House of Commons should roll down Greenwich-hill, is being carried out. That there was neither sense nor wit in the comparison was obvious enough at the time, but it was not every one who saw in 1876 as clearly as did Mr. Gladstone the full significance of the movement which was beginning in European Turkey. Perhaps the present generation may not witness the end. But it is the part of statesmen to provide for events which are certain to come, and may happen at any time. Greece has calmed down after her recent excitement, and we hear no more of armaments swelled beyond available resources, and popular enthusiasm kept hardly within bounds. This satisfactory change is due to the agency of her Majesty's Government, supported by the public opinion which was represented in the Greek Committee. But the Sultan's authority is with difficulty maintained, whether in Epirus or in Eastern Roumelia. Diplomatic barriers are a sorry defence against the rush of national movements. Abdul Hamid has leant upon Prince Rismarck, and his hand has been pierced as with a reed. If the Greeks can be for the present satisfied with their latest acquisition, a great future may be before them, not because they are an "interesting people," but because they are the natural heirs of a decaying despotism.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE LAND QUESTION.



IN 1882, the Land Question in England had become one of paramount importance. The action of the Irish, the competition of American farmers and exporters, the inclemency of the seasons, the growth of public opinion, had opened the eyes of English tenant farmers, and had made them a little more bold in the assertion of their rights. Naturally also the public took an interest in the matter. Free trade in land, it was said, would be for the benefit of the community, inasmuch as it would render productive large masses of property belonging to nominal owners, who were unable to turn them to profitable account, and inasmuch land would become more valuable when it could be sold as cheaply and as readily as a bale of calico. Be that as it may, there was a growing tendency to abridge the power and privileges of English landlords, who had ridden with too high a hand, and had constituted themselves the lords of the consciences, and the manners, and the pockets of their tenants. In the summer of 1881 there was an immense amount of agricultural distress, and many were the farms that were thrown out of cultivation, the tenants either emigrating or having become emigrants, of preferring to lead an idle life rather than continue to labour in vain and lose money. "So you are living on your capital," said a Sussex landlord to one of his tenants; "how do you like it?" "Oh, I much prefer it to your living on my capital," was the bold reply. Well, in 1881 this feeling was getting pretty common among the farmers, who, with landlords on one side and

labourers on the other, and bad seasons all round, found it very hard to make both ends meet. But, independently of the farmers, the question of the land was and is of national importance. Politically the landlords have been the backbone of the Tory party, and prevented as much as possible all progress and reform. Then the question affects the food supply. It is felt that the land is not made the most of, that it is not turned to the best account, that we have to bring from abroad a great deal which we ought to grow at home, and would grow at home were it not for class legislation and obsolete feudal customs and regulations. Accordingly, when it was found, in 1882, that Mr. Gladstone had met his tenantry and had made the usual reduction of ten per cent., the British public were quite prepared to find that he had made a speech on the occasion. Mr. Gladstone said:—"Mr. Rector, Mr. Taylor, my friends, and gentlemen,—I am particularly glad that the pressure of business has not rendered it impossible for me to meet you at this critical period—a period of the greatest interest to us all, for it has been well said that we have to a considerable extent joint interests, and we all of us have very important interests in the prosperity of the calling to which you are devoted. There is only one sentiment which has been delivered by Mr. Taylor in his most friendly speech from which I am compelled to dissent, and from it I dissent very strongly indeed; but as it is entirely personal to myself, you will agree, I hope, that I am entitled to a considerable amount of liberty in regard to it; and that is the wish that he was so good as to express that I might continue to occupy for many years the

position which I have now the honour to hold.' It is a wish which if I did entertain, I feel convinced could not be gratified. It would be contrary to nature that a man who has been at work in public life for fifty years, and who has done as much hard work in public life as I have done, should be in a condition to expect a prolongation of the labour for any considerable time; but that is not a subject on which it is becoming or necessary for me at present to dilate. I wish to look closely and exclusively at the immediate matters which must press now upon your minds as they press upon mine, and I will only postpone for one moment the little I have to say on those matters by expressing my deep regret that my eldest son has not been able to preside over your meeting to-day. You will agree with me that the cause of his absence is one which may do something to mitigate the regret which I believe we all feel for the fact itself. I hope, gentlemen, that the friendly and kindly connection which has subsisted for so many generations between yourselves and the body you represent on the one hand and my wife's family on the other, may, through the medium of my son and his descendants, be prolonged for many generations to come. I am quite sure you give us credit for entertaining that feeling. We may, in our relations with you or in other of the relations of life, find our capacity and power may be too limited to enable us to do what we should wish to do; but, so far as will and intention go, so far as a sincere sympathy with you in your difficulties go, and a desire to fulfil our own duties to the best of our capacity, I believe that you are as well persuaded of our entertaining the desire as I am persuaded of it myself. Now, gentlemen, you have passed through a period of very severe trial—I ought perhaps to say you are still passing through it. It is now about forty years since I first began to attend these dinners, and certainly I have seen many changes in that time. The first of those years were years of very considerable trial and pres-

sure, and they followed or accompanied the introduction of the legislation known as Free Trade; but those years, which were marked by some scarcity in the seasons and by some other trying circumstances, were followed by a quarter of a century which, so far as I know, was a period of great and more general prosperity to agriculture than had been known in this country for a long time before; and the test of the prosperity was to be found in this, that almost every article of agricultural produce went up greatly in price. Of that there is no doubt whatever. Wheat, of course, being of great importance here, constitutes an exception; but still there has been no very great fall even in the price of wheat. Other grain, barley, oats, meat, wool, butter, cheese, almost everything else that the farmer is interested in went up in price, and went up in price in a manner which showed it would not go down again to its former level; and even in this period of distress, if we take for example the article of meat, in which a great deal of pressure has been felt, you know perfectly well that at the worst the price at which stock has been sold, or the price which the butcher has obtained for meat, has been very much higher than it used to be fifty or sixty years ago. I hope that these facts of themselves are quite sufficient to arm you against the delusion which is attempted to be practised on the agriculturists of this country by some persons who ought to know better, when they have endeavoured to teach you that you have to look to the improvement of your condition to a restoration of what was called Protection. Now, I place in your view this fact, that, as I have said, while wheat upon the average fetched a very few shillings a quarter more in the time of Protection, every other article which is of the smallest consequence in agricultural production has fetched much higher prices, and steadily and solidly higher prices, since freedom of trade was introduced, and that, not as the old prices of wheat were made, by stinting the supplies to the people by refusing admission into this country of the food on

which they were to depend. No ; but under a system of perfectly equal justice, where no impediment is offered to the introduction of provisions from all parts of the world, with this result, that the trade of the country has been multiplied fivefold, that the population of the country has grown with great rapidity, that it has not only a larger population, but a much richer population, and that being a much richer population it has had a great deal more to spend in agricultural products, and in consequence, there being more bidders for the same articles, it has been willing to give, and has given, a great deal more for them. Do not, therefore, suppose that it is to that quarter that you are to look for any improvement of your condition ; but I must say, I believe myself that farmers of this country are a great deal too rational and sensible, and too capable of profiting by and understanding the experience through which we have passed. to be liable or likely to share in any of the gross delusions—I might almost say impostures, except that I do not wish to use hard words—which some people, some political quacks, are endeavouring to send abroad as if they were remedies for the serious evils you have suffered from. The special evils from which you suffer are due to bad seasons and bad trade. The bad seasons which it has pleased God to give us have given you much less both in quantity and quality, much less of agricultural produce to dispose of ; and while you have had less to dispose of, the bad trade of the country has taken away to some considerable extent the means of those who ought to have purchased your produce ; therefore you have at once brought a diminished supply to market, and you have had to take for it a diminished price. It is a fact which we have one and all before us, and which we so much lament. It has been well said we have no reason to suppose that the climate of the country and the soil of the country are likely to be on the average in a worse condition than they have been. It may be that the prosperity

of the country required the chastening hand of Providence to be unfolded, and that we should be taught to suffer and struggle a little that we might not be too proud of the great power and wealth and prosperity to which this country had attained. However that may be, I am very glad to hear Mr. Taylor say that he is disposed to look cheerfully forward to the future, so far as regards those great and main elements and external conditions of the prosperity of the farmers—first of all, the seasons that Providence may send you, and secondly, the condition of trade in the country, which is what makes your buyers wealthy, and by making them wealthy enables them to purchase freely commodities you offer. But it is also quite true that in a period of this kind great benefit arises from the pressure which it puts upon you, and the occasion it gives you to examine all round the condition in which you stand. There is in the first place the question of rents. Well, gentlemen, I am not aware that there has been any considerable increase of rents in this part of the country, except in relation to positive outlay upon the soil or upon the buildings on the farms ; but that is a question which probably will find its own level, for it is evident that when all over the country the state of things prevails which prevails now, that is, that there are numbers of vacant farms, and very few farmers offering to take them, it will be the farmer's own fault if he offers an extravagant rent for them. It is evidently not a very unfavourable position in which the farmer is placed as far as rent is concerned, and I am bound to say, on the other hand, that I should think that landlord was an uncommonly clever fellow who in the circumstances could contrive to get an excessive rent for his land. If there are such people I do not know where they are to be found. Mr. Taylor says—and I agree with him—he hopes it will be found possible to settle this matter by the agency of what we might call the natural operation of supply and demand. He has referred to an im-

portant Act of Parliament which has been passed for Ireland, under which, as you all know, it is in the power of either the landlord or tenant, excepting so far as he may be bound by the provisions of a lease—and even then in certain cases and circumstances—it is in the power, where the holding is a yearly one, to refer the question of rent to the Court. That is a very remarkable and exceptional remedy for a very remarkable and exceptional state of things, and I do not at all believe that it is the desire of the farmers more than it is the desire of the landlords in this country to call in the lawyers and judges to assist them in determining how much the one should pay and the other should receive. We hope that we may be able to manage these matters for ourselves; and we are perfectly aware, if we have to invite the aid of a most valuable and necessary profession for a purpose of this kind, the legal profession must be paid for its trouble, and a certain portion of that which would be either rent received by the landlord or profit enjoyed by the tenant must necessarily stick to the fingers of that profession—in conducting the operation; for the profession must live like any other, and very honourably it does live by the assistance it affords us. Still I think we would rather not give them any trouble on that particular subject so long as we can avoid it. We shall, however, have to look to some extent to law, without doubt. I have myself spoken pretty fully upon these matters in other places, and need not dwell upon them long here. There are changes which will have to be made in the laws in regard to the position of the landlords. I mean now in matters that do not directly affect a tenancy. The transfer of land ought to be made a great deal more free and easy and cheap and rapid than it is. The descent of land ought likewise to be relieved from many restraints that affect it; but these are subjects in which I believe the tenants have a very considerable interest, though, still, it is an interest perhaps less direct than the interest which they feel in many matters

which now press upon their minds. The relation of the landlord and tenant is not sufficiently provided for by law. An attempt was made, and I have no doubt it was a very well-meant attempt, some years ago, which resulted in the passing of what is called the Agricultural Holdings Act. The Act excited no interest whatever in this part of the country, and was not found available for dealing in any satisfactory manner with the relations of the landlord and tenant. I do not think it would be possible for me to enter into details on this subject, but I express confidently this belief—that you will find no indisposition whatever on the part of the present Parliament to adopt the best, the fullest, and the most effective measures for securing the legitimate interest of the cultivator in the land. You know very well in this company, that so far as regards a reasonable permanency of tenure, there never has been any difficulty made—at least so far as my recollection goes back, there never has been on these properties any difficulty made—in giving leases to the tenants, but there has been no disposition, no general disposition to take them, and at present I do not suppose that in the existing state of agricultural relations any one is eagerly looking for them; but whether it be by leases or by security for the unexhausted improvements of the tenant, or whether it be by any other means, I give a confident opinion that you will have nothing to complain of on the part of the existing Parliament as to its willingness to do what is just and reasonable. There is a subject which must come before Parliament, I think, in the session about to commence, in which you have an important interest, and that is the local government of the country. Provision has been made for local government by representative boards in the towns and cities of the country, but it has not yet been made in the counties. The desire of the present Administration is to propose a thoroughly efficient measure of local government which shall give to the inhabitants of the counties an effective power of con-



THE LATE REV THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D.

trolling the county expenditure—that the same principles of freedom and of representative government which apply to our Central Legislature and to the laws of the State should be carried into effect likewise in the local government of rural districts, just as much as it is now in the towns of the country. But there is another subject on which you no doubt wish to hear what I have to say, and that is whether anything is to be done for you with respect to assisting local taxation from Imperial sources. We are most desirous that you should have in the first place the means of controlling local expenditure quite independently of the sources from which the local taxes are raised, and that the law should be arranged so as to give no temptation for waste, but that you should have every inducement to economise the outlay of the money. This is a very important question, whether and in what form you are to receive further assistance from Imperial taxes. You receive a good deal of assistance now, but in my opinion in a bad form. There is the police of the country. Their expenditure is borne either entirely or in part, and some of the poor law charges are borne either entirely or in part, by the Exchequer of the country; but they are borne in such a way as in general not to contribute to economy, and in such a way as to introduce a great deal, and probably, as I think, too much of central interference or what is called centralisation in the local government of the country, and rather to draw us from that old principle of English institutions which lies at the root of them, namely, the principle that the local population should have the management of Parliamentary and local affairs. Apart from that, the demand for assistance from the public Exchequer may not be an unreasonable demand. It is founded on several considerations. One of them is that at the time when the present charges were fixed upon real property, the personal property of the country was comparatively small, and it is felt that it would be reasonable that that personal

property should bear a larger share of the charges. That may be so. Another consideration of great importance is this, that changes are introduced by Parliament into the relative liability of different districts of the country. For example, there are some parts of this parish, the liability of which, for the rates, has been very considerably altered by legislation during the last few years. Again, the law which places upon the shoulders of the occupier the immediate charge of all the rates is a law that operates severely upon him at the time when new rates are introduced, or old ones are increased. Now these are all matters, gentlemen, which, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, deserve and call for careful attention. But the mode of meeting the public exigencies in this matter is a business much too complicated for me to enter upon at the present moment. We are devoting our attention to it with all our energy, and we hope to bring it before the early attention of Parliament. I say the early attention of Parliament, because we are obliged now, when we speak of introducing anything to Parliament, to speak with great reserve. You have heard generally, no doubt, that the forms of Parliament have been of late years used for purposes the very reverse to which they were intended. They were intended for the purpose of promoting effective and satisfactory legislation, and are now used pretty much for the purpose of preventing any legislation at all. And the very first question, I may say, of magnitude that her Majesty's Government will have to deal with in the coming session must be to endeavour to bring the great legislative instrument, the House of Commons, into a condition satisfactorily to perform its duties. But were that matter disposed of—and I earnestly hope that in the efforts we make we shall receive the effective and energetic support of public opinion while we are endeavouring to put the House of Commons in a condition to perform its duties—were that matter disposed of, I do not know anything which would stand between us and the endeavour we intend

to make to deal with this question of local government, local expenditure, and local taxation, in such a way as I hope will be found to meet all reasonable expectation. Now with respect to legislation, I do not think there is anything else I ought to say except one thing, and that is to make a confession and administer a caution. It is all very well, and it may be all very right to provide, perhaps, that the incidence of the rating should not be borne exclusively as it is now by the farmer. When we speak of prospective arrangements it may be very right to provide for assistance in bearing the charge of these rates such as I have already glanced at; but if we are to look at the permanent interest of the occupier of the land it must be borne in mind that whatever is given to the rates in rural districts will ultimately come back to the landlords. You may get a very great deal of benefit from it in the meantime; but you know perfectly well that if the rates upon a farm are £50 a year, and these rates are reduced by public measures to £25, and the farmer and his family disappear altogether and a new tenant comes in, that new tenant will give £25 more for the farm than he would, because every man before he computes the rent he is to give puts before himself the amount of rates he will have to pay, and any reduction of those rates in the case of new tenancies will tell to the benefit of the landlord; and therefore I say, myself, as one interested in the landlord, that I should be very sorry to say that reduction of the rates alone is that which will sufficiently provide for the benefit of the farmer throughout all time. For the benefit of the existing farmer I hope it will provide, but for the benefit of his successor on the farm, the reduction of the rate will be a reduction of which the main or probably the exclusive benefit will be felt by the landlord. Do not suppose me to say that that is a reason why the thing should not be done, but it is certainly a reason for considering whether, if the landlord is ultimately to receive that great benefit at the expense of the general tax-payers of the

country or from the charge of any of the taxes of the country, there may be reasons for taking away some of the advantages which the landlord now enjoys in respect of the taxes payable upon the inheritance of his property; because as you are aware what is called personal property, including farm stock, is taxed very heavily upon the death of the owner, whilst landed property is, on the contrary, taxed very lightly and in my opinion—I give my personal opinion—if the landlord is to be the receiver of great ultimate benefit by the reduction of rates at the cost of the public, it would be right some account of that should be taken in the taxes he has to pay when he comes into his property on the death of the previous possessor. There are a variety of subjects, upon which I don't wish to detain you at any length, for I should feel myself guilty of impertinence if I were to attempt to make recommendations to you upon the manner of carrying on your business; but this I venture to say, that though I have spoken on two great causes operating upon the agricultural prosperity, namely, the seasons and the state of the general trade of the country—which determine whether you have rich customers or poor ones, and thereby determine in a great degree what you are to receive for your products—yet there is a subject more important than these, and that is the skill and capital of the farmer himself—the capital he possesses and the way he uses it. I feel, as I have always felt, that one of the difficulties on this subject is that the agriculturist is called upon to undertake, and does undertake voluntarily, a task of great difficulty. The skill that is required to enable a man to get out of one, two, three, or four thousand pounds in agriculture the same profit which he might fairly get out of retail trade, or even out of the many descriptions of manufacture, is a far greater degree of skill. He has many more contingencies to think of; he has a more wide and varied knowledge to acquire. His profession, although it is probably the most agreeable of all professions, yet it is also, on account of the

great demands it makes upon his knowledge and skill, the most difficult of all professions. There is another thing. The manufacturers and artisans are continually deriving fresh benefits from the introduction of machinery. You are aware that manufacture in this country has been wonderfully transformed by the introduction of machinery, and that the improvements in the career of that machinery seem to be boundless. The agriculturist derives in comparison a limited advantage from machinery. Some, no doubt, he has, and I hope he will have more. A very interesting machine was exhibited to me only a few days ago. I don't know whether it is to be of value or not, but it is called the 'harvest-saving machine;' and the inventor, the gentleman in whose possession it is, is Mr. William Gibbs, Gilwell-park, Chingford, Essex. He assured me that that machine is in operation upon many farms of different sizes both in this country and in Scotland. The principle of the machine does not appear to be irrational. It is to dry before storage crops which are likely to suffer from moisture; crops which being in a moist state are quite unfit for stacking, as you know. The ingenuity of science contrives machines which by motion generate heat, and passing the crop under the action of this dry and heated atmosphere may possibly be found to be of great use and value, meeting your crop difficulty, namely, the difficulty of uncertain weather during the harvest, which utterly blights the most sanguine and most reasonable hopes. There is one subject I will allude to, and I think when I spoke at the farmers' meeting I was a little misunderstood, because Mr. Roberts thinks I made an unreasonable recommendation. It was the subject of what is called in France 'small culture,' the rearing of the smaller living creatures, such as poultry, and the culture of vegetables and fruits. It would be a great impertinence in me to tell men like Mr. Roberts how to conduct his trade. I know a recommendation bearing upon this subject can only be rational when it is addressed

to those whose circumstances enable them to profit by it; nor do I suppose that any great revolution in the circumstances of farmers can be brought about in such a way; but, after all, I think farmers ought to bear in mind that there is in this country an unbounded capacity of consuming luxuries. Now, minor culture, such as poultry and vegetables that are commonly grown in gardens, and the flowers and the fruits that are also commonly grown, are more or less in the nature of luxuries, and wherever the circumstances of the farmer enable him advantageously to devote any portion of his land to purposes of that kind, in my opinion it is not irrational to do this, if he examines and carefully ascertains whether he can derive benefit from it or not. When I presumed to mention this subject some years ago in this parish it was at an horticultural meeting of cottagers, and very small holders they were I had in view. So they are now. There may be cases where the devoting of fields to the rearing of vegetables not commonly grown, or to the rearing of fruits where access to markets is favourable, may be found a source of no inconsiderable profit. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the climate of this country is a reason against entertaining subjects of that kind, because if it were the climate of Scotland would be a much stronger reason, bearing in mind this fact, that large quantities of strawberries are supplied to the London market from Scotland, from the North, and some of those parts of Scotland which are commonly considered to have a most ungenial climate. This is not a matter in which, gentlemen, I venture to do more than make a suggestion which may be of use here and there. I think, gentlemen, I have now said all, and perhaps at greater length than I should have done; but I quite admit that from my public capacity you have a right to expect that such exertions as I can make shall be used to do what the law can do to improve your condition; but, after the law has done all it can possibly do, these two causes to which I first referred will be of much greater

consequence than anything that law can do—first, the season, which God may send us; and, secondly, the trade of the country on which you depend for a good and brisk and profitable market, and your own capital, your own skill, your own industry, your own ceaseless study to find out modes of improving your processes and modes of introducing new processes where the old ones are defective. What lies in yourselves is the main matter of all, and I can only hope that it may be given to you so to enjoy the benefits of just legislation, so to witness the bounty of Providence from year to year, so to see all classes of the community flourishing around you in order that you may share their prosperity, and so to develop your own energy and industry that as you meet in this room year after year, you may meet under circumstances ever growing brighter and brighter, ever diminishing your cares, and increasing your hopes that your calling may be pursued in a manner profitable to yourselves and advantageous to the country."

Several other toasts followed.

The speech, of course, created a considerable amount of comment. Agriculture is still our greatest industry, and agriculture is depressed. At every farmers' ordinary, and at every rent audit, the question uppermost in people's minds, if not in their actual talk, was how far the bad times were likely to extend, and what was the remedy, if any. The *Daily News*, after referring to Mr. Gladstone's remarks as to re-adjustment of rent, says:—

"At this point Mr. Gladstone's argument yesterday seems to be somewhat incomplete. Rents are re-arranging themselves where farms are vacant; but the re-adjustment in other cases is made as an act of bounty, and is not a re-adjustment at all. There is much anxiety on this point in rural districts; and it is to this feeling that the less prudent proposals of some rural politicians are to be attributed. On the other points Mr. Gladstone's statements are in harmony with announcements respecting coming

legislation which are already familiar to our readers. Parliament must necessarily leave the question of rents to arrange itself between landlords and tenants; and wise landlords will show a prudent anxiety to keep good tenants, even by considerable concessions in the matter of rent. The legislation on the relations between landlord and tenant which Mr. Gladstone promises is to be in another direction. More security for the capital the tenants put into the soil, and additional guarantees for the free use of the land they hire as the raw material of their business, are essential to any revival of prosperity. Mr. Gladstone tells the farmers that they will find in the present Parliament no indisposition to pass measures for securing the legitimate interest of the cultivators in the soil, if only the Conservatives will let them get to any business at all. It will be necessary at the very least to make the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act compulsory in all tenancies, and to do something for free cultivation. The main relief is, however, that which is directed in the first place to the position of landlords themselves. Changes in this respect which do not directly affect tenancies may exert a very powerful indirect effect. A landlord who is so burdened and tied up that he can do nothing with his estate but get out of it the largest income it will yield, is, as Lord Derby lately intimated, a public evil. He is in a greater degree a private evil to his tenants. He can neither develop the resources of the estate himself nor give them sufficient security for any large expenditure they may make for that purpose. Mr. Gladstone promises that the transfer of land shall be made easier and cheaper, and that the descent of land shall be relieved from restraints that now encumber it. All promises of legislation, however, have to be made with the reservation that first of all the power of getting on with work shall be reconquered for the House of Commons; and Sir W. Hart-Dyke's speech at Chatham last night is only one more indication of the resistance which the Conservatives will offer to any such reform.

"Should it be possible to overcome the obstruction threatened anew in every Conservative speech, one of the earliest duties of Parliament will be to consider questions of local government, expenditure, and rating. Mr. Gladstone put the three points together, but they naturally fall for consideration in the order in which they are placed. Mr. Lowther is promising the farmers of the North Riding, if they will vote for Mr. Dawnay, further grants in aid of local burdens from the public purse. Mr. Gladstone points out how such grants practically go into the landlord's pocket. It is of no use to readjust local taxation unless its incidence is redistributed. In Mr. Goschen's Bills nine or ten years ago a suggestion was made for fairly dividing the burden between landlord and tenant, and some such provision is an essential part of any scheme for the reform of local taxation. Mr. Gladstone intimates that if the landlords are relieved of rates they must pay succession duties more nearly equivalent to the legacy duties on personalty. Expenditure is of course a matter of government; and, in the coming County Government Bill, there is no fear that Mr. Sclater-Booth's blunders will be repeated. The late Government in the measures which Mr. Sclater-Booth dangled before a House which was only inclined to play with them, thought it would be sufficient concession to the occupiers if they levied the rate, the amount and expenditure of which was kept under the control of the magistrates. No such scheme is likely to find place in Mr. Dodson's measures. It would not be worth having if it were not based on the principle that those who pay the rates shall decide how the money is to be expended. An effective control of the county expenditure is therefore a main feature in the new powers which are to be conferred on county occupiers. Mr. Gladstone spoke of placing under the new representative bodies in the counties the carrying out of the laws. It would be an immense reform if all the local authority were concentrated under one county board and administered by one set of officials, and

from one local centre even to a larger extent than in towns. The administration of justice, which is now given to irresponsible persons, should be put into the hands of paid magistrates. This would be to substitute skilled for unskilled labour in this most important of public duties. Mr. Gladstone's reference to the police will be received with general satisfaction. The system of grants in aid from the Consolidated Fund has, as he says, led to too much central interference; and it will be a most valuable result of rural reform if it tends to restore to our police force its purely civic and local character. It should be under the Town Councils in all the towns, and under the new county councils in the country districts."

The *Times* wrote:—"Mr. Gladstone assured his Hawarden tenants that the attention of the Legislature will be speedily directed to the farmer's case, and every reasonable help will be given that the wisdom of Parliament can contrive. He must not, of course, expect too much. The question of rent he will be left to settle with his landlord. Mr. Gladstone passes over lightly coming changes in the land laws as not being of much importance to the tenant as such. He promises other and better things than these. The present Parliament will not hesitate to give the best, and fullest, and most effective measures for securing the legitimate interest of cultivators in the land. This may be done possibly by compelling the landlord to grant long leases, possibly by giving the tenant security for unexhausted improvements, possibly in some other way, but certainly in whatever way may be deemed just and reasonable. Reforms in the matter of local government and taxation complete the list of what Parliament may be expected to do." The *Times* considered Mr. Gladstone made a remarkable omission in not referring to the effect of American competition with English farmers.

The *Daily Chronicle* said:—"To give the ratepayers control over local expenditure will be a reform calculated to confer enor-

mous benefits on the community, but the agriculturists must have a corollary in a comprehensive Land Bill. If the depression from which agriculture has suffered, and still suffers, should precipitate those reforms which the Prime Minister shadowed forth at Hawarden, it will not have been an unmixed evil. But we would warn the Government against measures of a halting character, which would be unavailing as a solution of pressing problems, and unworthy of a Liberal Administration."

According to the *Scotsman*, there had not been for a long time a speech which was practically more important than that made at Hawarden. In it the views of the Government on the Land Question may be said to be fairly sketched. Of course much will depend upon the details of the measures that may be proposed; but the general character of them can be easily understood. It is simple truth to say that the reforms indicated by Mr. Gladstone are just those for which all enlightened farmers and landed proprietors, and others who have taken an interest in the question, have been contending of late.

The *Globe* implied that Mr. Gladstone's audience would derive but cold comfort from what he said. "He travels back nearly half a century to recall a time when, after a period of severe trial and pressure on the farmers, there set in a season of unexampled agricultural prosperity." He invites us to expect such a revival from the present depression. Farmers and landlords will receive this hopeful assurance with reserve. If the conditions under which agricultural industry is now carried on were the same as when Mr. Gladstone attended his first rent audit forty years ago, we might, in the nature of things, reckon upon the desirable reaction. But a great deal has happened since. The New World, to apply an historical epigram in a new sense, has been called into existence to redress the balance of the Old. American competition was not then even in the dreams of the British farmer, much less in his markets. He had no fear of the day when

corn and meat could be brought to the English consumer from the ports of the United States in as short a time as it would take to bring goods from Edinburgh to London. Speedier conveyance and low carrying rates have destroyed whatever advantage he might count upon from being on the spot, and therefore in a position to secure the first prices. Another great disability has overtaken the agriculturist in this country since the days when he had only bad seasons or some fortuitous or artificial misfortune to affect him. The cattle disease, with its heavy but indispensable restrictions, the risks of infection, and the disastrous loss which it inflicts, have made grazing as risky and difficult a pursuit as the sister branch of agriculture. The millions upon millions sterling lost by cattle disease, as if the money had been thrown into the sea, must be taken into account in comparing the prospects of reaction from later depressions with what they were before circumstances had made agriculture, both in tillage and pasture, so precarious and uncertain an industry. As for the argument that because we have had bad seasons good seasons must follow, that will hardly appear more forcible from the Prime Minister than from anybody else. Mr. Gladstone puts aside with contempt, as gross delusions and even impostures, all other explanations of the present depressed condition of the farmers." The *Globe* asks, How is it that Mr. Gladstone overlooks the effect on the home market of the enormous imports? It is absurd the way in which he reasons. The classes whose power of consumption was so affected were nevertheless able to buy up all the American corn and meat that came into the market—the meat which, for people in their adversity, would be more of a luxury than a necessary of life. "It is impossible to suppose that Mr. Gladstone forgot the great element of foreign competition in his endeavour to account for the lean years through which domestic agriculture is passing, and it is equally difficult to think that he so underrates it that he passed it

over deliberately as unworthy of consideration. It may be that he avoided reference to a topic which would have suggested some awkward contradictions in the comfort he sought to administer to the British farmer. It is not long since the Prime Minister told us that our prosperity as a nation was fated to pass to the United States, and that our agricultural and industrial resources were destined to be overborne and undermined by the giant of the West. If this is his opinion, why there is no use holding out brighter prospects to the British farmer. It would be fairer to repeat to him, even when he is Mr. Gladstone's tenant at a rent audit, that the best he can hope for in the future is to struggle on at some level indefinitely lower than that he now holds. As it is, the Premier has but the vaguest consolation for him. He is to put his trust in Providence, with a minor dependence upon chickens and strawberries. It is his belief that the farmer would do well to take up those branches of that 'little culture' which the French peasant proprietor follows, with, however, as observers like Lady Verney show us, results so little profitable to his social, physical, or moral well-being. It need hardly be said that the conditions of French and British farming are very different. Our agriculturist, great or small, has little or nothing to learn from the Frenchman, and even if he had, he would not find the difficulty which weighs upon him solved by the strawberry and the barn-door fowl." Of course, argues the *Globe*, Mr. Gladstone had something to say of legislation. It is not likely that the statesman who has upset the landlords of Ireland would let things alone here in England. "The inference from Mr. Gladstone's speech is that experiments already made have given him a diseased appetite for further meddling, though even upon his own showing, there is nothing in the condition of agriculture in England which can be amended by legislation to an extent which makes legislation necessary. The subject is too important to stop here. The Land Question has long been one of the

most popular items in the Liberal programme of Reform, but men have meant by it many different things, and a good many people have used the phrase without any very definite idea what it is that they do mean." There is nobody, argued the *Pall Mall Gazette*, whose opinion on this serious subject can be so important as that of the Prime Minister. "This speech at Hawarden," it says, "was not one of those great expositions of which Mr. Gladstone can show himself so wonderful a master when he chooses; it is one of his characteristics very seldom to commit himself to more definite propositions than the occasion imperatively requires. But the general bearing of his views is tolerably clear, and it probably marks the level at which opinion has at present arrived among his supporters. When he says that the transfer of land ought to be a great deal more free and easy and cheap and rapid than it is, the object is one of which even his political opponents do not disapprove. 'The land,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'ought likewise to be relieved from many restraints that affect it,' meaning, we presume, entails and long settlements. This would practically bring about the state of things which Lord Derby thinks ought not to be difficult to produce—a state, namely, in which nearly every acre in England would be saleable. More important for the moment than the ultimate transformations of the land system is the relation between landlord and tenant. 'This,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'is not sufficiently provided for by law.' The protection of the legitimate interest of the cultivators in the land is an object for which the present Parliament is not unprepared to devise 'the best, fullest, and most effective measures.' Mr. Gladstone did not define the extent of this legitimate interest, but we may take for granted that he does not mean by it what Lord Derby defined as the tenant's right of selling something that does belong to him and a good deal that does not. Security for unexhausted improvements seems to be the limit to which, as at present advised, Mr. Gladstone is prepared to go in the way of legislative

interference with contract. Of the heresies of continuous occupation and free sale Mr. Gladstone did not speak, beyond giving the very proper warning that the Irish Land Act was an exceptional remedy for an exceptional state of things. He lends no countenance to the idea of interfering between landlord and tenant in the matter of rent. County government, on which he spoke at some length, is directly connected with the agricultural interest, because one way of relieving that interest is by a re-adjustment of local taxes; and local taxes cannot be satisfactorily dealt with until we have established representative local bodies. Whether Mr. Gladstone's hints will satisfy the expectations of the farmers, it is impossible to tell. Their case is undoubtedly a hard one. The present holders of leases have year after year been losing their capital; and the existing agitation is thoroughly spontaneous, the result of the pinching of the shoe. The depression has brought out a view of the position of farmers under the Scotch system of leases, which was very much lost to sight while the course of rents and profits was, on the whole, continually upwards—namely, that the whole risk, not only of the fluctuations of seasons, but of commercial, national, and other variations, is thrown on the farmer, while the fluctuations of his profits and losses are greatly aggravated by the cheapened transportation now available, good prices no longer compensating for bad crops. His position varies immensely, not only with the seasons from year to year, but also from decade to decade, with more permanent changes; and now that a bad decade has come the Scotch farmer has become restive, and feels strongly that he should not bear all the risk and loss of a trade more gambling and uncertain in its character than other trades. The terms of his lease he might adjust in proportion to the risk; but he does not like the risk of a long lease, and wants some system by which he may cultivate well without being so much bound down. Here he joins hands with the English farmer who never had a lease, but

has or wants some system of compensation for his outlay."

"On the whole," continues the *Pall Mall*, "we may admit with Mr. Caird and others, that under the large-farm system, in present circumstances, the tripartite arrangement of landlord, tenant, and labourer is the best available. The time may come when foreign loans and speculative enterprises are exploded, and a man with a competency may be content to invest in a farm and farm it himself; but for the present the man with fifteen or twenty thousand pounds who is willing to do this is quite the exception. We may believe, too, that in the large-farm districts the disadvantages of any attempt to introduce the Irish form of tenant right would preponderate over the advantages. The question must be dealt with without adopting Irish principles. But there is yet another view of the matter. The greatest mistake and anachronism is found in the common assertion that production is to be cheapened not by reducing but by increasing the size of tenancies. Some years ago men acted on this belief, but things are changed now. Go wherever one will in every quarter of the United Kingdom, there is but one story, that the large farmers have suffered much more than the small ones, that landlords can freely relet small farms but cannot let large ones. As the cost of labour increases, the man who labours with his own hands gains on the man who hires. Wholesale produce comes from abroad, and perishable articles require the care and labour of a family. In every view the tendency of things would seem to be towards small farms. But then the experience, not only of this country, but, it may be said, of the whole world, appears to show that the landlord and tenant system pure and simple is not suitable to small farms; it does not pay a landlord to equip small holdings; such a system has never succeeded in any country. Either the cultivators making their own improvements acquire a tenant right and permanent privileges of occupancy, or they are cleared away to make room for larger farmers.

"We may well expect that much of the land of this country will come into the market. The existing depression will bring much now, and much more when the shackles of entail, settlement, and primogeniture are removed. The removal of these things is not only part of the Liberal programme, but would be highly agreeable to most of the present holders and to the existing generation of younger children; and, though the getting rid of trusts and settlements is no very easy task, we may assume that the land will be freed, and being freed will be largely sold. Can then the opportunity be taken to promote small holdings? Not only is it economically desirable, but for the social and physical well-being of the nation some reflux from the towns to the country would be very beneficial. So far as we can see at present, Lord Derby has spoken the truest word on this subject. 'If any such demand,' he said, 'for land in small lots exists as is supposed, I do not see why you need call in the State to do what private companies are perfectly capable of doing.'"

Returning to the subject again, the *Times* wrote:—"Mr. Gladstone has thrown out a fly that many fish will rise to. Local taxation always has been a grievance, and is felt by everybody, everywhere. Whatever a man's position or politics, he has a quarrel with the collector of rates. Every ratepayer starts with some practical injustice. He has to pay for roads he never uses, while the roads that he does use every day are neglected. He educates the children of the poor, and feeds and clothes a good many of them also, in order that as soon as they can do anything, they may bid him a long good-bye. It is proverbial that a small worry rankles in the mind much deeper and longer than a very great loss. People who have paid many pounds to the collector of taxes without a murmur, feel, in as many shillings demanded by the rate collector, the last ounce that breaks the horse's back. Many suggestions have been made for the healing of this sore, but they generally aim more at symmetry than

at any palpable result. The proposal to apply some part of the imperial taxation to local purposes, has French as well as other continental examples in its favour. Besides the octroi or tax on eatables and drinkables brought into the town, the horse tax and carriage tax are there applied for local purposes. This is, however, only a matter of manipulation, and would be found practically inconvenient in a country where private carriages travel far, and where the better class of a large town generally live some way out of it." As Mr. Shaw Lefevre observes of a similar proposal, the place of a tax so applied would have to be supplied by one of a more indirect and universal character. A Lancashire justice writes:—"One does not see how the burden would be substantially lightened by transferring an imperial source of revenue to the localities, and then filling up the void in the National Exchequer by fresh taxation." "The question," wrote Lord Wenlock, "is not one alone for Tory squires, but for all Liberals interested in the pressing question how best to relieve the present agricultural depression." The *Times* admits that it would not be right to say a word to prejudice any plan Mr. Gladstone may have in his wallet. It continues:—

"Putting aside Mr. Goschen's proposals to give up to local purposes portions of the public revenue, and the general cry for more local government and representative government, too, it was natural to credit the Premier with some scheme of enlarged county or provincial administration. At his rent audit, accordingly, Mr. Gladstone made the expected announcement. The work will be attempted in the coming session, when, if Parliament agrees, the inhabitants of the counties are to receive a thoroughly sufficient measure of local government, giving them the same control over expenditure as is now exercised by the inhabitants of towns. One naturally recoils from a change which would be difficult and risky; for if the House of Commons cannot defend it self from an obstruc-

tive minority, and from the abuse of the rules meant for insuring freedom of speech, what chance is there of county boards, in some parts of England, holding their own against organised misrule? But the necessity of creating county boards before, or contemporaneously with the passing of any such measure as that indicated by Mr. Gladstone, cannot be doubted, for the country at large will say, with reason, that funds transferred from the direct control of our representatives in Parliament, ought not to be transferred to any but a representative body, or at least to a body combining this element. One may imagine the disappointment of the county representatives, elected after a severe party contest, at finding how little they had to do—how little choice they had in most of the business before them, and how scanty the funds at their disposal. A county board of this character would not be long without finding out work for itself. It would follow the example of our reformed municipalities which surpass their unreformed predecessors in nothing so much as in raising money and spending it, leaving posterity to settle the account. If it must be so, so be it. Reform has not made much way in our counties yet. The greater part of England is very much as it was four centuries ago, and even the most zealous and most restless reformer can appreciate an occasional visit to the Middle Ages, or to pre-historic rudeness, or solitude. Yet nobody who really wishes well to our rural population, would wish them to be for ever excluded from the renovating and purifying influences now at work in the country, chiefly through the agency of representative institutions." So far, the *Times*, as usual blowing hot and cold, unable to make up its mind on the matter, and only careful to say as little as it can definite one way or the other.

Mr. Gladstone's policy with regard to land drew down on him an attack from Earl Grey, a son of the great Earl Grey, but an eccentric Liberal on whose course of action under any particular circumstances it was difficult to rely. A Liberal pro-

fessedly at any rate, he was no party man. In the middle of January, 1882, the North Riding of York was much interested in an election occasioned by the death of Lord Helmesley. And at one of the meetings in connection with the contest, the Hon. Guy Dawnay, the Conservative candidate for the North Riding, read the following letter from Earl Grey, which he had sent to Colonel Dawnay, M.P., from Howick:—"I earnestly hope your brother may win his election. You have on all grounds my best wishes. I certainly am most anxious that Mr. Gladstone should not have another vote in dealing with the land laws of England; for though he could hardly do as much harm here as he has done in Ireland, he probably, if he has the power, will do a great deal, and I cannot understand how it happens that all who are interested in the land, or in the welfare of England generally, do not take the same view of the subject as Lord Zetland, and refuse to go on supporting a man who, on every really important question, acts against the old opinions of all the great Whig leaders in the old days, when the Whigs were a party to which I for one was proud to belong, and of which I will not give up the traditions because a set of men choose to call themselves the successors of a party with which they have really nothing in common. Is it not strange that people do not look back a little, and see what have been the results of Mr. Gladstone's policy? There is an old saying that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and Mr. Gladstone's pudding has proved very bitter eating. In 1868, when Mr. Gladstone began his agitation about Ireland, and denounced the 'Upas tree,' Ireland was rapidly improving. The landlords and tenants were as a rule on good terms with each other, and Fenianism, as Mr. Gladstone himself admitted, met with no support whatever from the small farmers. The law relating to the occupation of land no doubt required amendment, but there were very few indeed who wanted any change inconsistent with the rights

of property, and amendments which would have done all that was really wanted to secure tenants from injustice might have been made with ease and without danger. But Mr. Gladstone stimulated the excitable Irish people to half madness by his speeches, denouncing the grievances he said they were labouring under, and which he had not raised a finger to remove during all the years that he had before been in office. Having used the state of Ireland as a lever to upset the previous Government, he came into power himself, and passed the measure which he told us was to give prosperity to Ireland. After dealing with the Church question, which was a real grievance requiring to be redressed, in the very worst way he gave us the unfortunate Land Bill of 1870, which first gave the Irish tenants a slice of the landlords' property, and as was sure to happen, created among them an appetite for more, and raised the feelings of cupidity which have led to the results we now see. Last session he passed his new Land Bill, and the way in which it is working shows the incapacity of its author in the most striking way."

This letter created no little excitement at the time. The *Leeds Mercury* wrote:—"We have no intention of correcting. We must leave any schoolboy acquainted with history to do that. Like the addresses of Mr. Dawney and of his political dry nurse, Mr. Lowther, it is animated by the most intense antagonism to Mr. Gladstone and his policy. But this is not all. It is also animated by a most intense feeling, the most bitter antagonism to those who do not belong to the class of landowners, and by the most resolute opposition to any change in the land laws of this country. Lord Grey hates Mr. Gladstone, but he also hates any movement which may have for its object the improvement of the condition of the tenants by securing to them their just rights, and the independence which is essential to their prosperity." The *Times* seems quite alarmed upon the subject, though the *Pall Mall Gazette* in-

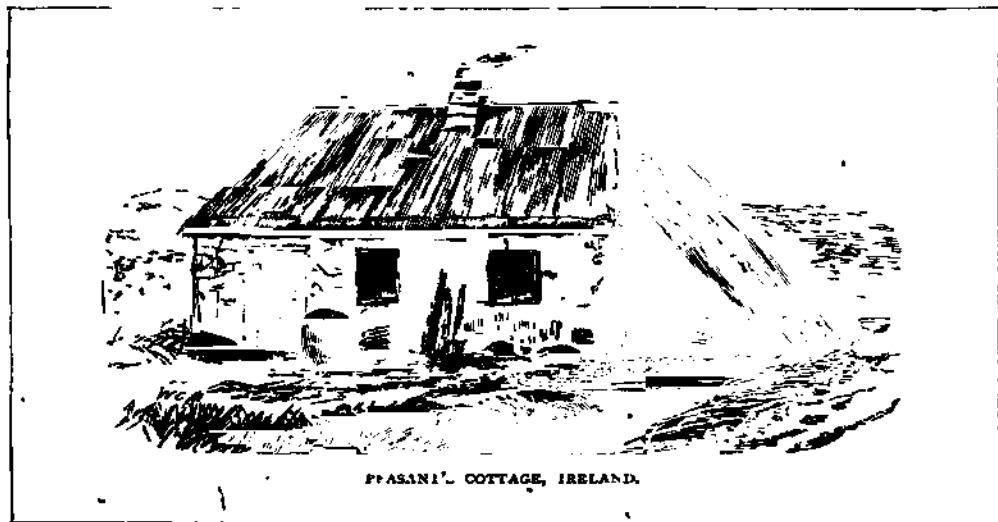
timated that Lord Grey had been a grumbler and railer in the Liberal camp almost all his life.

"When, a few days ago," wrote the *Echo*, "it was announced that the Marquis of Ripon had announced his intention of subscribing a thousand pounds towards the election expenses of Mr. Rowlandson, the Opposition were greatly scandalised that a peer should take any active part in an election, although Lord Ripon has only done what Lord Zetland has done for the other side. Both these noblemen, however, have large estates in the North Riding. No such excuse can be pleaded for Earl Grey, who has just written a letter in the interest of Mr. Guy Dawney. Earl Grey still nominally ranks as a Liberal, presumably because he can do the Opposition more service as a conspicuous instance of Liberal dissidence from a Liberal policy, than if he were formally enrolled as a Conservative; but it would be hard to say what Lord Grey has done for Liberalism during his lengthy and inglorious course. Though he is a man of conspicuous ability, and had the inestimable advantage of being the son of his father, he has been a signal political failure. In the last thirty years no Liberal Minister has cared to invite him to become a member of his Cabinet, and since the accession of Mr. Gladstone to power Earl Grey has devoted what little energy he has left to attacking the man whom the British nation called to power by an overwhelming vote. Earl Grey's letter on the North Riding election is rather calculated to aid his foe than his friend. He is anxious that Mr. Gladstone should not have another vote in dealing with the land laws of England. Earl Grey is at one with Lord Elcho and other advocates of the absolute rights of landlordism in resistance to all agrarian reform. In the landlord interest he supports Mr. Dawney. If the agricultural voters of the North Riding consider that no reform is necessary, they should support Mr. Dawney; but all who recognise the necessity of agrarian reform, even to the extent approved by Mr. Dawney,

ought, on Lord Grey's showing, to vote for Mr. Rowlandson, and thus give an additional vote to the statesman who is ready to deal with the land laws of England. Earl Grey cannot forgive Mr. Gladstone for setting at naught ancient Whig traditions. A Liberal minister in 1882 ought, he thinks, to be guided by the Whig traditions of 1832.

"We have profound respect for the memory of Grey and Brougham; but a statesman who was fettered by their opinions would find himself far in the rear of many modern

Lord Grey lives exclusively in the past. Since he first entered Parliament, the conditions of our national life have been changed. The peasants and farmers, who have thrown off their allegiance and emigrated to the New World, have become so powerful that they have made a reform of the land laws both in England and Ireland a prime necessity. The balance of political power is no longer in the hands of a great few Whig houses, and the middle class, who were content to follow their lead. Any statesman, of whatever party, who allowed



FRASANEL COTTAGE, IRELAND.

Conservatives. It is quite true that there is some little show of plausibility in the assertion that the members of the present Cabinet have little in common with the Whigs of 1832, but the same assertion, and with just as much show of truth, by an octogenarian Whig in 1832, when comparing the Whig leaders of that time with those who went before. Like the eccentric nobleman who shut himself up in the house where the wedding breakfast was laid for the bride that never made her appearance,

himself to be fettered by the traditions of the earlier half of the century would be speedily ostracised by the electorate of the second Reform Bill. The companions of Lord Grey's youth for the most part advanced with the times. Slowly and reluctantly they accepted the programme of the Anti-Corn Law League; still more slowly, though with less reluctance, they accepted the enfranchisement of the working classes—perhaps in neither case considering that these two measures ultimately involved the

necessary abandonment of the Whig traditions to which Lord Grey so fondly clings. In Gladstonian legislation on agrarian questions, the Whigs who supported Free Trade and the second Reform Bill are quite as responsible as the present Minister, the chief difference between them being that they were the unconscious and he is the conscious and intelligible instrument of beneficial reforms, without which revolution would become inevitable."

In a second leader the *Times* intimated that it was very far from agreeing with Lord Grey in his vehement denunciation of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and is by no means disposed to regard his views as an infallible political barometer. But they are, nevertheless, the views of a man of rare political sagacity, and as such they are not unlikely to influence, however little they may indicate for the moment, the drift of popular opinion. It must have been motives of no ordinary strength that induced an old Whig like Lord Grey to lend his personal support to a Conservative candidate for the North Riding. He must regard the continuance of Mr. Gladstone in power as likely to be even more disastrous to the country than the possible fulfilment of Mr. Dawney's Protectionist promises. It is certainly a strange touch of envy that the sternest political moralist of our times should be forced to countenance the electioneering of Mr. James Lowther, and that an acute reasoner and staunch Free Trader of Lord Grey's stamp should be found supporting a candidate who proposes a five-shilling duty on corn, and seems to believe that the exclusion of American and Russian supplies of food would be no disadvantage to this country.

The *Yorkshire Post* observed:—"That, although Lord Grey pronounced in favour of the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield as opposed to that of Mr. Gladstone and the majority of Liberals, and on one or two other occasions has evinced a strong opposition to the domestic policy of the Radicals, he has never before actively espoused the cause of a Conservative candidate. Lord

Grey is the son of the Father of the Reform Act of 1862. Family pride and party traditions alone constrained him to submit to the yoke of Radicalism, even when the Radical tail contended with the Whig head for mastery. For a long time Whig human nature has been able to endure the burden, but Lord Grey can accept the yoke no longer, because he sees that for personal and party objects the leaders of the Liberal party are committing themselves to the unsettling of great interests, under the illusory idea that certain classes are to be benefited thereby—the truth being that in the long run, none will be benefited and many made worse. Lord Grey sees that the promised peddling of the land laws which will do nothing towards reducing rents or securing good harvests, is but the commencement of a revolutionary course which, once entered upon, cannot be stopped. He sees, with the clear eye of prophetic vision, that the quiet influence of a territorial aristocracy is, if this wave of radicalism be permitted to continue its course, to be supplanted by the iron grip of a new plutocracy who would fain pit the farmers against their landlords, in order that they, the agitators, may occupy the position hitherto held by a hereditary and patriotic class, and hold up their plebeian heads as lords of the political creation." It is curious to note that this letter, which created such interest in the political world, and so greatly refreshed the Conservatives, was a private letter of Lord Grey to his niece, Mrs. Dawney, wife of Col. Dawney, M.P., and was not intended for publication. It is also somewhat remarkable that Lord Grey and Mr. Gladstone have never sat in the same Cabinet. The Prime Minister's maiden speech in the House of Commons was made in reply to the bitter taunts of the then Lord Howick, and Earl Grey has always been as ready as Lord Howick to say bitter things of Mr. Gladstone. At the general election which resulted in the defeat of Lord Beaconsfield and the triumph of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Grey published a lugubrious epistle on the state of affairs.

"Lord Grey and Lord Zetland, and the small band of Whiglandlords who are doing all in their power to secure the return of a Conservative and Protectionist," wrote the *Spectator*, "in the North Riding of Yorkshire, because they are so passionately earnest to deliver a severe blow to Mr. Gladstone's Government, are foolish enough to read backward Lord Derby's striking warning to those who would keep Democracy moderate by assuming the lead of its tendencies. No one ever uttered a wiser or weightier political aphorism than Lord Derby in his address to the Liverpool Reform Club a fortnight ago, when he told them that in his belief the moderation and fairness, and the general justice with which masses of men, including all conditions of life, are disposed to use their power in this country need nothing to perpetuate them except that the rich should put themselves at the head of a movement leading up to the necessary reforms. That is what we have always claimed for the Whigs. It would have seemed to us hardly credible that a great peer with Lord Grey's splendid antecedents as regards Free Trade, for he was a Free Trader even before Lord John Russell or Sir Robert Peel had accepted the principle of Free Trade, should actually wish success to a candidate who has promised to support the imposition of a five-shilling duty on corn, as Mr. Guy Dawnay had done in the North Riding, did we not know only too well that Lord Grey has spent three-fourths of his long political career in devising stumbling-blocks for the party with whom in early life it was his pride and privilege to act. As for Lord Zetland, we are unable even to guess at the views which have led him to take up with the reactionary party. But of this we are quite sure, that the few great Whigs who are now going over to the enemy are doing all that in them lies, not with the effect of retarding reform, though that is what they desire, but with the effect of removing whatever regulative influence they would otherwise have exerted over the prudence and moderation of reform. Lord Grey can no more prevent the English

and the Scotch tenant farmers obtaining what their numbers, their influence, and the depression of their own particular industry point out as necessary for them in this country, than he could, if he wished it, which, of course, he does not, restore the Protective Tariff of 1845. But he can make the tenant farmers feel more keenly than they feel at present that the great Whig families are not their true advisers; that they must go over to a stronger party than the Whigs if they want real help; that the Whig nobility are, in the words of one of them, beginning to be found out, and that they are no longer the leaders of the people, but only selfish representatives of a narrow class. We do not mean that as yet this is so. We earnestly desire that it may never be so. We are proud of the great leaders who, like Lord Derby at the present moment, and still more like the Russells, the Cavendishes, and the Grosvenors, discern what privileges of the ancient days the time has now come for their order to resign in order that they may enjoy still more fully the greatest of all these privileges—that of the trust and love of the people. But we do say that these narrow-minded men, who, like Lord Grey and Lord Zetland, desert the people at a moment like the present—do what is in their power—Heaven grant it may be only a little—to sicken the people of their caste, and to convince them that the old Liberal aristocracy of England are well nigh played out."

It is interesting to note, in connection with this subject, Lord Derby at a rent audit at Knowsley said, addressing his tenants, that he had nothing to say against a Land Bill being passed enabling an owner of encumbered estates to deal with the same and relieve himself from his indebtedness by selling a portion. As regarded his estate he might say there was not a penny of incumbrance on it, and he did not intend to sell an acre of it; therefore the tenants might rest assured in their present position. He did not take any credit to himself for the way in which

the estate was managed, for with the estate he inherited also the family traditions of the Stanleys, who, as every one knows, are much more liberal landlords than the Manchester or Liverpool men who have become landowners in that part of the world.

Not only by means of the press was the conduct of Lord Grey criticised. It formed a subject for lively criticism in many a speech delivered at the time. For instance, in January, on the occasion of the opening of St. Paul's Institute, Burton-on-Trent, in presence of a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen of the town and district, Sir W. Harcourt said:—"My friend has referred to the letter of Lord Grey. I desire to treat Lord Grey with that consideration which belongs to advanced years and an honourable name, but when Lord Grey sets himself to denounce the incapacity of Mr. Gladstone, and when he invites the Whig party to decline to follow him, I think we are entitled, nay, compelled to ask by what right Lord Grey uses such language. I do not wish to disparage Lord Grey's political career, but to compare his career with that of Mr. Gladstone would only be uncivil irony. He claims to expound the true traditions of the Whig party, but for fifty years, as my friend has said, the Whig party have found it impossible to get along with him as he has found it to go along with them. Who are the great leaders whom Lord Grey so invidiously compares with Mr. Gladstone? Does Lord Grey suppose that the history of the last forty years is blotted out? I suppose Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston have some claims to be considered great Whig leaders in their day, but what was Lord Grey's attitude toward them? Why, some thirty years ago, when Sir Robert Peel resigned, Lord Russell was unable to form a Government because Lord Grey would not act with Lord Palmerston. Then it was a respectable thing to be a Whig, and long before the days when Mr. Gladstone's pre-eminence placed him at the undisputed head of the Liberal party, there were many Whig administrations, and Lord Grey was

friendly to none of them. No man, for the last thirty years, who has enjoyed the confidence of the Liberal party, has ever enjoyed the confidence of Lord Grey, and as far as I know there is only one man who has ever enjoyed the confidence of Lord Grey, and that is Lord Grey himself. He has now set himself up as the mentor of the Whig party, and as I have never been ashamed to call myself a Whig, I should like to say why I wholly reject the mentorship of the noble lord. From the time of Mr. Fox to the present day there have always been men of the feeble sort who straggled out of the line of march, especially on the eve of battle. Every regiment malingers, but the party has survived these defections and serried its ranks. Lord Howick ought to remember the language which, fifty years ago, was addressed to the men who surrounded the late Earl Grey. These were held up to be the friends of revolution; they were advocates of confiscation; they were generally held to be the foes of the land. The vocabulary is always the same. It is only some new person—the leader of the Liberal party for the time being—to whom it is applied. What was said of the late Earl Grey is now said of Mr. Gladstone. The accusation may be summed up in a single sentence. We fear reform and we hate reformers. And depend upon it, the better reformer a man is the more he is hated. That is why the late Earl Grey was vilified then, and that is why Mr. Gladstone is vilified now. The present Lord Grey invites all those who are interested in land—but that does not include the tenant farmers—to combine to overthrow Mr. Gladstone. In my opinion that is a good deal easier said than done, and, if the gentlemen interested in land take the foolish counsel of Lord Grey, they will find that they have got a loaded blunderbuss, the recoil of which will be far more fatal than the aim." Altogether, Lord Grey was hit rather hard for his illiberal attack on Mr. Gladstone. It did him no harm, and it helped to render Lord Grey of less account than ever.

In connection with this subject it may be mentioned that Lord Grey and Mr. Gladstone had long been in a condition of mind by no means friendly to one another. In the March following, this was further illustrated by a discussion which was raised in Parliament, where members seem to have so much spare time, that they are always asking questions and wanting to to know about matters with which they have no concern. The idle discussion was

on the Irish question. I stated that the right hon. gentleman had during his tour in Midlothian characterised a statement in a letter addressed by Lord Grey to the *Times* as 'the apprehensions of an old woman.' The right hon. gentleman denied that, and so I said that I should feel bound to substantiate my allegation. I have been through the revised and published speeches of the right hon. gentleman delivered in Midlothian, and I am bound to say that



EVICTED.

imitated by Lord Claude Hamilton, who made some remarks in one of those speeches which he and others like him delivered to unlistening and uninterested audiences. The next night, that was, in the first week in March, Lord Claude Hamilton is reported to have said:—"I should like to make an explanation with regard to what occurred last night between the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government and myself during the debate

I cannot find any reference to the speech in question; but fortunately there are other sources open to me, and I find on reference to the *Times* that the speech in question had been carefully eliminated from the published speeches of the right hon. gentleman. The meeting in question was held at the Liberal Club at Edinburgh on the 31st March, 1880, and the report in the *Times* appeared on the 1st of April. During the speech the right hon. gentle-

man dealt solely with the letter of Lord Grey, and he said, 'He did not agree with Lord Grey as to the enormity of this danger. There was a great deal of difficulty still to contend with in the state of Ireland, but as to these panics and apprehension of fear that the people of Ireland wanted to tear away Ireland from its connection with this country, he told them frankly that he did not believe that. He thought it was an old woman's apprehension. Not that he meant to apply the phrase old woman to any person—but to apply it strictly as qualifying the character of the apprehension.'

Mr. Gladstone—I am not able to admit either the courtesy of the noble lord's proceeding or the correctness of the assertion that he was about to substantiate his allegation; and I am obliged to him in particular for his statement that I had taken the pains elaborately to eliminate from the set of speeches this particular speech. I took no such pains. I did not make the selection, and I did not eliminate any speech or introduce any speech. The noble lord stated last night that I had described the warnings of Lord Grey as the utterance of an old woman. I said at the time that I had not done anything of the kind.

Lord C. Hamilton—Apprehension, not utterance.

Mr. Gladstone—The noble lord is reported to have said "utterance," but that does not signify in the slightest degree. He quotes the reports to the letter against me, but he does not seem to like them as against himself. I said I had stated nothing of the kind. When such a denial is given by a member the usual course is for the hon. member who had made the allegation to express regret for having fallen into an error. Instead of that the noble lord has entirely rejected my disclaimer, and proceeded to substantiate his allegation. He has not substantiated his allegation. He has omitted from the report in the *Times* the passage which would show that he has not substantiated it. In the first place, it was not a public meeting at all. It was

not a meeting of the Liberal Club—it was a meeting of my committee in a private room. I greatly doubt if a reporter was present, and one of my reasons is that while the reporting of my speeches in Midlothian was most admirable, in the case of this particular speech the reporting was different, this speech being in the third person. What happened was this. I referred to Lord Grey's letter, and I ascribed to Lord Grey two allegations. I said that, "Lord Grey added in relation to the past Government that two glaring instances showed what a dangerous man Mr. Gladstone was. They were these—the abolition of the Irish Church and the reform of the Irish Land Laws. These, he said, were carried by the Government of which he (Mr. Gladstone) had the honour to be a member, and they had been the cause of the present great danger which the country had to undergo. He did not agree with Lord Grey about the enormity of this danger." I then went on to deal with the apprehension, which I did not say Lord Grey had expressed, and I am not at all aware that he did express it. I hardly believe that he did. That apprehension I described "as a most irrational apprehension, and as an old woman's apprehension, namely, the apprehension that the people of Ireland wanted to tear Ireland away from its connection with this country." I did not apply that expression to any statement that was so far as I know made by Lord Grey. Not only so, when I had said that—fearful that there might appear to be a connection between my use of the phrase and the name of Lord Grey—which is a name that I hold in honour, and have always held in honour—I went on to speak as reported, that I did not "want to apply the phrase 'old woman' to any person, but to apply it strictly as qualifying the character of the apprehension." I had then done with Lord Grey. I was not to be tempted to say a word that would derogate in any degree from the respect which was due to a politician who was a most able man—a man of great talents and un-

doubted honesty. Then I went on further to say:—"He was anxious from personal respect for Lord Grey to say that if he had said anything that would hurt or wound him in any degree, he would wish to retract it." It is under those circumstances that the noble lord, overlooking the fact that I was speaking of a different allegation from that made by Lord Grey, charges me with having described the utterances of Lord Grey as the apprehension of an old woman.

As an illustration of Mr. Gladstone's management of landed property, it may be stated that at the time these violent attacks on him were appearing from Earl Grey and others, it was stated that the Duke of Newcastle's estate in Nottinghamshire was looking better than it had been for many years past. During the latter part of the late Duke's life the estate was greatly neglected, but under the trusteeship of the Premier, it is again beginning to manifest itself as one of the finest territorial domains in England. Game swarms everywhere, labourers are well employed, farmers are doing more with their holdings, and there is an air of trimness and order about the place which shows that a master mind has the whole estate under control. Well has Mr. Gladstone repaid the confidence reposed in him by the late Duke. Much has the present Duke, still a lad at Eton, to be thankful to Mr. Gladstone for. Burdened as he is with the care of an Empire, yet he can find time to look after the interests of a youthful ward.

The *Quarterly*, as was to be expected, at this time specially signalled itself by its attack on Mr. Gladstone. Its leading article in January, 1882, was entitled "The Liberal Work of Two Years," and was pleasant reading to those who believed, with the *Saturday Review*, that "abuse, more abuse, and then more abuse" should be poured out by Conservative writers and orators upon every act of the present Ministry. Here is a sample extract:—"Mr. Gladstone's sympathies have always been large and free, unless he has scented a political foe, and to-day they are elastic enough to take

the Pope on one side and Bradlaughism, which means something much more and much worse than atheism, on the other." The italics are our own. Well may Sir Henry James say, as he did at a large public meeting lately, that he does not believe that there ever has been a minister who has been subjected to such bitter attacks and violent imputations as the present Minister. The article is, however, remarkable for an admission which is a genuine testimony of Mr. Gladstone's popularity and power. The reviewer warns the landowners that their political power is comparatively a thing of nought, and that they have now few auxiliaries on whom they can depend. The middle class, which was once the main source of their strength, is now either arrayed in opposition to them, or has been brought to believe that its interests are opposed to theirs. The writer, however, strongly deprecates a change of Government. "The Liberals must be made to finish their own work. They have conducted the country into this huge quagmire: let them lead it back if they can to safe and solid ground. How they are to do it no man can see, Mr. Gladstone least of all, but flight from their duty under any pretext should be rendered impossible." This last bit of advice did not, however, suit the Conservatives at all.

As an illustration, let us quote the *Morning Advertiser*. The publicans all turned Tories when it was seen the Whigs were in earnest to put down the national vice of intemperance, as far as it was in their power to do so, and hence the bitterness of the publican's organ. The *Morning Advertiser* proposed Mr. Gladstone as an illustration of the saying of Richter, "That praise is strong enough to make a man." "Never surely was British statesman so belauded since the days of Wolsey. In the days when there was a Great Mogul, that potentate kept a troop of officials called Umhris, whose function it was, when the mighty personage spoke or stirred, to cry out, 'Wonder of wonders; behold what marvels issue from his mouth! lo, what miracles

drop from his hand! The illustrious Liberal statesman is served in pretty much the same fashion by his zealous subordinates. Every excuse they can find for making a speech, and excuses are endless in number and variety, serves also as a peg on which to hang a panegyric upon this Great Mogul among ministers. Is it Mr. Bright at Birmmham? The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster stuffs his oration with fulsome tribute to the notoriety whom he possibly envies. Mr. Chamberlain's adulation is gross, open, and palpable, and has, perhaps, secured those monitory provisions which will clear the parliamentary highway for the budget of measures the energetic President of the Board of Trade has in contemplation. Even Lord Hartington's otherwise plain and robust utterances are tainted with this singular species of political idolatry. When Sir William Harcourt and Sir Henry James, lawyers both, have in their turn to speak, it goes without saying that they also offer up their homage to the minister dictator. It is not the fault of his colleagues if Mr. Gladstone is not regarded by the people of this country as a heaven-sent minister; but, on the other hand, those who heap this indiscriminate, not to say nauseous eulogy upon him, would do well to remember that the thing may be overdone, and that people tire, not unreasonably, of hearing too much of Aristides the Just. It never seemed to have occurred to the *Morning Advertiser* that the incessant and unscrupulous invective of the Tory Press might have a similar effect upon the public, and lead them more heartily to support a statesman whom their enemies thus daily and hourly held up to public contempt and scorn.

Let us say a word about the election in the North Riding, which was the principal political event connected with the history of the first month of 1882, and which ended in the return of the Conservative candidate. This was not the first time that a bye-election in the great county of York has excited general interest throughout the kingdom. A generation has well-nigh passed away

since, in the autumn of 1848, Lord Morpeth, who with Mr. Cobden had been returned without opposition for the West Riding at the general election of 1847, succeeded to the earldom of Carlisle, and a vacancy was thus caused in the representation of that important constituency. The Conservatives brought forward Mr. E. B. Denison, one of the successful candidates for the West Riding in 1841, and the Liberals fought with Sir Culling Eardley. The Administration in power was that of Lord John Russell, and the contest for the great undivided West Riding was accepted on both sides as a fair trial of political strength, and as indicating the position of the Whig Ministry in the confidence of the people. The poll was taken in December, 1848, and the result was an unmistakeable Conservative victory, inasmuch as Mr. Denison secured 14,743 votes, as compared with 11,795 given to Sir Culling Eardley. It was the last bye-election which took place in the West Riding as one entire constituency, for it has now three divisions—north, east, and south.

With regard to the North Riding, which now claims attention, it began its separate political existence with a spirited contest. Previous to the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, the vast and populous county of York returned four members to the House of Commons; but by that statute each of the three ridings was in future to send two representatives. At the general election of 1832 the Hon. W. Duncombe, a member of the Feversham family, came forward in the Conservative interest; while three Liberals fought for the second seat—Mr. E. S. Cayley, Mr. John C. Ramsden, and Mr. Martin Stapleton. Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Cayley were the successful candidates, the former being at the head of the poll by a considerable majority. The first Reformed Parliament was dissolved in January, 1835, upon the dismissal of the Whig Ministry by King William, and the accession of Sir Robert Peel to the Premiership. There was another struggle in the North Riding, with the result that the two

former members were returned, the second Conservative candidate, Mr. James Walker, being third on the poll. Amid all the political changes of the next twenty-two years, the peace of the North Riding was not disturbed. Sir Robert Peel gave way to Lord Melbourne, and Lord Melbourne again to Sir Robert Peel. Lord John

suspended political life of the North Riding was re-awakened to its full activity. Early in the session of 1857 resolutions were moved in both Houses of Parliament censuring Lord Palmerston's Government for the measures which had been adopted at Canton in connection with the seizure of the *lorcha Arrow*. That in the Lords was



DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Russell, Lord Derby, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Palmerston also severally followed each other in the office of Prime Minister; but at each successive general election a member of the Duncombe family was returned upon the one side and Mr. Cayley on the other.

A time, however, came when the long-

moved by the Earl of Derby; and, contrary to the general experience of such motions in the Upper House, it was rejected by a majority of thirty-six. In the Commons the vote of censure was proposed by Mr. Cobden, and was supported by Conservatives, Whigs, Peelites, and Radicals; Mr. Disraeli, Lord John Russell,

Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Milner Gibson all spoke and voted for it. The resolution was carried by a majority of 263 to 247, and Lord Palmerston at once dissolved Parliament. In his address to the electors of Tiverton the Premier wrote:—

"An insolent barbarian, wielding authority at Canton, violated the British flag, broke the engagements of treaties, offered rewards for the heads of British subjects in that part of China, and planned their destruction by murder, assassination, and poison. The British officers, civil and naval, on the station, took those measures which appeared to them to be proper and necessary to obtain satisfaction and redress, and her Majesty's Government had approved the course pursued by those officers in vindication of the national honour and for the assertion of our national rights. A combination of political parties, not till this last session united, carried a resolution declaring the course pursued by our officers in China unjustifiable, and consequently censuring her Majesty's Government for having approved that course. But if that cause was unjustifiable, the British Government, instead of expecting satisfaction, ought to offer compensation to the Chinese Commissioner, and this course the combined opponents of the Government, if their Parliamentary victory had installed them in office, must in consistency have been prepared to pursue. Will the British nation give their support to men who have thus endeavoured to make the humiliation and degradation of their country the steppingstone to power?"

Lord Palmerston therefore went to the hustings, to use the language of Mr. Milner Gibson, "mounted on the British lion," and returned from the country with a majority of 87 votes. In the North Riding Mr. J. C. Dundas made an unsuccessful effort to wrest the Conservative seat from Mr. Octavius Duncombe, who came in at the head of the poll, with Mr. Cayley second. There was no contest in 1859; but in

March, 1862, on the death of Mr. Cayley, who had sat for the constituency thirty years, an animated struggle took place. Hitherto, under any circumstances, the representation had been divided; but the Conservatives now resolved to obtain possession of the second seat. They put forward Mr. W. J. Morritt, in opposition to Mr. F. A. Milbank, the present Liberal member. One of the principal articles of Mr. Morritt's political creed was the repeal of the malt tax, and he was returned by 5,507 votes, while Mr. Milbank received 5,041. At the general election of 1865, however, Mr. Milbank again offered himself, avowing his determination to "shake the towers of Duncombe Park, which had so long controlled the representation of the North Riding." Mr. Milbank so far succeeded in his expressed object that he was returned at the head of the poll with 6,585 votes, the present Lord Faversham being second with 6,362, and Mr. Morritt losing his seat. In November, 1868, the main question before the constituencies was the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the election was the first under the extended franchise conferred by the new Reform Act. At the contest which took place in the North Riding, Colonel Duncombe received 7,689 votes, and Mr. Milbank 7,429. The third candidate, Mr. E. S. Cayley, a son of the former member, polled only 1,721, or nearly 6,000 less than Colonel Duncombe.

Since the General Election of 1868, there has been no contest in this constituency; consequently the electorate have had no opportunity of expressing an opinion under the protection of the ballot. In circumstances differing so widely in their results as those of the two appeals to the country in 1874 and in 1880, the two political parties in the Riding were content to divide the representation, and it may be added that this is the first occasion upon which a member of the Duncombe family will not have had one of the two seats.

CHAPTER L.

THE SESSION OF 1882—THE CLOTURE.



ON Thursday, February 7th, the House again met, and under circumstances of unusual interest. There was no state pageant in or outside the House, nevertheless the approaches to Westminster werethronged with spectators.

As early as twelve o'clock considerable crowds began to collect in front of the official residence of the Ministers in Downing-street, and they remained at their post with a gradual increase in their number. Opposite New Palace Yard a vast number of persons had collected, and as the members drove up in cabs or private carriages those recognised were greeted with cheers or groans, according to the temper of the crowd. As Big Ben chimed a quarter-past one a loud cheer announced the arrival of some personage of unusual notoriety, and presently a hansom-cab containing Mr. Bradlaugh, accompanied by his friend Dr. Aveling, drove in through the gates and drew up at the entrance to Westminster Hall, which was already well filled with spectators, amongst whom was a large sprinkling of ladies. Afterwards, as the vehicles began to pour in in rapid succession, several dashes were made at the gates, but the efforts of the police were sufficient to prevent any serious inconvenience. Precisely at a quarter-past two, at the close of the reading of the Queen's Speech, Mr. Bradlaugh made his appearance in the Palace Yard, and was received with volleys of cheers and hooting. Quickly Westminster Hall poured forth all its occupants, and a vast proportion of the crowd rushed shouting after the yellow hansom-cab, the horse bedizened with blue ribbons, in

which Mr. Bradlaugh took his departure, and for a short while Westminster Palace Yard was clear. When Mr. Bradlaugh returned, shortly after half-past three, he was cheered by some few persons in the street, but scarcely recognised by the members in the lobby, the first person to be saluted there being Mr. John Bright. The Member for Birmingham was followed by Mr. Raikes, the Member for Preston, who was congratulated on all sides. Shortly before four o'clock the Prime Minister, who was accompanied by Mrs. Gladstone, drove from Downing-street in a private carriage to Westminster, and was loudly cheered along the short mile by the thousands of spectators which lined it. The right hon. gentleman was set down at the members' private entrance, and Mrs. Gladstone, as she returned to Downing-street, was greeted with every manifestation of respect. Possibly the only recognised member of the House who met with a reception of an uncomplimentary character was Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he was certainly told, in unmistakeable tones, that there was a large Irish element in the crowd, and that he was no favourite with them.

In the House of Lords the peers began to assemble shortly before two o'clock, by which time some seven-and-twenty had assembled. The Church was represented by the Bishop of London. Above one hundred ladies occupied the Opposition benches, and the strangers' gallery was well filled. The Ministerial and ex-Ministerial benches were empty. Precisely at two o'clock the Lord Chancellor, wearing his peer's robe, advanced from the northern door towards the throne, while from the opposite direction came four peers similarly appareled.

These having arranged themselves in front of the throne, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that Her Majesty, not finding it convenient to attend personally, had ordered a Commission under the great seal to be prepared for the holding of Parliament. Black Rod was then requested to let the Commons know that the Lords Commissioners desired their immediate attendance to hear the Commission read. Sir W. Knollys bowed, and left for the House of Commons, the Lords Commissioners in the meantime seating themselves. After the lapse of a few minutes, the approaching noise of hurrying feet told that the Commons, headed by the Speaker, were coming, and in a few seconds more Sir Henry Brand, standing between Black Rod and the Sergeant-at-arms, was making his bow to the Commission. The Clerk of the Parliament then proceeded to read the Royal Commission, which named among the Commissioners, in addition to numerous members of the Royal Family, the peers then present in their official capacity, namely, the Lord Chancellor, Earl Sydney, the Earl of Cork, the Earl of Kenmare, and Lord Monson. When this had been done, the Lord Chancellor rose to read "Her Majesty's speech in Her Majesty's own words,"—a proceeding which occupied almost a quarter of an hour, owing to the length of the speech. Immediately after the Speaker and the Commons withdrew, and the strangers left the House. The Royal Commissioners retired to unrobe, and in a couple of minutes the House was deserted, having been formally adjourned during pleasure. The whole ceremony of opening Parliament occupied a few minutes under half-an-hour.

The following is the text of the Queen's speech:—

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with much satisfaction that I again invite your advice and assistance in the conduct of public affairs.

"I have given my approval to a marriage between my son Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, and Her Serene Highness Princess

Helen of Waldeck and Pyrmont. I have every reason to believe that this will be a happy union.

"I continue in relations of cordial harmony with all foreign Powers.

"The Treaty for the cession of Thessaly to the Greek kingdom has now been executed in its main provisions. The transfer of sovereignty and of occupation was effected in a manner honourable to all concerned.

"In concert with the President of the French Republic, I have given careful attention to the affairs of Egypt, where existing arrangements have imposed on me special obligations. I shall use my influence to maintain the rights already established, whether by the firmans of the Sultan or by various international engagements, in a spirit favourable to the good government of the country, and the prudent development of its institutions.

"I have pleasure in informing you that the restoration of peace beyond the North-Western Frontier, together with continued internal tranquillity, plentiful seasons, and increase of the revenue, has enabled my Government in India to resume works of public utility which had been suspended, and to devote its attention to measures for the further improvement of the condition of the people.

"The Convention with the Transvaal has been ratified by the Representative Assembly; and I have seen no reason to qualify my anticipations of its advantageous working.

"I have, however, to regret that, although hostilities have not been renewed in Basutoland, the country still remains in an unsettled condition.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—The Estimates for the service of the year are in an advanced stage of preparation, and will be promptly submitted to you.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—My communications with France on the subject of a new Commercial Treaty have not been closed. They will be prosecuted by me, as

I have already acquainted you, with a desire to conclude a Treaty favourable to extended intercourse between the two nations, to whose close amity I attach so great a value.

"The trade of the country, both domestic and foreign, has for some time been improving, and the mildness of the winter season has been eminently suited to farming operations. Better prospects are, I trust, thus opened for the classes immediately concerned in agriculture.

"The public revenue, which is greatly, though not always at once, affected by the state of industry and commerce, has not yet exhibited an upward movement in proportion to their increased activity.

"The condition of Ireland at this time, as compared with that, which I described at the beginning of last year, shows signs of improvement, and encourages the hope that perseverance in the course you have pursued will be rewarded with the happy results which are so much to be desired.

"Justice has been administered with greater efficacy, and the intimidation which has been employed to deter occupiers of land from fulfilling their obligations, and from availing themselves of the Act of last Session, shows, upon the whole, a diminished force.

"My efforts, through the bounty of Providence, have been favoured by the abundance of the harvest in that portion of the United Kingdom.

"In addition to a vigorous exertion of the provisions of the ordinary law, I have not hesitated, under the painful necessity of the case, to employ largely the exceptional powers intrusted to me for the protection of life and property by two Acts of the last Session.

"You will be invited to deal with proposals for the establishment in the English and Welsh counties of local self-government which has so long been enjoyed by the towns; together with enlarged powers of administration, and with financial changes which will give you an opportunity of considering, both as to town and country, what

may be the proper extent, and the most equitable and provident form, of contribution from Imperial taxes in relief of local charges.

"These proposals, in so far as they are financial, will apply to the whole of Great Britain. It will be necessary to reserve the case of Ireland for a separate consideration.

"In connection with the general subject of Local Administration, I have directed a measure to be prepared and submitted to you for the reform of the ancient and distinguished Corporation of London, and the extension of a Municipal Government to the metropolis at large.

"Bills will again be laid before you with which, during the last Session, notwithstanding the length of its duration, and your unwearied labours, it was found impossible to proceed. I refer particularly to those concerning Bankruptcy, the Repression of Corrupt Practices at Elections, and the Conservancy of Rivers and Prevention of Floods.

"Measures will also be proposed to you with respect to a Criminal Code, and to the Consolidation and Amendment of the Laws affecting Patents.

"The interests of some portions of the United Kingdom have suffered peculiarly of late years from the extreme pressure of the public business on your time and strength; but I trust that during this Session you may be able to consider Bills which will be presented to you in relation to the law of entail and to educational endowments in Scotland, and to improved means of education in Wales.

"I commend these and other subjects with confidence to your care; and it is my earnest prayer that your wisdom and energy may, under the blessing of God, prove equal to the varied and increasing needs of this extended Empire."

The House having reassembled at four o'clock, Lords Tweeddale (Marquis of Tweeddale in Scotland), Reay, Hothfield, and Tweedmouth, each between two supporters of his own rank, were severally in-



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS PRIME MINISTER, WITH SWORD OF STATE

introduced by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and the Lord Great Chamberlain, preceded by General Sir William Knollys, K.C.B., Black Rod, and Mr. H. Murray Lane, Chester Herald (in the absence of Sir Albert Woods, Garter King-of-Arms), the latter of whom carried the new Peers' patents, which he delivered to them on reaching the Woolsack. He subsequently conducted each Peer to his proper seat in the House, whence he exchanged salutations with the Lord Chancellor, and having been formally congratulated by his Lordship retired by the door on the left of the Throne. The Peers wore their Parliamentary robes, the Earl Marshal carrying his bâton and the Lord Great Chamberlain his wand of office, Black Rod and Chester Herald being in uniform, and the latter wearing his tabard and collar of S.S.

The Lord Chancellor resumed his seat on the Woolsack at five o'clock, when there was already assembled a large number of Peers, the proportion on the Opposition side of the House being as two to one of those on the Ministerial side. On the front bench to the right of the Throne were Lords Granville, Spencer, Kimberley, Carlingford, and Northbrook; and on the front Opposition bench, amongst other members of the late Cabinet, sat Lords Salisbury, Cairns, Cranbrook, and Richmond. Lord Derby occupied his usual seat on the Ministerial side below the gangway, and the Dukes of Edinburgh and Cambridge sat on the cross benches. The gallery to the right of the Throne was filled with Peersesses, and there were a few ladies in the gallery on the opposite side of the House.

The Lord Chancellor again having read the Queen's Speech,

The Earl of Fingall, who was attired in the uniform of a colonel of the Militia, rose to move the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. Lord Wenlock seconded the Address, Lord Salisbury then followed with a bitter attack, to which Lord Granville having replied, the debate was continued by the Duke of Somerset, Lord Waterford, Lord Carlingford, Lord

Donoughmore, and Lord Waverley. As it was, however, the discussion was over by nine o'clock, when the Address was agreed to, and their Lordships adjourned.

Business commenced in the House of Commons at four o'clock, when all parts of it from the floor to the roof were densely crowded. As soon as the Speaker took the chair, after the new writ for Westminster had been moved, he called on the new members desiring to take their seats to come to the table in the usual form. Nine of the members elected during the recess—Mr. Salt, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Jerningham, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Dawnay, and Mr. Asher—accordingly came forward and took the oath in the usual form, Mr. Raikes and Mr. J. Lowther in particular being loudly cheered.

Mr. Bradlaugh, who had been standing at the bar, now advanced to the table, and was apparently about to take the New Testament in his hand, when Sir Stafford Northcote rose amidst loud cheering from the Opposition benches to submit a resolution which he said was about identical with that of last year. He briefly recapitulated the history of the case, and moved that, having regard to the resolutions passed in 1880 and 1881, and to the reports of the Select Committee, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the oath. This statement was moderate to the extremity of dulness. When he sat down everybody looked to the Ministerial Bench, where it had long been observed there was no Prime Minister. Mr. Bradlaugh, at the request of the Speaker, having retired below the Bar without any question beyond stipulating to be heard before the House decided in his case, the Home Secretary rose, and raised a shout of incredulous laughter by his opening expression of regret at the accidental absence of the Prime Minister. Sir William, wishing to show that he had not been using a mere conventional expression, maintained that the absence was indeed accidental. "The Prime Minister," he said,

"had probably not expected, as others had not, that this question would come on before half-past four." Sir William, acting for him, moved the previous question, to the evident satisfaction of the majority of Liberals. While the Home Secretary was yet speaking, Mr. Gladstone entered, and was greeted with a tremendous cheer. Mr. Newdegate's solemn interposition was tolerated as the inevitable is borne with—but it was curious that the clock stopped while Mr. Newdegate was on his legs. Mr. Bradlaugh here had his opportunity, and speaking from the Bar—the Prince of Wales looking evidently with much interest over the railings of the Peers' Gallery right down upon him—devoted a few sharp words to Mr. Newdegate, and followed these with a passionate appeal to the House on his own behalf. He did not spare the House in his keen analysis of the motives of those who voted against him, and his peroration was marked by a particularly effective passage, in which he asked was it on the man or on the oath that this question turned with his opponents. He challenged them to repeal the Oaths Act, in which case he volunteered to resign his seat and go to his constituents for re-election, so that the measure could not be merely regarded as a Bradlaugh Relief Bill. The subsequent debate travelled over familiar lines, and Mr. Gladstone's speech was an amplification of that which Sir W. Harcourt had made when he moved the previous question. The division ended in a defeat of the Government proposal by the crushing majority of fifty-eight—a considerable increase on the vote of the year previous. Some time before the numbers were announced the result was confidently anticipated by the Opposition, who became very hilarious, and Baron de Worms crossed the floor to flaunt the Opposition victory in the face of Mr. Henry Labouchere. With this episode the real excitement of the evening terminated. During the remainder of the night the Opposition were conspicuous by their absence. The first three hours had exhausted them. Mr. Biggar tried his usual

count on the Speaker's return, after an interval for refreshment, but not more than were sufficient to keep the House appeared. We may add here that the numbers were 286 to 228. Mr. Bradlaugh again advanced to the table, and being informed by the Speaker of the decision arrived at by the House, and requested to withdraw, respectfully refused. Upon this the Speaker appealed to the House for further instructions, and, after a pause, during which the Opposition called for Gladstone, and the Ministerialists for Northcote, Sir S. Northcote rose and moved formally that Mr. Bradlaugh be directed to withdraw, and Mr. Gladstone regarding it as a consequential motion said he did not intend to oppose. It was carried without a division, and Mr. Bradlaugh being again requested to withdraw, said he did not think it dignified to enter into a conflict with the House, and would therefore withdraw below the Bar. At this there was a general cheer, and Mr. Bradlaugh took his seat at the Bar, where he remained some time.

An Irish interlude followed, occasioned by the Speaker reading a letter which he had received from the Irish Government informing the House of the arrest of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Kelly, and Mr. Sexton, which led to a motion by Mr. Gray for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire and report whether any of the matters contained in the letter required the further attention of the House. Mr. Gladstone, in replying to Mr. Gray, maintained that there was no breach of privilege in applying to a member an Act of Parliament suitable to his case. Mr. O'Donnell, on the other hand, asserted that the rights of constituencies and the privileges of Parliament had been infringed by the administration of the Coercion Act; and Mr. Biggar attributed Mr. Parnell's imprisonment to the inability of Mr. Gladstone, whom he designated as a "vain old gentleman" to answer him in argument. With such twaddle on the part of Irish M.P.'s the debate continued

till the motion was negatived by 174 to 45. Actually it was not till a quarter to eleven that the debate on the Address was commenced by Mr. Marjoribanks, who touched seriatim and in much detail on the various paragraphs of the Royal Speech, expressing a uniform approval of each, and Mr. Firth, who seconded it, dwelt chiefly on the portions relating to the municipal government of the metropolis. On the second night, in the course of the adjourned debate, the discussion resolved itself into a duel between Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Gladstone. The leader of the Opposition severely criticised the policy of the Government, and especially asked for explanations as to the working of the Land Act and Irish projects in general. The Prime Minister was not slow to take up the challenge. In the course of a reply, which was contended at the time to be remarkably brilliant and effective, Mr. Gladstone referred to the Egyptian question, and spoke somewhat favourably of the joint action of all the powers and of the development of national feeling in that country, but stated that he had little to add to the speech from the Throne, which promised that the influence of this country should be used to maintain the rights already established, whether by the firmans of the Sultan, or by various international engagements in a spirit favourable to the good government of the country, and the prudent development of its institutions. In respect to the condition of Ireland the right hon. gentleman spoke as follows:—

"I must not anticipate the future; but thus far there is every indication that this great conspiracy, which would, indeed, have brought society to the very last of its resources, has been not only confronted, but defeated. The payment of rent in Ireland is now going on very extensively, and is never now met by violent resistance. I think I am correct in that. I do not warrant the future. I speak of the present, and as we record the shame and the sorrow of last year, so it is our duty to record the comparative, though modified, improve-

ment of the present. But if it be true such a conspiracy has been confronted, and that its strength has in great part been broken, I say that is a matter so great and so solid in itself that it cannot be broken down by any cavilling criticism, nor can it be long withheld from becoming visible and sensible to the nation at large by its own intrinsic greatness. Sir, we think that is the case, not only because of the manner in which armed resistance to the levy of rent has been lately suppressed, but because of other features. We affirm that the circle of intimidation has been narrowed. As to its character, I cannot say that it has improved. In my opinion the Land Act drove the party, of whom I have painfully spoken, to desperation in their subsequent proceedings—and, by their subsequent proceedings, I mean not only what they have done and what they have said, but what they have allowed by their silence and encouraged by their countenance—these proceedings have assumed even a darker character. It was deplorable enough that the agents of the law and the representatives of property had been insecure in the assertion of legal rights and the performance of official duties; but what was worse and baser still was, that the tenant should be subject to outrage and death because he paid the rent he had promised to pay. That has been the character of the recent intimidation. It is against this that we make war; and I shall be curious to hear, when the amendment is moved, what is thought by the speakers of that description of intimidation. Besides, the withdrawal of this resistance to the payment of rent—and, besides, the contraction of the circle of intimidation, I am happy to say that, to some degree at least, the judicial system of the country has revived. I look upon that as a circumstance of the most vital moment. Here, again, I will not presume to prophesy, but I point to the date, now thirteen months ago, when we were obliged to press it on the attention of Parliament, that the judicial system of the country, through the fault of the juries, was dead:

now it is alive. Verdicts have been obtained against these criminals and malefactors. At any rate, it is a matter of fact that the judicial system has revived, and the respect for law which, I rejoice to say, in general is fast becoming characteristic in Ireland, is now happily being extended to agrarian cases. These are not mere generalities, but plain and positive, though limited and guarded, statements. These are the statements upon which we stand when we allege that there is, upon the whole, unmistakable sign of improvement in Ireland, and we affirm that the agency by which we have been able to effect that improvement is a double agency—the agency not remedial, but repressive, which, unfortunately, could not cure anything, but which cleared the way for the application of the cure; and the Land Act, which has taken a great hold upon the people of Ireland, and has defeated the worst efforts that could be made against it. This Act has not reduced the conspiracy to a nullity; but it has limited the power of the conspirators, and has done much to prevent the accomplishment of their mischievous designs. This is the Act which we admit to be exceptional, and only warranted by the gravity of the circumstances of the case, but in regard to which we are assured that in these very early days, at the very commencement of life, it has proved itself to be in some way an infant Hercules, that could strangle the serpent which endeavoured to grapple with its life and extinguish it—and that its action, though full of difficulty, and I admit it, and though its provisions are open to criticism, and I admit it, yet is full of hope and promise, and, I trust, will be full of blessing to the people of Ireland.

Of course this did not satisfy the Parnellites and Home Rulers, in their efforts to obstruct Parliament, and the debate dragged its slow length along, with all the unvarying repetitions, unenlivened by attempt at wit or display of genius, to which, unfortunately, we have become so familiar since Home Rule or Parnellism has displayed itself in the British House of

Commons. Mr. Justin McCarthy moved an elaborate indictment of the Irish policy of the Government, with the only result of wasting time.

The private members of the House seemed to imagine that the Session would be especially favourable to the ventilation of their crotchets. The notices of motion were early in the Session of a most portentous character. Mr. Staveland Hill proposed to ventilate the Fair Trade nostrum, and Mr. Ritchie will move for a select committee on Foreign Tariffs. Mr. Howard is to bring in what is substantially the Farmers' Alliance Bill on the land question, and Mr. W. Fowler will deal with Entailed Estates. Mr. Burt wishes to amend the Employers' Liability Act. Mr. A. Dilke to make Election Expenses payable out of rates, and Mr. T. Sullivan to give better Protection to Women and Children. As to the Liquor Laws, there were several proposals, including Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Local Option Scheme, and Mr. Stevenson's Sunday Closing (England) Bill. Irish notices of all kinds abounded, and Mr. Ashmead Bartlett repeated the portentous resolution on our foreign policy which he was unable to launch last Session. Perhaps the most curious of the announcements is that of Mr. Walton, who was the cause of the blunder in the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, and who now proposed to amend it. As to the ecclesiastical announcements, they of themselves were evidently quite sufficient for the attention of a single session. Here are a few of them:—"Mr. Dick Peddie to call attention to the position of the Established Church of Scotland, and to move that this House is of opinion that the maintenance of the Church of Scotland is indefensible on public grounds; that in the ecclesiastical circumstances of the country it is eminently unjust, and that a measure for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland should be passed at an early day. Mr. Henry Richard proposed to amend the law relating to cemeteries. Mr. Stanhope to amend the laws relating to Patronage, Simony, and Exchange of Bene-

fices in the Church of England. Mr. Briggs seeks to render unnecessary the presence of Civil Registrars at Nonconformist and other marriages, and to make provision in lieu thereof. Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, as was to be expected, found an advocate in the person of Sir T. Chambers. Mr. Labouchere gave notice of a Bill to amend the law relating to Parliamentary Oaths and Affirmations. Mr. Inderwick sought to abolish extraordinary Tithe Rent Charges, and Mr. Hyde volunteered to amend the procedure against contumacious clerks. There was, indeed, an ample bill of fare provided. At the same time these notices were given, a Westminster election took place, and Lord Percy was returned in the room of Sir Charles Russell, resigned—without the slightest attempt on the part of the Liberals to contest the vacant seat. This was undeniably a bad sign of the times as regards the Gladstone Government.

Early in the Session the subject of the Clôture was introduced.

The following are the rules which Mr. Gladstone announced himself as about to move in reference to the Business of the House:—

I.—PROCEDURE.

(Putting the Question.)

1. That when it shall appear to Mr. Speaker, or to the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, during any debate, to be the evident sense of the House, or of the Committee, that the question be now put, he may so inform the House; and if a motion be made "That the question be now put," Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman, shall forthwith put such question; and if the same be decided in the affirmative, the question under discussion shall be put forthwith; provided the question shall not be decided in the affirmative, if a division be taken, unless it shall appear to have been supported by more than two hundred members or to have been opposed by less than forty members.

(Motions for Adjournment before Public Business.)

2. That no motion for the adjournment of the House shall be made, except by leave of the House, before the Orders of the Day, or Notice of Motions have been entered upon.

(Debates on Motions for Adjournment.)

3. That when a motion is made for the adjournment of a debate, or of the House, during any debate, or that the Chairman of a Committee do report progress, or do leave the chair, the debate thereupon shall be strictly confined to the matter of such motion; and no member, having spoken to any such motion, shall be entitled to move, or second, any similar motion during the same debate, or during the same sitting of the Committee.

(Divisions.)

4. That when, before a division, the decision of Mr. Speaker, or of the Chairman of a Committee, that the "Ayes" or "Noes" have it, is challenged, Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman, may call upon the members challenging it to rise in their places; and, if they do not exceed twenty, he may forthwith declare the determination of the House, or of the Committee.

(Irrelevance or Repetition.)

5. That Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman of a Committee, may call the attention of the House, or of the Committee, to continued irrelevance or tedious repetition on the part of a member; and may direct the member to discontinue his speech.

(Postponement of Preamble.)

6. That, in Committee on a Bill, the Preamble do stand postponed until after the consideration of the clauses without questions put.

(Chairman to leave the Chair without Question.)

7. That when the Chairman of a Committee has been ordered to make a report to the House, he shall leave the chair, without question put.

(Half-past Twelve o'clock Rule.)

8. To add to the Standing Order of the 18th of February, 1879, the following words:—

"But this Rule shall not apply to the motion for leave to bring in a Bill, nor to any Bill which has passed through Committee."

(Order in Debate.)

9. To amend the Standing Order of the 28th of February, 1880, as follows:—

That, whenever any member shall have been named by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, as disregarding the authority of the Chair, or abusing the rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House, or otherwise, then, if the offence has been committed in the House, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question on a motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, "that such member be suspended from the service of the House;" and, if the offence has been committed in a Committee of the whole House, the Chairman shall, on a motion being made, put the same question in a similar way, and, if the motion is carried, shall forthwith suspend the proceedings of the Committee, and report the circumstance to the House, and the Speaker shall thereupon put the same question, without amendment, adjournment, or debate, as if the offence had been committed in the House itself. If any member be suspended under this order, his suspension, on the first occasion, shall continue for a week, on the second occasion for a month, and on a third occasion for the remainder of the Session: provided always that nothing in this resolution shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of proceeding against any member according to ancient usages.

(Debates on Motions for Adjournment.)

10. That if Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, shall be of opinion that a motion for the adjournment of a debate, or of the House,

during any debate, or that the Chairman do report progress or do leave the chair, is made for the purpose of obstruction, he may forthwith put the question thereupon from the Chair.

(Consideration of a Bill, as amended.)

11. That on reading the Order of the Day for the consideration of a Bill, as amended, the House do proceed to consider the same without question put, unless the member in charge thereof shall desire to postpone its consideration, or notice has been given to recommit the Bill.

(Motions on going into Committee of Supply.)

12. That whenever the Committee of Supply, appointed for the consideration of the ordinary Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates stands as the first Order of the Day on a Monday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the chair without putting any question, unless an amendment be moved, or question raised relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply, on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively.

II.—STANDING COMMITTEES.

(Standing Committees on Law and Courts of Justice, Trade, etc.)

1. That two Standing Committees be appointed for the consideration of all Bills relating to law and Courts of Justice, and to trade, shipping, and manufactures, which may be committed to them respectively.

(Nomination by Committee of Selection.)

2. That the said Standing Committee do consist of not less than 60, nor more than 80, members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection, who shall have regard to the classes of Bills committed to such Committees, to the composition of the House, and to the qualifications of the members selected; and shall have power to add and discharge members from time to time, provided the number of 80 be not exceeded.

(Commitment and Report of Bills.)

3. That all Bills comprised in each of the said classes shall be committed to one of the said Standing Committees, unless the House shall otherwise order, and when reported to the House, shall be proceeded with as if they had been reported from a Committee of the whole House.

The fight on this subject, as was to be expected, was protracted and severe. Freedom of debate was to be crushed by an overbearing and insolent Ministerial majority, and Conservatives could no more permit that than discontented Radicals or patriotic Home Rulers. Sir Stafford Northcote at once gave notice of a motion of opposition, and Mr. Marriott, from the Radical camp, intimated a bitter opposition to No. 1. On the Saturday after the House had had the plan before them, there was considerable uncertainty on the Ministerial benches in the House of Commons as to the coming vote on the Clôture. At that time it was said members had not made up their minds. It was found that many did not like it, and would support it because they could not help themselves, and for no other reason. The London correspondent of the *Newcastle Chronicle* wrote (that is, Mr. Cowan, M.P., or his agent):—"The House of Commons, if the new procedure comes into operation, will no longer be the House of Commons that Englishmen formerly knew and have been accustomed to pride themselves on. It will not be the House that Pitt and Fox, Canning and Peel, Palmerston and Disraeli in turn led and influenced, but it will be an enlarged vestry with a paraphernalia and regulations more in keeping with the characteristics of some South American Chamber of Deputies, than in accordance with time-honoured customs of an ancient constitutional country." Such weak balderdash had its effect, and people were alarmed. No one saw that Ministers, and Parliament and the whole nation, are sick and suffering from the deluge of talk, the result of the personal vanity of petty M.P.'s, and under the in-

fluence of which Parliament fails to do any business whatever. The *Times* led the opposition. It said, before the debate commenced:—"No one who takes the trouble to inform himself of the drift of public opinion, can believe that the first rule as it stands has commended itself unreservedly to the judgment of any one. The real opinion of the country is not to be gathered from the organs which follow their leader whithersoever he goeth with undeviating fidelity, and without even taking time to form a judgment of their own. It is necessary in such cases that each Member of the Cabinet should form and express a judgment of his own, and should base it, not on manufactured opinion, but on the manifest sense of the House of Commons regarded as an assembly in which party has no place. On the question of procedure the only parties are the obstructives, and the House itself and the Government is, or should be, the organ and representative of the latter. It is not too late, we hope, to appeal to the Cabinet at large against its chief, and if necessary to the House of Commons against the Cabinet. If the Clôture by a bare majority is proposed in any form, we shall give it our uncompromising opposition." The *Daily News*, on the contrary, trusted that the Government would nail their colours to the mast, and hinted that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were not men to be frightened from or wheedled out of a position which they have deliberately taken up, after long and careful consideration. It anticipated that the Government would meet at once with a distinct refusal Sir Stafford Northcote's proposal to negative the first resolution. They will not accept the temporary refuge which Mr. Arthur Balfour kindly offers them in his motion for the postponement of the First Rule until the others have been considered. The First Rule, the *Daily News* argued, is the very essence of the Government proposals. Without it the other rules would be of little use. It would be a mere waste of time, a species of obstruction, to en-

gauge the House of Commons in long discussions on them, while the fate of the first is undetermined. If that is accepted the other parts of the Government scheme will be valuable by way of supplement. Should the House of Commons reject it, Members will not, we imagine, be troubled with a consideration of the remaining rules. The fate of the entire Government scheme for reforming the procedure of the House of Commons will depend upon the vote which the House may give on Sir Stafford Northcote's proposal for negating the First Rule. "We," said the *Daily News* on February 13th, "have no fear as to the issue. Sir Stafford Northcote will doubtless carry with him the whole force of the Conservative party. He will probably have the advantage of the Irish alliance for which during the recess so high a price was paid in moral consistency and political honour. We do not grudge him their help. The character of the Conservative resistance will be known by this combination. The leader of the Opposition will be judged by his Home Rule confederates. But the Liberal party in the House of Commons is strong enough and united enough to bear down this concerted attack. The fuller consideration which the lapse of time has enabled Liberal Members to give to the new rules, and particularly to the First Rule, has abated and removed many of the objections and doubts which were originally entertained. The vote given in favour of the First Rule will be what is technically termed the solid Liberal vote. The seceders from the party will probably be numbered by units."

The general questions at issue, which the vote on the First Rule was to decide, are whether the machinery of Parliament shall be adapted to the exigencies of modern legislation; whether the administration of the day shall be able to do the work entrusted to it, and whether by the power of closing exhausted discussions the scope and topics of effective debate shall be enlarged, and private Members shall recover that power of initiative and

Parliamentary action which they have now almost entirely lost. The First Rule in its operation would not restrict freedom of debate, but extend it. It would not take away, but restore the opportunities for varied discussion. It would substitute real debate on various topics for protracted and meaningless droning upon a single theme. For silencing a bore, who insists upon monopolizing talk, is not to destroy, but to enlarge freedom of conversation. As many as fifty amendments were tacked on to the Government proposals, which were not introduced to the House of Commons till Monday, February 20th.

In the meanwhile, considerable discussion was excited, and, in some quarters, alarm created by an admission on the part of Mr. Gladstone that he would be prepared to consider how far Ireland might be left to conduct her own local affairs. In the House of Commons, on February 16th, Mr. Gladstone gave a fuller explanation of his meaning, showing that his views on local and self-government in Ireland had undergone no change since ten years ago, when he spoke on the proposals of Mr. Butt. Commenting on his speech next day, the *Times* observed that "Mr. Gladstone last night was much more candid than some of his apologists, and went far to justify the censures of his critics. Home Rule meant a separate legislature for Ireland, with the power of making laws, levying taxes, and choosing local administrators, but precluded from interfering in other than purely Irish affairs. This is the question with which Mr. Gladstone is confronted, and it is to this that he gives what for him is a distinct answer. In the Prime Minister's opinion, the demand that purely Irish affairs should be under Irish direction, is not so dangerous that it ought to be refused consideration. Mr. Gladstone does not say that he would be inclined to concede that demand, but he contends that the proper way of meeting it is to ask those who put it forward what provision they propose to make for securing the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. We must emphatically record our dissent

from this view, which has never before been advanced in a British House of Commons by a responsible Prime Minister. It abandons the strongest part of the case—almost the whole case—against Home Rule." The *Daily News*, on the other hand, agreed with Mr. Gladstone in thinking that the wisest way to meet the demands for Irish control over purely Irish affairs, is not to denounce it as dangerous to the Empire, but to ask that it shall be put in definite shape, and especially to learn what are the provisions to be made for the supremacy of Parliament. "This has not yet been done. It is obvious that the most persistent determination to misunderstand the Prime Minister could have allowed any serious politician or public writer to attach any other meaning to his words. His speech last night will receive the greater welcome from the promise it implies that the new local governments about to be established in our counties will be exempt from the too close subjection to the central government." According to the *Standard*, Mr. Gladstone retracted nothing from the surprising views he had placed on record. "A heavy load," wrote the *Daily Telegraph*, "will be lifted from the public mind by the frank avowal of the Premier that his observations of yesterday may be considered of a speculative character. It would appear that at no time, and under any circumstances, was Mr. Gladstone to give to Ireland anything he was not prepared to give to Scotland. May it not be suggested, and with the most profound respect for the genius and candour of the Premier, that it might interest the country to know exactly to what extent, from a speculative point of view, he proposed to confer Home Rule on that part of the United Kingdom north of the Tweed." As to the Irish papers, there was no uncertain reply on their part to Mr. Gladstone's language. "From Mr. Gladstone's four utterances on Irish Home Rule," wrote the *Nation*, "the first of which was given to the world as far back as two years ago, only one inference can be drawn. Mr. Gladstone himself having wrestled with

Irish discontent, and having succeeded a long line of Premiers since the Union who have been engaged in the same political feat, all of whom have failed, as he himself has failed, has at last recognised the inevitable. He sees that without self-government the Irish people will never be satisfied, and that for the sake of England herself it will soon be necessary to concede it to them. But we notice that in all his utterances on the subject he has steered clear of the term Home Rule and self-government, and has used instead, and has employed the phrase, the local government." The *Cork Examiner* considered that the speech was at least intended to indicate that there was a disposition in Mr. Gladstone's mind to approach nearer to Irish aspirations than any Minister has as yet been supposed to be. The *Freeman's Journal* declared it would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the Premier's attitude in this matter. The *Irish Times* said any one might take the Premier's speech either as a foreshadowing or a bid for early votes. Mr. O'Connor Power wrote that "the declaration of the Prime Minister justified his opinion that this is an appropriate time for pressing the national claim for self-government, and that if it is put forward in a reasonable manner, as a matter of justice, constitutional right, and sound policy, it will prevail in a comparatively short space of time." Other correspondents wrote in the *Freeman's Journal*, "No such admission in favour of our demand for self-government has been made in our time as that contained in the Prime Minister's speech." "Mr. Gladstone's utterances on Home Rule are, I think, important. He has virtually admitted the principle."

Another incident which, at this time, created a little interest in political circles, was the election of Mr. Allsop in the place of Sir Hugh Palliser, deceased, as M.P. for Taunton. The voting was as follows:—Mr. Allsop, Conservative, 1,144; Lord Kilcoursie, Liberal, 917—majority, 227. In reality, the Conservatives retained their seat, that was all, but they crowed as if they

had achieved a mighty triumph. The *Standard* regarded the result of the Taunton election as both gratifying and encouraging to the Conservative party. "No matter how the event is regarded, the electoral statistician will be forced to see in the figures irresistible evidence, not perhaps of an opposition gain, but of a legitimate opposition triumph. What that lesson is there can be no doubt. The popularity of the Ministry is waning." The *Morning Advertiser* said:—"The first election which has taken place since the publication of the new rules, is not calculated to strengthen Mr. Gladstone's confidence in his hold upon the country. Taunton has followed North Durham, North Lincoln, the North Riding, and Preston in pronouncing against the Ministry. And in no contest has the vote been more decisive and significant. If there is any moral at all to be drawn from the results of the Taunton election, it is that the constituency are opposed to the gag." The *Morning Post* saw in the election an extraordinary significance at that moment. "The inference is irresistible that throughout the kingdom a similar revulsion of opinion has taken place, and that if a dissolution was to take place to-morrow we should witness results similar to those which attended the general election of 1874." In a truer and more sensible spirit the *Times* wrote that "the increased Conservative majority at Taunton is due to Mr. Allsop's brewing interest, and to the objection of the old-fashioned electors to Sir Henry James's Corrupt Practices Bill." "But," it continued, "when all is said, however, and when all the arguments that apply especially to Taunton have been brought forward, there remains the fact that the Conservatives are, to say the least, holding their ground in these bye-elections. The electoral history of the past eighteen months would seem to show that the great Liberal majority of 1880 was rather the effect of dissatisfaction with the Government of the time than of any great enthusiasm for especially Liberal reforms. The troubles of the situation are

laid to the account of the party in power. The best hope of the Government lies in a session of good legislation." The *Pall Mall*, agreeing with the *Times* in the main, went on to say:—"But the new rule is a preliminary condition to the passage of any legislation. Therefore the Taunton election, so far as it has any bearing at all upon the question of the hour, will tend to increase the stress with which Ministers insist upon being armed with the only provision by which it is possible to get business done in the House of Commons. It will at the same time strengthen the determination of the Opposition to render legislation impossible, so that the net result of yesterday's election will be to intensify the vehemence of the dispute now raging upon the proposed new rules." In this return, however, some people saw the need of a sweeping measure of reform, which should abolish the small boroughs altogether. Too many of them had been left by the first Reform Bill, and it was contended that they did not return men who represented the opinion of the community at large. It is in them that bribery and corruption exist to the largest extent. As much as £20,000 was spent at the last general election in a borough smaller than Taunton. And it is fact, this power of money to carry the election, which it is to be feared has kept such boroughs in existence so long. From the earliest times Taunton seems to have been more or less of a pocket borough. In Oldfield's "Origin of Parliaments," we read that the principal street and county hall belong to Sir Benjamin Hammet, who nominates one of its members. At that time the number of voters was 450, the right of election to the inhabitants of the said borough being potwallopers, and not receiving alms or charity. Such wretched boroughs, where independent elections are impossible, must, at any rate, shortly be swept away.

As the session advanced it was evident the difficulties of the Gladstone Government thickened, rather than decreased. One of the first things which the Lords

did, in their desire to damage the Ministry, was on the motion of Lord Donoughmore to appoint a Committee of Inquiry into the working of the Land Act; and on Monday, February 20th, Mr. Gladstone, to a somewhat excited House, gave notice of the resolution to be moved on the following Monday, to the effect that a preliminary inquiry at the present time tends to defeat the operation of that Act, and must be injurious to good government in Ireland. That excitement culminated in a passionate discussion, which, having terminated, Mr. Gladstone was left to move the first resolution as to the new rules for the conduct of Parliamentary business. He commenced by reciting the steps taken in former years to deal with the question of the block of business in the House. Since the Reform Bill twenty-one committees had considered the matter, and they had all proved total failures. The scheme then before the House was the result of anxious deliberation on the part of Government, and they intended to stand by it in all matters essential, though not insisting on phrases as if it were written in letters of iron. This latter disposition he illustrated by stating that the last clause of the resolution would be amended by the stipulation that when the Clôture was opposed by less than fifty members, it must be supported by more than a hundred. He showed that for many years the tendency in Parliament had been towards a constant increase of labour, and a constant decrease of power. During the last twelve years these conditions had been aggravated till they had become intolerable. Arrears had grown from session to session, and there was no prospect of their decrease. He was inclined to think that of the two parts into which the scheme was divided, the latter relating to the division of labour was the more important. With the first, including the Clôture, it was possible to proceed upon only one sound principle, and that was that the opinion of the majority should prevail. He recalled various instances where most important measures had been

carried by small majorities. It was on the principle of the prevalence of the majority that they proceeded in the matter of the Clôture, though they surrounded it with safeguards, one of which was the intervention of the Speaker, and the other that they raised enormously the quorum of the House. For himself the reform was not one of personal importance. "My life," he said, in a tone that sounded with strange pathos amid the stillness of the House, "is in the past, and not in the future. But he should be sorry to close his connection with the House at a time when that assembly was paralysed by obstruction." In an eloquent peroration he appealed to the House of Commons, sinking all party differences, to free itself from the thralldom under which it laboured. Mr. Gladstone's acts and arguments produced a great impression on the House. It was another illustration of his unquenched fire and unabated energy.

The amendment discussed on the first night came ostensibly from the Liberal side of the House. In a speech, the tone of which was a disgrace to Brighton, Mr. Marriott, one of the M.P.'s, for that fashionable borough, moved an amendment declaring that no rules of procedure would be satisfactory which confer the power of closing a debate upon a majority of members. The discussion was continued to a protracted hour, when the debate was adjourned. Mr. Goschen supported the Government, while the leader of the Opposition limited himself to vague general opposition to the first rule, and equally vague approval of some of the others. He thought the boasted safeguards were of little use. If the Government arranged business better, and threw themselves upon the good sense of the House, they would, with the assistance of some of the restrictive regulations in the second part of the scheme, do much more good. He urged the House to pause, and pause very earnestly, before accepting the proposals of the Government.

On the next night, as usual, the unexpected happened, and the whole time of the

House was again taken up with the "unspeakable" Bradlaugh. On the 17th, Mr. Bradlaugh wrote to Mr. Gladstone, asking him to state whether or not he was "prepared to take any steps to have the law obeyed in relation to the representation of the borough of Northampton." Mr. Gladstone replied as follows:—"Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th, and to thank you for referring to my words on the 8th of last August in relation to the question of your taking your seat. When the words were used, I had in view, as the probable means of giving them effect, the moving of the previous question, which I thought to be the most regular and parliamentary method by which the House of Commons might have declined to exercise any jurisdiction in your case, and have left you to act on your own responsibility. Exactly this course has been pursued, and, as you are aware, the House has determined by a considerable majority to take into its own hands the exercise of this jurisdiction. Thus the measure which I contemplated has failed, and I may say, in reply to your inquiry, that I am not prepared with any other to propose." Thus frustrated, Mr. Bradlaugh induced his colleague, Mr. Labouchere, on February 21st, to move in the House of Commons that the Speaker issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new writ for the election of a member to serve in the present Parliament for the borough of Northampton in the room of Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., who by resolutions of that House had been prevented from taking, and subscribing the oath prescribed by law to be taken by a member before he could sit and vote. Lord Churchill then moved an amendment. The debate itself calls for little remark. It was what followed which created another Parliamentary scene. The amendment having been negatived, the Speaker put the original motion, which was rejected by 307 to 18. Then, to the surprise of all, Mr. Bradlaugh, who had during the evening occupied a seat under the gallery, immediately upon the declaration of the

numbers, advanced to the table. He drew a Testament from his pocket and a sheet of paper purporting to contain the words of the oath, which he repeated in an audible tone. He then kissed the book, signed the paper, and, leaving both upon the table, said—"I tender that as the oath I have taken according to law." There was some laughter during this proceeding, but the House seemed to be taken entirely by surprise by what had taken place. Recovering somewhat from its amazement, there were loud cries of "Order" raised upon the Opposition benches, whereupon

The Speaker rose and said—I have to remind the hon. member of the resolution of this House of the 7th of February, in pursuance of which I have now to call upon the hon. member to withdraw below the bar.

Mr. Bradlaugh—I shall obey your direction to withdraw below the bar, but I have now taken the oath, and shall take my seat.

Mr. Bradlaugh then retired below the bar, but immediately afterwards took a seat on the third bench below the gangway on the Ministerial side of the House. Thereupon there arose loud cries of "Order."

The Speaker—The hon. member has not carried out my direction, which was that he should withdraw below the bar.

Mr. Bradlaugh—I did obey your direction, and then, in pursuance of the law, having subscribed the oath according to law, I took my seat.

The Speaker—In pursuance of the order of the House of the 7th of February, I must call upon the hon. member now to withdraw below the bar, and remain there.

Mr. Bradlaugh—I obey your directions, sir, having taken my seat according to law, and claiming my right to sit. (Cries of "No, no," from the Opposition.)

Lord Churchill was the first to recover his self-possession, and moved that Mr. Bradlaugh, having taken his seat without taking the oath, "is as dead," a statement received with some laughter, as the fact was at that time, Mr. Bradlaugh was plainly in view under the gallery, where he sat with

folded arms and triumphant expression. Sir Henry James suggested the desirability of a little delay before coming to a decision, inasmuch as it might turn out, he did not say it was, that Mr. Bradlaugh's way of taking the oath was a right one after all. This advice was enforced by Mr. Gladstone, who, with the approval of Sir Stafford Northcote, moved the adjournment of the debate until the next day. Dr. Lyons gave notice of an amendment to Lord Churchill's motion, to the effect that Mr. Bradlaugh having been guilty of the profanation of an oath, should be declared incapable of sitting in this Parliament, and should forthwith be discharged from further attendance. Sir Stafford Northcote maintained that the matter could not be left where it was. A grave insult had been offered the House, and he hoped the Government would be prepared to submit some proposal on the subject when the House met again.

The next day's papers were pretty unanimous in their censure of Mr. Bradlaugh's conduct. The *Standard* said Mr. Bradlaugh had under circumstances of aggravated novelty taken the law into his own hands. The *Daily News* intimated that it was one scene in the drama of Everybody in the Wrong, which Mr. Bradlaugh and the House had been playing for a couple of years. "Mr. Bradlaugh last night was clearly in the wrong. His act was a direct defiance of the House. The only possible excuse for such a step was that the House had just insisted on leaving him in an anomalous position, and it was his duty to take some means to relieve himself." "Mr. Bradlaugh," wrote the *Morning Advertiser*, "has now practically challenged the House of Commons, and he has at the same time shown it how utterly regardless he is of the decencies and order of its proceedings." The *Times* had little doubt that Mr. Bradlaugh deserved, and Parliament is bound to inflict some punishment of some sort. "Mr. Bradlaugh refused permission to take the oath, and in the face and in defiance of the whole House,

he advances to the table and goes through the form which the House had declared in his lips would be a farce." By a curious coincidence the Parliamentary returns published that same day threw some light on the character of some of the petitions presented in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh being permitted to take the oath. Up to that time the number for him had been much in excess, as was, from the circumstances of the case to be expected, of those against him. From the report of February 22nd, it appeared that the total number of petitions presented on his behalf was seventeen, and against him, twenty-four. But to the number presented for him the Select Committee on Public Petitions attached the following important note:—"Your Committee have, in the case of the petition from Bristol presented by Mr. Fry, reported to the House the number of names appended thereto, but they are of opinion that all the petitions are in the same handwriting, and that the orders of the House, which require that every petition must be signed by the parties whose names are appended thereto, by their names or marks, and by no one else, except in cases of sickness or incapacity, have not been complied with."

On Ash Wednesday the climax was reached, and Mr. Bradlaugh, on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, was expelled from the House by 291 against 83. Mr. Bradlaugh himself, who had previously taken his seat below the gangway on the Ministerial side, voting in the minority. In his speech Mr. Gladstone intimated that he was in a minority, that the House had taken the question out of his hands, and that he declined any further action in the matter. He had always held that the House in refusing to admit Mr. Bradlaugh had acted beyond its jurisdiction. He found himself in a minority in three divisions, and he had acquiesced in the views of the majority. But he had always declined to take on himself the duty of carrying out into execution the ruling of a majority which he thought was wrong,

though he drew a distinction between this passivity and the course he had taken when an appeal had been made directly from the Chair for the support of its authority. He would continue to pay the deference he had hitherto rendered to the decision of the majority, but he held that the majority were best qualified to carry out their own views. This decision was received with strong cries and mocking laughter from the Opposition, which were answered by cheers from the Ministerial benches. In reply to a question from Sir Stafford Northcote, the Speaker stated that he held Mr. Bradlaugh to have been guilty of disobedience to the chair in his conduct of the previous night. Continuing his cross-examination, Sir Stafford Northcote asked whether the statement had modified the views of the Premier? Mr. Gladstone replied in the negative, explaining, as well as he was able amid the derisive shouts of Mr. Warton and of the gentlemen below the gangway on the Conservative benches, that no appeal had been made from the Chair to the House. "Then," said Sir Stafford Northcote, "the House has good reason to complain of its leader," a view of the situation loudly cheered from the Conservative benches, and proceeded to move that Mr. Bradlaugh be prevented from entering the precincts of the House. The debate continued placidly till Mr. Bradlaugh himself put in an appearance and made his way within the bar in disobedience to the orders of the Speaker. Then came a change over the spirit of the dream. There were shouts for Mr. Gladstone from the Conservatives, met with cries for Sir Stafford Northcote from the Liberals. After a pause the Premier rose, but before he addressed the House the Speaker called upon Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw below the bar, which he at once did. Mr. Gladstone, amidst jeers from the Opposition, said he did not see there was any disobedience to the Chair in what had just taken place. Sir Stafford Northcote was received on rising with loud cheers from the Conservatives, which were

renewed when he asked leave to withdraw his original motion, and substitute one for the expulsion of Mr. Bradlaugh. Mr. Gladstone said under the circumstances he should offer no opposition to the withdrawal of the original motion. Dr. Lyon's amendment was withdrawn, and then came the division, when Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, and a considerable body of Liberals left the House. Lord Hartington, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Holmes voted with Sir Stafford Northcote, whilst Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Mundella, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre voted on the other side.

The expulsion of Mr. Bradlaugh only reinvigorated his supporters, and he was again returned to Parliament by a fair majority, after a very severe conflict.

Mr. Bradlaugh's political associations with Northampton have extended over many years. At the general election in 1868, he was fifth on the poll with 1,086 votes. In 1874 he was again fifth with 1,653. On the death of Mr. Charles Gilpin in October of that year Mr. Bradlaugh was third on the poll, his supporters numbering 1,766. At the general election of 1880 he was returned as the second member with 3,827 votes, a majority of 675 over Mr. Pickering Phipps, the third candidate. On its being decided in a court of law that Mr. Bradlaugh was not a person entitled to affirm instead of taking the oath, the seat became vacant, and a new writ was issued in April, 1881, when Mr. Bradlaugh, polled 3,437, and Mr. Edward Corbett, the Conservative candidate, 3,305, a majority of 132. In February, 1882, it was found that there were 8,185 electors upon the register, and almost all were polled.

Another election at this time deserves a note. Michael Davitt, whose address was given as Portland Prison, was on Ash Wednesday returned, without opposition, for Meath, in succession to Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Mr. Patrick Egan, the Treasurer of the Land League, having retired in Mr. Davitt's favour. It is, however, scarcely

necessary to point out that a convict is ineligible for a seat in the House of Commons. In 1847 William Smith was returned as one of the members for the county of Limerick, and having been adjudged guilty of high treason, the seat was vacated by resolution of the House in June, 1849, Mr. Samuel Dickson being then elected without opposition. In November, 1869, Mr. Charles Moore, one of the members for the county of Tipperary, died, and upon the issue of a new writ Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, a convict under sentence for treason-felony, was returned at the head of the poll. When Parliament met in February, 1870, the House of Commons declared O'Donovan Rossa incapable as a felon of sitting, and upon the issue of a new writ Mr. Heron was elected by a majority of 4 over Mr. C. J. Kickham, but on petition Mr. Heron's majority was increased to 17. In the same county of Tipperary, five years afterwards, upon Colonel White accepting the Chiltern Hundreds, John Mitchel was returned without opposition. As in the case of O'Donovan Rossa, a resolution of the House at once declared Mitchel incapable as a felon of being returned as a member, but on the issue of a new writ in March, 1875, Mitchel stood again, and polled 3,144 votes as compared with 746 given to Mr. Stephen Moore, a Conservative. Mitchel was again pronounced to be disqualified, and on a petition Mr. Moore, as the only other candidate, was declared entitled to take the seat. Davitt, it may be remembered, was convicted of treason-felony at the Central Criminal Court in June, 1870, and sentenced by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn to fifteen years' penal servitude. He was released on ticket-of-leave, and rearrested February 3, 1881. The voice from Meath on Ash Wednesday was by no means friendly to the Government. At an open-air meeting held subsequently, the Rev. Mr. Duncan said they had elected Davitt as the greatest protest they could make against the coercive policy of the Government. If he was not admitted to the House of

Commons they would shortly have another election, and then they would return Mr. Patrick Egan, the treasurer of the Land League. They intended that election as the greatest warning they could give the Government that the more they might degrade an Irishman, persecute him, and treat him tyrannically, the dearer would he be to the hearts of the Irish people. It was the Irish vote that had made the Government so strong at present in the House of Commons, and it would be the Irish vote again that would drive them from power as soon as they had the opportunity. He admitted that they had got something out of the Government, but so long as they thought to degrade them, to crush the life out of them, no matter what they gave them, they would turn upon them. If the Government would take advice from them, he would say, "Let Griffith's valuation be declared to be the rent, and let those who are not satisfied with that go into Court." Referring to the labourers, he said they could not get work, and although some he knew were not very willing to work, yet, take the people as a whole, they were anxious and willing to work. The Rev. Dr. Tormey said that Mr. Parnell had been imprisoned for, as alleged, obstructing the operation of the Land Act by submitting test cases; but if Mr. Parnell was to be imprisoned, why should the 96 lords be allowed to go free? The Rev. Mr. Woods, of Navan, denounced the grass-grabbers of Meath and Westmeath as most potent auxiliaries of the landlord in evicting the people. The Rev. Mr. Joseph Behan said for the last twelve months no free speech had been allowed. He believed they had even been watched on the altar to see whether there was any bit of Land Leaguism in what they said; but at election time the wet blanket was taken off, and they then had free liberty to speak. The message of peace to Ireland sent over by the Government had evidently produced very little impression as far as the county of Meath was concerned. Ultimately, the House not allowing a convicted

felon to sit, Mr. Sheil was elected M.P. for Meath.

In the meanwhile, fresh fuel had been added to the fire by the conduct of the House of Lords. In a House in which the anti-Ministerialists were in the majority—that is, in the House of Lords—on the motion of Lord Donoughmore, it was carried that a committee be appointed for an inquiry into the working of the Irish Land Act. The plea for the inquiry was that the reductions of rent were larger than was expected. The answer of the Government was that the

notice, for February 27th, of a motion on the subject, that would take precedence even of the adjourned debate on the new rules of procedure, but, nevertheless, the Lords persisted, and on the Monday afternoon previous to the commencement of the debate, Mr. Gladstone held a meeting of his supporters on the subject. It was felt that the Lords had acted rashly, that the position in Ireland was extremely critical, and that the only hope that the present state of suppressed civil war might be exchanged for one of peace and harmony, lay



BUILDING A LAND LEAGUE COTTAGE.

time had not come for an inquiry, that the Act was working well, and that to have a committee of inquiry was, under the circumstances, the most undesirable course that could be conducted. All was in vain. The Lords were determined to give the Government a slap in the face. Lord Granville intimated that the inquiry, as the committee would be composed entirely of anti-Government Peers, would be of a one-sided and worthless character. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone gave

in the fact that the new law was adapted substantially to redress the wrongs of past generations. It was pointed out that the effect of the inquiry would have the effect of shaking public confidence in the permanence and consistency of the new law. It was shown that under the pretence of requiring the most authoritative evidence the committee might withdraw commissioners and sub-commissioners from their present duties, and while the arrears of their work went on accumulating, might

subject them to treatment which would necessarily weaken them for the accomplishment of their heavy task. It was felt that fanatical agitators would find new pleas for violence, and would have a plausible pretext afforded them for dissuading Irish tenants from putting any further faith in British justice.

In connection with these Irish debates, it must be admitted that in this session the House of Commons reached a depth of degradation never before attained. In the course of a rambling debate on the Irish estimates, the member for Cavan, Mr. Biggar, made a speech which, in an unreformed parliament, would have been impossible, and which showed how much the House has lost in dignity and gentlemanly tone in these days of enlightenment and progress. Mr. Biggar hoped the Prime Minister would make a statement which would give them some idea of what he intended to do with regard to the arrears. "The right hon. gentleman sent the hon. member for Leeds to gain some knowledge and information, and it was a curious thing that he should have selected him to superintend the evictions of poor people who had no means of paying their rent. The right hon. gentleman naturally desired to do the best he could for this pert young hopeful of his, and so he sent him to see poor people thrown out on the country side without shelter or the means of a living. The right hon. gentleman had estimated that an eviction was equal to a sentence of death, and therefore he (Mr. Biggar) would suggest that if the Prime Minister tried to get the reversion of Marwood's place for the hon. member for Leeds, it would be a suitable position for him." In reply to this disgraceful speech, Mr. Gladstone said:—"I think the observations just made by the hon. member are hardly worthy even of him. I heard him call my son, the member for Leeds, a 'young hopeful.' If I had seen the hon. member for Leeds in his place, I should have left it to him to show the hon. member whether he was a young hopeful or not. But, in the meantime, I

may observe to the hon. gentleman for his information that the ordinary practice, I may say the uniform practice, of older members of this House has been to afford kindly welcome to every young man who enters it. And, moreover, I must say that I have never been able to trace in the case of the reception of any young man in this House any distinction between one side of the House and the other in regard to the manner in which that reception is given. I will leave it to the hon. gentleman, and perhaps it will be the principal distinction his Parliamentary career will confer, that he has broken that tradition, and has chosen to speak of a young member of this House, in the absence of that young member, as a 'young hopeful.' With regard to the other allusion of the hon. gentleman, which was brutal in its character, I shall take no notice of it whatever, except to say that I do not believe that there is one man amongst the members who sit around the hon. gentleman, and who generally vote and sit with him, that will rise in his place either to sustain or to apologise for that reference. I leave himself to judge whether, after what has taken place, he should rise in his place and express his regret for the words which fell from him. It is a matter, perhaps, of interest and concern to himself, whatever it may be to anybody else. But the hon. gentleman also said that the hon. member for Leeds had gone into a certain part of Ireland to superintend evictions, with regard to which I need only state that it is a statement entirely without foundation. There is not the slightest foundation for it. The hon. member for Leeds had no official character or function whatever." The reply was scarcely severe enough; but what are we to think of an assembly that permits a member to speak as did Mr. Biggar? Surely the chairman of the committee was sadly lacking in duty in permitting the House to be degraded by the delivery of such a speech.

On February 27th, the debate on the Lords commenced, and Mr. Gladstone was received with loud cheers from the Liberal

benches as he moved that the orders of the day be postponed till after the notices of motion relating to the Land Act. Sir S. Northcote in vain opposed. On a division the numbers were for postponing the orders of the day, 300; against, 167; majority for the Government, 133. The announcement of the numbers by the Government teller^s was followed by loud and long Ministerial cheers, renewed when the Speaker formally repeated the figures to the House. Then Mr. Gladstone moved a resolution to the effect "That Parliamentary inquiry at the present time into the working of the Irish Land Act tends to defeat the operation of that Act, and must be injurious to the interests of good government in Ireland." With more than his usual vigour, as if cheered and sustained by the majority at his back, Mr. Gladstone commenced by thanking the House for giving him such a majority, and in the face of such a remarkable combination of opposition. He was careful to disclaim all question of censuring the Lords, an undertaking for which they had no opposition. Nor would he be drawn into any discussion of the working of the Land Act. They were not there to defend the Act, or to censure the House of Lords. They were there because a heavy blow had been struck at their policy, and the House of Commons was the place to which they naturally wait to restore to them the strength necessary to administer the government of the country. He quoted many precedents to show that a similar course had been taken in similar circumstances, more especially resting his case on the precedent of 1831, when the Lords having thrown out the Reform Bill by a majority of one, the House of Commons met on the Monday, and without notice, passed a vote of confidence in the Government, and in support of their policy. "That resolution," Mr. Gladstone said, "was carried by a majority of 131, or within two of the number given us in the division just taken." In an impassioned passage he pointed out that it was not the Lords who had to deal with

the great political crisis. "It is," he said, turning round and addressing the crowded benches behind him, "you, the representatives of the people, and it is to the level of that great duty that I appeal to you to rise on this occasion." He created some sensation by propounding the inquiry whether the Lords had considered the rebuff they might receive if they called upon a judge created by the Land Act to give reasons for his judgment. He recalled the case of Chief Justice Holt, who was summoned before the House of Lords and asked to state the reasons of a particular judgment from which their lordships differed, flatly declined to state his reasons.

In the meanwhile it is pleasant to turn from the troubled world of politics to listen to Mr. Gladstone speaking on a subject on which he could claim to be the spokesman, not of one section of society, but of all classes. On the last day of February, by the invitation of the Prince of Wales, a meeting was held at St. James's Palace to solicit public support in aid of the proposed Royal College of Music, a movement in which the royal family take a deep interest. Among those present were the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Leopold, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Granville, the Duke of Cambridge, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir R. Cross, Mr. Childers, Lord Derby, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Chamberlain, Cardinal Manning, the Speaker, the Duke of Westminster, many of the foreign ambassadors, and most of the leading artists of the day. Towards the close of the proceedings Mr. Gladstone moved a vote of thanks to the Prince of Wales, and in doing so, remarked:—"Were it not irregular, I should have been inclined to suggest an amendment to my own motion, and to include within its terms the distinctive acknowledgment of the meeting for the admirable address which has been delivered by his Royal Highness. However, adhering to the established order, I will refrain from seeking any more distinct expression of your sentiments than is conveyed in the resolution. And I do think that this is

much more than a formal conveyance of our thanks. I believe that a very great service has been rendered by his Royal Highness and other members of the Royal Family in the part they have taken on this occasion, and the special epithet which I would use to describe their mission is that above all it has been in my opinion a timely service. The interesting speeches which we have heard have turned much upon a question that cannot be but one of the greatest interest to every Briton, viz., the question how far we are deprived by nature of, or gifted by nature with, what may be called in general terms the musical faculty. I speak of the musical faculty fully recognising the truth of the sentiment expressed by yourself, that to attain to high excellence in music must be the gift of very few, and is generally the result only of a combination of liberal endowment from nature with most laborious and, most costly preparations. But I am bound to say that I take a sanguine view of the capacity of this nation for music. I believe that the reference to its condition 300 years ago is no unfair or unmeaning reference in this connection, and I do not hesitate to say that in looking back over the last half century I have witnessed no change more remarkable among the many changes and the many developments which have marked that half century than the change in the sentiment, and if I may say so the attitude, of this nation with respect to music. The Duke of Edinburgh has truly said that you can now go hardly into a village church without discerning in the service of that church signs of the appreciation of the people for music. But how stood that matter fifty years ago? I must bear this testimony to our nonconforming brethren, and to those of other religious persuasions than our own, that I believe that music has always been with them a powerful instrument of cherishing the religious life; but with respect to the music in the congregations of the Church of England fifty years ago, setting apart a very few, and setting apart the services of cathedrals, which still remain as a

witness in behalf of better things, I cannot use any epithet with regard to it than one that may perhaps shock the meeting when I say that the music in the ordinary churches fifty years ago was a disgrace to the country. I remember one particular case, not of an obscure village church, but of a church hard by one of the ancestral mansions in this country. The benefice was held at the time by a member of the family who inhabited that mansion, and, in utter despair of redeeming the music in the parish church from its disgrace, the alternative was adopted of abandoning it altogether, the service proceeding on Sunday morning without a note of music. But, bad as that was, I do not hesitate to say that it was better than suffering many of those grotesque performances that usually characterised the attempts of that period. At that time what was the music of the metropolis and of the country? The music of the metropolis was the enjoyment, I will not say of the higher classes, but of a limited portion of the higher classes. As to the middle class and the masses, they were excluded, and a belief had gone abroad, which for my part I conceive to be nothing less than a grovelling superstition, that the musical faculty, the power of appreciating music, nay, even some slight power of execution in music, were absolutely the possession of a few selected individuals, and that the masses of mankind should have nothing of them. A name has been casually mentioned which I will repeat, because it is an honoured name—that of Mr. Hullah. Those who are old enough to recollect Mr. Hullah remember him, not as one who earned distinction by enrolling his name among the illustrious list of great composers, but as one who rendered a service not less important, for he it was who first imbibed and first carried into practical effect that idea of which this meeting marks the growth and the ripeness, that music was intended, not for the selected individuals of a certain class of society, but for the instruction, the benefit, and the improvement of the whole mass of the nation. He carried musical instruction in its most

popular form through schools of every description, and gradually laid the ground for familiarising the national mind with the belief on which your Royal Highness is now wisely seeking to build the great institution that you contemplate, and without which belief that institution would have been a hopeless and visionary scheme. Therefore, I venture to say that this meeting is, above all things, opportune. Fifty years ago all the knowledge that your Royal Highness has exhibited in your address, all the goodwill, all the tact, all the power of social influence—that a person in your condition might have commanded, would have been utterly thrown away in an attempt to hold such a meeting as this. If representative persons could have been gathered within these walls out of compliment to your Royal Highness, yet it would have been a barren and unmeaning effort. It is that now the feeling for music has gone abroad through the people that there is hardly any form in which it does not appear. I most gladly recognise the fact that there have been portions of the country more favoured than those to which I have referred as marking the general rule. In Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Wales I believe the cultivation of music has never languished, and the strong musical faculty of the people in those places has made them distinguished at all periods of our history. But that which was the portion of the favoured few among the inhabitants of the land has now become a general characteristic of the population, and has entered everywhere into its habits. You have now, your Royal Highness, the material with which to work. You appeal to the remarkable assemblage of persons whom you have gathered here to provide you with the material means of setting on foot an institution for which all the living materials are prepared in the actual condition of the country. This is the service which you have rendered, and which I, for one, most gladly recognise. I have watched this progress with great interest from beginning to end. I have seen that superstition to which

I referred, gradually fade away and melt into thin air. Music is now recognised as an essential part of the institutions of the country. In every village school music is an important and a powerful instrument in the hands of the teacher. It has done much to bring about that remarkable change which may now be observed in our villages. A child no longer trudges sulkily to school, as was the old conception of its work, but trips to it merrily, and with the expectation of deriving some pleasure as well as much benefit from the change. In those circumstances, I am satisfied your Royal Highness has exhibited admirable judgment in the time as well as in the nature of the call you make upon us, and I cordially wish it the success which I am convinced it is destined to achieve."

At the end of February, an important point of law, raised by the working of the Irish Land Act, became clear. The *Daily News* wrote:—"The judgments delivered by the Irish Court of Appeal in the leading case of *Adams v. Dunscaith*, are of extreme importance, and, divested of unessential technicalities, their effect may be thus stated. In the first place, a landlord is entitled to some rent on the increased value of a holding caused by a tenant's expenditure, and for this reason. Two elements go to the making of the increase—the capital spent, and the land to which it is applied. Of these the former belongs to the tenant, the latter to the landlord. On this point the Court, which consisted of seven judges, was unanimous. In the second place, the tenant may set-off, in determining a fair rent, improvements made not only by himself and his predecessors in title, that is, former tenants who have held under the same lease, but also those carried out by his predecessors in occupancy—that is, all former tenants of the holding. This was decided by a majority of one; but, as the House of Lords has no jurisdiction under the Land Law Act, the judgment is final. The Court were again unanimous, and clearly in accordance with justice, in pronouncing that the mere enjoyment of a

meant to attack. They broke in the door and shouted for 'the traitor who paid his rent.' They then proceeded to the room where Pat Freely and his two younger brothers were asleep. Not finding the father they dragged the son out of bed and beat him severely. He managed to make his escape back into the house, but the ruffians followed him and dragged him out again. Two shots were then fired, one of which, received in the left breast, must have been instantly fatal. No arrests have been made."

Again we read:—"Adhesion to the no-rent doctrine is still extensively practised in the extreme west of this county, and it is remarkable that though this was the last district in Ireland to take up the Land League agitation, it now holds out more tenaciously to the peculiar tenets of that body, which, though legally defunct, is still carrying on its subtle and dangerous game. The island of Dursey, prominently mentioned in connection with the disaster to the Calf Rock Lighthouse, was under the hammer. The island belongs to Lord Bantry, and all the tenants, comprising twenty-two, were served with executions for two and three years' rent. For the last two years there appeared to have been a general strike against rent on the island, and the holdings of the tenants were, in consequence, put up for sale. Not a single tenant appeared, and it was stated that they had not the means to pay their railway fares. The Land League representative bid for some of the farms up to a certain amount, and failing to obtain them at that figure let them go to the landlord. All the farms were thus knocked down to Lord Bantry's agent, and it was significantly hinted that the Land League would provide the men and their families with houses and land on the island.

Here is another paragraph:—"It is stated that the Government are in possession of information which leads to the belief that a conspiracy of a serious character has been brought to light in the district of Tulla. Fourteen arrests for treason-felony have already

been made, and it is stated that an informer has supplied the Government with full information as to the doings of the alleged conspirators. More arrests are expected to follow."

On March 2nd, we are informed, Mr. Forster, the Irish Secretary, paid Limerick a visit. This is how he had to be received:—"A guard of armed constabulary was at once placed, and the detectives, in and out of office, were constantly in attendance. The greatest possible precautions were taken by the local authorities for the safety of the right hon. gentleman. . . . The result of the consultation was that the Chief Secretary, with Major Lloyd and a strong escort of armed constabulary, proceeded in cars this evening to Tulla, county Clare, the district in which the late fearful outrages have been committed, for the purpose of personally inquiring, on the spot, into the lawlessness of the district. Mr. Forster walked with Major Lloyd through the principal streets of Limerick. Before he left, and while doing so, large armed bodies of police patrolled the streets, while detectives in civilian costumes were in easy distance." Such was the state of things in Ireland after Mr. Gladstone had devoted a session of Parliament to the redress of Irish wrongs. Such was the Ireland of Parnell and Biggar, Healy and Regan, and the leaders in the unnatural war against peace and civilisation, and industry and progress. Day by day, in consequence of their acts and language and public policy, Ireland was sinking into a more brutalised and savage state. It was hinted that the American funds kept some of these gentry. At any rate, they were much better off as patriots than they were in the exceedingly obscure positions which many of them had filled before the Irish elections, in a freak of insanity, made them figure before the world as patriots and heroes of the first rank. Such was Irish gratitude. Let us take another illustration. At the last Northampton election, as indeed at all elections, the Irish vote was dead against the Government "as a solemn protest

against the coercion policy of the Gladstone Ministry, supported by Mr. Bradlaugh." Now and then a faint outcry was raised in Ireland. There were even Irishmen even in Ireland who could not stand and see the country handed over to the government of midnight murderers, without lifting up their voices against a system so wicked and absurd. For instance, in his Lenten pastoral the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam denounces the shocking outrages on human life that have lately occurred, the peculiarities of which, so utterly un-Irish, showed them to be of foreign importation, the work of the enemies of the people. Few as these outrages were, they brought disgrace on the common country and religion of the people of Ireland, and were obstacles to all progress. At the same time the Archbishop cannot see the wisdom, not to speak of the justice, of restricting the liberties of the people at large on account of the criminal conduct of a few. Proceeding, he says a very numerous and most deserving class of their destitute people are still unprotected by law, still the victims of harassing threats of eviction, which are but so many sentences of death. These have his deepest sympathy; but how, he asks, will the commission of crime, and violation of the law of God and man, serve to remedy it? The people should hold no communication with the perpetrators of crime or their wicked abettors. It was evident the priests were in a state of utter bewilderment. The fact was, that the people were getting beyond them. The Irishman had been an excellent Roman Catholic, obedient on all occasions to the priest, but the new wine had burst the old bottle, and the priest who did not wish to starve had to fall in with the frenzy of the hour.

At the end of March the debate on the Cloture, wearying and protracted as it had been, came to an end. A writer in the *Daily News* thus gives an account of the last night of the debate:—"It was difficult for Mr. Love Parry, the newly elected member for Carnarvonshire, to find a seat in the

chamber where his timely arrival was welcomed with loud cheers from the Liberal benches. Every seat was taken from an early hour, and when Mr. Bright rose there was the now accustomed spectacle of the gallery opposite crowded to its fullest capacity by members who had not been able to find places on the floor of the House. The Strangers' Gallery, the Speaker's Gallery, and the gallery set apart for distinguished strangers, were filled as soon as admission was possible. Prince Christian was in the place over the clock reserved for royalty. Among the Peers present were Lord Rosebery (evidently not gone to Dalmeny, as reported), the Duke of Abercorn, Lord Sudeley, Lord Brabourne, Viscount Monck, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Monteagle, Lord Sandhurst, and Lord Penrhyn. In the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery a turbaned visitor from the East gravely looked down upon the animated scene.

"It was nearly six o'clock when Mr. Bright found an opportunity to rise, but a great deal had happened before that time. As usual on Government nights there was a crowd of questions on the paper, a considerable portion of which related to matters of limited local interest in Ireland. There was the inevitable 'personal explanation,' which on these occasions fulfils the part popularly assigned to the dog that runs across the course at Epsom just as the horses are about to start. Something more serious was portended when Mr. Biggar rose. But this interposition was apparently nothing more than a flash of humour designed to alarm the House, for the hon. member having said 'Mr. Speaker,' did not continue his observations, making way for Mr. Bright, who was received with loud cheers from the crowded benches on the right of the Speaker. Beginning, as usual, without formal exordium, Mr. Bright expressed his surprise at the hostility to closure displayed by hon. gentlemen opposite, but he gathered that this hostility indicated an absence of expectancy of any speedy reversion of possession of the Ministerial

benches. Representing himself to the House as 'an impartial critic,' Mr. Bright said if he had any fault to find with the first resolution, it was that it was not sufficiently comprehensive and severe. As compared with the proposal of the two-thirds majority, it would be seen that it fell far short of it in severity. Supposing an obstructive minority consisted of 20, it would, by the two-thirds majority, require only 60 members to close their mouths. If there were 30, it would require a majority of 90; whilst in the case of the Government proposal at least 100 would be required in either of these cases. If the minority were 40 a two-thirds majority would dispose of it by 120, whilst with the Ministerial proposal 200 votes would be required. When the minority was larger a two-thirds majority would act less severely. But Mr. Bright found that large minorities could always take care of themselves. A reference to 'the real or simulated alarm' of the Opposition brought forth the first murmurs of dissent, which did not die away when the Ministerial spokesman explained that if he did not believe the alarm was simulated, he would let their judgment decide. They have been alarmed on a number of occasions, for example, when a resolution was passed to repeal the Corn Law, and when an attempt was made to introduce a Bill. In fact, he had noticed that the members opposite were invariably seized with these fits of alarm when anything was going to be done. Alluding to the presence of a few dissentients on the Liberal benches, Mr. Bright observed that on an occasion like this, if it were the judgment of the leaders and of the party that a particular course should be adopted, he would submit, an assumption of tractability which excited ironical laughter from the Opposition. Mr. Bright waited till it had subsided, and then added:—'If hon. gentlemen opposite come to their state of unanimity by any other process, I hope they will describe it.' In spite of this little difference, Mr. Bright got on unusually well with the Opposition, who

listened in respectful silence to his appeal to their patriotism. As for the Land Leaguers, whom he indicated by an angry wave of the hand, and their confederation in the United States, their object is not only to make government difficult, but impossible. It was not worth while to appeal to Irish members. There were at liberty to conspire and to rebel; 'but,' he added, amid loud cheers, 'they are not at liberty to make it impossible for this Imperial Parliament to transact the business of the nation.' Don't let them suppose that they were greater friends of Ireland than he. He had pleaded and worked for Ireland when some of them were in long-clothes. 'But,' he added, reaching the close of his speech, 'leaving Ireland out of view, and confining my view only to this House of Commons, may I not say that we are 600 men, select men, chosen from all parts of the three kingdoms—for what? For the high and noble purpose of legislating for a great and powerful Empire. And I ask you whether you are willing now to assist her Majesty's Government, or any Government that may have the same noble object in view, in the purpose of altering to some small extent the rules and practice of this House, so that in spite of the mischief of a few it shall find itself henceforth able to fulfil the great duties which the people of this great nation have committed to our charge.'

"Mr. Bright spoke for three-quarters of an hour, and was loudly cheered from the Liberal Benches as he resumed his seat. He had kept a crowded House till the last. On Colonel Stanley rising to continue the debate, there was a general movement towards the lobby, and the gallant colonel repeated to a continually decreasing audience the assertions against the Resolution made familiar through several nights' debate. Mr. O'Shaughnessy followed, supporting the Resolution in the interests of Ireland, believing the Clôture would do much to break down the Conservative obstruction which had delayed or prevented measures promoted in the interests of Ireland. Mr.

Newdegate arrived, through several pages of evidence of Committees sitting during the past twenty years, at the conclusion that 'a direct attack was being made upon Parliamentary government.' The larger proportion of the scanty audience at this time was composed of members anxious to speak, and who were much embarrassed by Mr. Newdegate's manner of making this lament. He frequently stemmed the flow of his speech by long pauses, which members having their addresses ready thought must be the conclusion of his oration. This, however, turned out to be designed as appropriate to the occasion, like the pauses between the minute-gun or the tolling of a bell. Nevertheless, so keen was the competition for the Speaker's eye that whenever one of these pauses occurred half-a dozen members sprung up, resuming their seats when Mr. Newdegate took up the thread of his discourse. Sir Rowland Blennerhassett supported the resolution, which was opposed by Mr. Ashmead Bartlett. Mr. Mitchell Henry announced his intention of voting against the amendment.

"Mr. Sexton, rising at half-past ten, had a better audience than any other speaker since Mr. Bright. He had arrived at the conclusion that woe is Ireland when the two great parties agree. He looked with some hope to the Clôture as an irritant poison which, acting upon the advice of both parties, would lead to constant discussion, and so help the cause of Ireland. A somewhat clumsily-made overture to Irish members opposite that if, even at this last moment, they would repent and go against the Government their seats would be guaranteed to them, caused much laughter on the Liberal benches. In spite of the approval earlier expressed of the Clôture, Mr. Sexton concluded by declaring that he would rather go down in history as one of the Irish informers than as an Irish member who had followed a Coercion Government into the lobby. Mr. Chaplin rising, the audience dispersed again. Mr. Dillwyn bore his testimony to the fact that he had never known a greater measure of

unanimity among members near him than in view of this first resolution. At a quarter-past twelve Sir Stafford Northcote rose, and started off very briskly with accusations of inconsistency brought against Mr. Dillwyn and Mr. Mundella. The right hon. gentleman, however, speedily lapsed into his more customary manner, reciting and pushing home the various objections already reiterated against the Clôture. It was one o'clock in the morning when Mr. Gladstone rose to wind up the debate, but neither in voice nor manner did he show any sign that he had been waiting and listening through the long and not too lively night. The Premier clearly showed that all members voting in favour of Mr. Marriott's amendment were declaring against any change whatever in the power of closing the debate. If that amendment were carried, it would be impossible for any proposal to be hereafter submitted for the bestowal of a power in any shape to close a debate by the action of any majority. At ten minutes to two Mr. Gladstone finished, and Mr. Healy rose to continue the debate. At five minutes past two the House divided, Mr. Joseph Cowen telling with Mr. Marriott in favour of the amendment. For Mr. Marriott's amendment, 279; against, 318; majority for the Government, 39."

The division, which was called at ten minutes after two in the morning, and in which the Government secured a majority of 39, was the largest which has occurred in the House of Commons for many years. As at present constituted, the House consists of 637 members, fifteen seats being vacant from various causes, and four boroughs (returning a total of six members) having been disfranchised, the Constitutional number of 658 being thus accounted for. 602 members were in the House when the division was taken, of whom one (the Speaker) could not vote by reason of his office, 318 supported and 279 opposed the Government, whilst the remaining four acted as tellers. There were thus thirty-five members absent, but this number is in actuality reduced to twenty-five by the

circumstance that ten "paired." Sir Richard Green Price paired in favour of the Government with Mr. Phipps against, Mr. Norwood with Mr. Cobbold, Sir Donald Currie with Sir Henry Peek, the Right Hon. C. P. Villiers with Mr. Bentinck, and Mr. Magniac with Mr. Birley. The reason for the pairing of some of these gentlemen is illness, notably in the cases of Mr. Villiers, Mr. Birley, and Mr. Cobbold; whilst Sir Henry Peek also has left England in one of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers for the benefit of his health.

From an analysis of the division, it would seem that five English Liberals—Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Walter, Sir Edward Watkin, and Mr. Marriott and Mr. Joseph Cowen (tellers)—and one Irish Liberal—Sir John Ennis—voted in the minority against the Government, as well as thirty-nine Home Rulers.

In the majority there was not a single Conservative, but it included fourteen Home Rulers.

Including tellers, 307 Liberals voted, and five (as already detailed) paired in favour of the Government; and as six Liberals were in the other lobby, there are seventeen of the party to be accounted for, some of them being out of the country or ill there. There were practically, therefore, twelve Liberals who totally abstained from taking part in the division. The Conservatives, on the contrary, brought up their full strength (including the five pairs), with but one exception, and that Lord Randolph Churchill, who has been for some weeks absent from the House because of illness.

Of the Home Rulers, out of a total of 60, 53 voted, 39 against the Government and 14 in its favour, thus leaving seven absent.

It will thus be seen that the division, both from the number taking part in it and the closeness of the results, bears comparison with some of the greatest of the Parliamentary contests of the past, and ranks among the few of first importance since the era of the Reform Bill. The largest number present at a division in the

House of Commons during the last half-century was on June 10, 1859, when, immediately after the General Election, the second Ministry of the late Lord Derby was defeated by two votes on an amendment to the Address, moved by the Marquis of Hartington. On this occasion there were 638 Members in the House (including the Speaker and the tellers), and as there were six seats vacant, this left only 14 Members uncounted in the division lobbies, ten Liberals and four Conservatives. The next highest number was on April 27, 1866, when the second reading of Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill was carried by 318 to 313, which, with the Speaker and the tellers, would give a total of 636 out of a possible 647 (eleven seats being vacant), the other eleven being accounted for by the fact that two Members had paired and that six Liberals and three Conservatives were absent, mostly from serious illness. In August, 1841, Lord Melbourne's Ministry fell, upon a vote of no confidence, carried, immediately after a dissolution, in a House of 634 Members, having, in the preceding May, been defeated by a majority of one in a House of 628 Members. These numbers have been closely reached on several occasions, 626 having taken part in March, 1859, in the division upon the Derby-Disraeli Reform Bill; 624 in June, 1866, upon Lord Dunkellin's amendment to the Russell-Gladstone Reform Bill, and 623 in March, 1869, upon the second reading of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Bill. The other great divisions of the past half-century, in which over 600 Members have been "told," were on the second reading of Lord John Russell's first Reform Bill, on March 21, 1831, when 302 voted in its favour and 301 against; upon the same stage of the noble Lord's second Reform Bill, in June, 1831, when 603 were present in the House; upon the Danish motion in July, 1864, when Lord Palmerston's Government won by 18 in a House of 613 Members; and in April, 1868, when Mr. Gladstone's first resolution on the Irish Church question was

carried by a majority of 65 in a House of 600 Members, 599 having assembled in April, 1867, on a test division upon the Conservative Reform Bill, and 596 in December, 1852, when the first Derby Ministry was defeated by 19 on Mr. Disraeli's Budget proposals. Since the division previously referred to, when the Irish Church Bill was read a second time by a majority of 368 to 250, there have been no contests in the House of Commons in which 600 Members have taken part. Even in the vote of March, 1873, when the Gladstone Administration was defeated by three votes on the Irish University Bill, the House numbered only 576 Members. During the existence of the last Parliament the highest divisions were in May, 1877, when 582 were present at that upon Mr. Gladstone's resolutions relating to the Eastern Question, and in May, 1878, when 578 took part in that upon Lord Hartington's motion regarding the bringing of Indian troops to Malta.

But since the present Parliament has been elected nothing akin to the full number of Members has taken part in any division—545 on a vital principle of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in

1880; 533 on the second reading of the Irish Land Bill in 1881; and 557 on the Candahar question, and 524 on the Transvaal question, in the same year; and 543 on the House of Lords' Inquiry this session, having been the highest.

Among the incidents of the division it may be mentioned that Sir John Lubbock, who has an important amendment on the paper, voted with the Government, as did also Mr. J. R. Holland, Mr. Marriott's colleague in the representation of Brighton. Mr. C. P. Villiers, who had been seriously indisposed for a long period, came down to the House to record his vote, because he had been informed that no "pair" could be found for him; but late in the evening good accommodation was provided, and the right hon. gentleman returned to his bed. Immediately after the division Sir George Elliot left by an early train for Bristol in order to travel thence by special train to Dartmouth, so as to be in time for the steamer *Warwick Castle*, in which he sails to Madeira. That morning a large number of Members left town for the Easter holidays, and the House the next night presented a comparatively deserted appearance.



FLORENTIN ON THE DANUBE.

CHAPTER LI.

MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS OF THE SESSION OF 1882—ATTACK ON HER MAJESTY—PARLIAMENTARY DELAY—MORE IRISH AFFAIRS.



IN the early part of the session one of those disgusting incidents occurred against which no legislation can guard, and which no organisation can effectually put down. The Queen, who was staying at Windsor Castle for a time, was going out for a ride, and, amidst the crowd always assembling on such occasions, was a half-starved, insane wretch named Maclean, who fired a pistol at her Majesty, and fortunately missed her. It was feared that her Majesty might have suffered from the shock, but such does not appear to have been the case, and the only result of the incident was to call out a unanimous expression of loyalty in all parts of the country, which was gratifying to all, and especially to her Majesty herself. In the Houses of Parliament, as was to be expected, the event became the occasion of a suitable address. In the House of Commons, when the Speaker read the address to her Majesty which had been agreed to by the House of Lords,

Mr. Gladstone, who was received with cheers, said:—"I rise to move that this House do concur in the humble address which has been read." In doing so, the House having heard the terms of the address, which I believe will command universal concurrence, it is not necessary for me to add more than a very few words. It is always the subject of pain whenever we may hear that the honoured life of her Majesty has been exposed to danger, but that pain is deepened into horror when we learn that such danger has been brought into existence by the wilful and wanton act of one of her Majesty's subjects. It is a

grievous and a painful thought, somewhat, however, mitigated by this remarkable consideration—that whereas in other countries similar execrable attempts have been the product of at least an average or more than an average sense of intelligence, and have had relation either to real, or at any rate to supposed, causes of grievance and public mischief, in this country, and in the case of her Majesty, they have been wholly disassociated from grievance, wholly disassociated from discontent, and, upon no single occasion has any man of average sense and average intelligence been found to raise his hand against the life of her Majesty. On each of these occasions morbid minds, combined with the narrowest range of mental gifts, have been the apparent qualifications through which persons have been tempted to seek a notoriety denied to them in every legitimate walk of life. Her Majesty has deeply felt that sentiment of thankfulness which overbears and overshadows even the sentiment of pain on this occasion. She has felt it not only for herself, but for those other lives which were wickedly and recklessly exposed, even with the more absence of cause or pretext than might be said to be the case in the instance of her Majesty. The Princess Beatrice, we are rejoiced to learn, has shown upon this occasion remarkable courage, given with the entire forgetfulness of herself from her absorption in the attempt upon the life of her illustrious mother. It would not have been according to usage, and it would perhaps have formed an inconvenient precedent, had we proposed to Parliament to include in the address reference to any other life than that of the Queen; but I am sure that the sentiment which is experi-

enced by her Majesty of joy at the deliverance of others from risk is likewise one that finds its place in the minds of everyone of us. Well, Sir, having expressed our horror and indignation, we must also rejoice to see the testimonies which this nefarious attempt has brought forth from every quarter of the globe—not from this country alone, and not from her Majesty's subjects alone; and with the sentiment, that has run through civilised mankind there has been conveyed to her Majesty the expression of the very same feelings with which we ourselves are animated. It is therefore for us to give formal and authentic utterance to those feelings in the shape of this address—an address which I believe could not, even if it were couched in the most florid terms, go beyond the real and sincere sentiments of every member of the House, but which will convey to her Majesty in a solemn and authentic form an assurance which, in one sense indeed, she does not need, for she is well aware of the feelings that govern us in such a matter, but which will at least form a public record of the price that is set by the whole of her Majesty's subjects represented in the Commons House of Parliament upon the continuance of her precious life and of her beneficent reign, already prolonged beyond the example of any Queen in this country, and destined, as all of us must hope, still to count many happy years, to be a blessing to the nation. I beg to move 'That this House do concur in the humble address which has been read.' . . .

Sir S. Northcote having seconded the resolution, it was heartily agreed to. On March 29th we read in the Parliamentary record as follows:—"The Speaker—I have to acquaint the House that her Majesty has appointed to-morrow, at one o'clock, at Windsor Castle, to receive the Address of both Houses of Parliament respecting the attempt upon the life of her Majesty, and that the Lords have appointed the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain to present the said Address on the part of their lordships, and that the Lords do desire this House to appoint a proportionate number

of members to present the said Address with their lordships."

Mr. Gladstone—"Their lordships having appointed that this Address should be presented by official persons, I have to move that Mr. Gladstone, Secretary Sir W. Harcourt, and the Comptroller and Vice-Chamberlain of the Household do go, with the lords mentioned in their lordships' message, to wait upon her Majesty with the Address relative to the attempt upon her Majesty's sacred person, and that a message be sent to the lords acquainting them therewith, and that the Clerk do carry the said message."

The motion was agreed to, and soon after the Queen left England to spend a little while at Mentone, where it was expected her health would be improved by rest, and change of air and scene. That her Majesty had no easy time of it was obvious to all, and that she might be all the better for the change was the earnest prayer of all her loyal subjects.

On March 10th, the debate on the conduct of the Peers was brought to a close. Mr. Gibson had moved the previous question, while Sir Stafford Northcote met it with a direct amendment. When the House divided, the numbers were

For the previous question...	219
Against	303

Majority for the Government 84

The announcement was received with cheers and counter-cheers. Mr. Gladstone's resolution was then put that Parliamentary inquiry at the present time into the working of the Irish Land Act tends to defeat the operation of that Act, and must be injurious to the interests of good government in Ireland. The House divided—

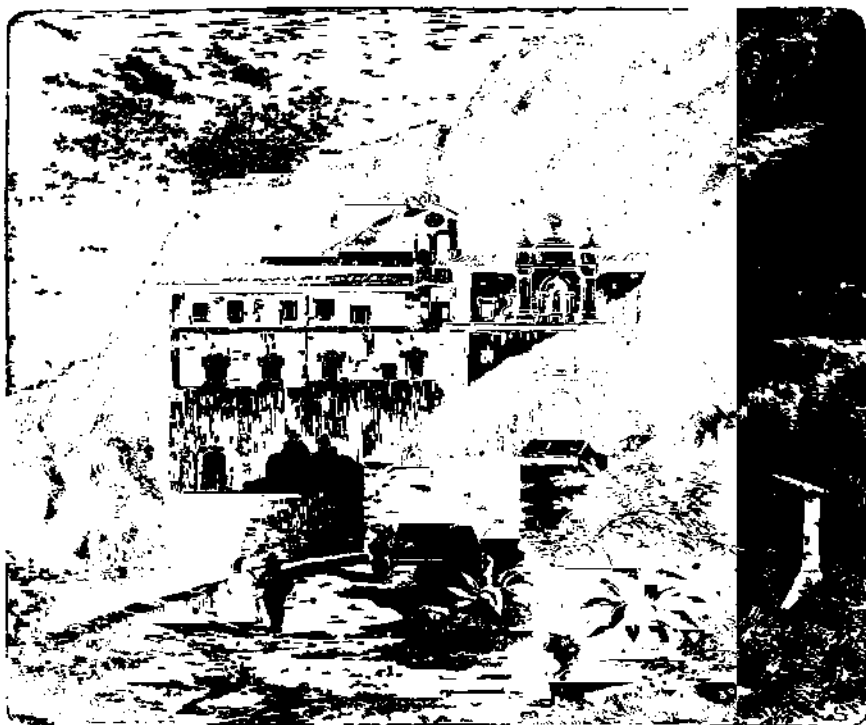
For the resolution	303
Against	235

Majority for the Government 68

Opposition and Ministerial cheers of course. In this latter division the Land Leaguers voted with the Opposition, illustrating anew that remarkable combination

which Mr. Gladstone signalled at the commencement of the debate, and which Lord Hartington noted at its close. The discussion derived all its importance from the speech in which the Marquis of Hartington summed up the case of the Government. Lord Hartington pointed out that the whole question of the policy of the Act of 1881 had been raised in the debate, and

that he had not antagonists of greater political weight to encounter than Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. Chaplin, and Mr. James Lowther. The speeches of these gentlemen, however, answered one useful purpose. They showed that the inquiry which the House of Lords has instituted by means of a select committee, which is prosecuting its investigations with closed doors, has been



SCENE NEAR MENTONE.

had indeed formed the principal subject of the discussion, whereas the real question at issue was its administration. That administration had been judicial, and the inquiry, however the Lords might fence with the subject, was originally intended as an inquiry into the conduct of the judges. It is a matter, perhaps, of regret

undertaken solely, if half unconsciously, in the interests of the landlords. The territorial trades' union is alarmed, and its advocates have scarcely the skill to affect impartiality. What the landlords want is compensation for being deprived of that which is not their own. A weaker case has never been got up by a branch of the

legislature. As it is, the claims decided, by the sub-commissioners are exceedingly few.

The best thing to be said about it was said by *Punch*. Under the title *Punch's* cartoon represented an Irish cabin, from the opened window of which "Dr." Gladstone is remonstrating with a group of itinerant musicians who are vigorously performing outside upon *trorfibones* and other instruments. Within is seen the recumbent form of a suffering lady, wearing a scarf inscribed "Hibernia," while Mr. Gladstone, in an attitude of grave rebuke, addresses the disturbers in the words, "Now, really this is too bad! Just as she was beginning to mend." To this the leader of the band, who wears a *marquis's* coronet, and whose features bear a resemblance to those of Lord Salisbury, replies, "Please, sir, we thought a little music would do her good."

After the fight was over, there was little interest taken in the subject. The Lords went their way, and the Commons theirs. The only result of the debate was that a good deal of valuable time was lost. It was a great debate—a great victory, and nothing more. It is to be questioned whether Lord Palmerston would have not met the crisis in a more effective way. It does not do for a Parliamentary leader to be too much in earnest, too ready to make mountains of mole-hills. It is not wise to have one soul in arms at all times, and ever eager for the fray.

Government lost much in prestige by this dreary waste of time. It gave occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. "Public business," says the *Times*, "has been almost at a standstill, while the time of the House has been taken up, its working power frittered away, and its energies exhausted in a species of strenuous idleness. The new rules of procedure, if they are passed at all, will only be passed at the sacrifice of a working year. The rules, in fact, cover so wide a field, and are in some respects so revolutionary in their aim, that the House may well pause, and may deem a session not altogether wasted in getting

rid of them. It is very possible that the present rules could be improved, but the changes in them ought to be made by general consent, and not to be sprung upon the House by way of surprise, and to be forced through in spite of an adverse mass both of open and secret opposition. The way is to be blocked by the new rules, and in the name of order and of official methods of procedure a general obstruction has been caused." The *Economist* feared that the Government was misled by its natural anxiety during a discussion on the closure not to appear too impatient of the freedom of debate. "Judging baldly and roughly as they always do, the electors will say that the Liberals undertook to secure certain changes that they did not at heart care about them, and that they have completely failed to secure them. They will consequently turn either towards more advanced candidates, or, by abstaining from the polls as they did in 1874, will allow the Conservatives to come in. All this dissatisfaction is decidedly injurious to good government and the formation of sincere parties, and its growth ought, if possible, to be prevented by the direct action of the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone should press on the Rules of Procedure, for which the country is now as prepared as it ever will be, and then bring in his bills with a distinct intimation that they must be passed or rejected within a reasonable time, or that he will be unable to continue responsible for the government of the country." The *Morning Post* of course was shocked, that after six weeks' session Parliament had arrived at a point which may well make the Government stand aghast. It says:—"In the management of their Parliamentary business, Ministers are singularly inefficient or unfortunate. Mr. Gladstone has been from first to last drawn aside from his purpose. Remedial measures hastily conceived and huddled through Parliament have naturally proved unworkable, and their results are now being revealed." It is difficult to understand what the writer alludes to. The Commons had passed no remedial

measures hastily conceived. The paper in question continues :—"The division of Friday morning showed that nearly fifty Liberals had neither paired nor voted ; that on the Clôture, if it ever takes place, will show a much larger number of dissentients. This is a very serious thing for a Ministry with such a Prime Minister at the head." The *Daily News*, the organ of the Government, as it were, joined in the general condemnation. On March 13th, it wrote :—"It seems doubtful whether Mr. Gladstone will feel himself able to introduce his budget before Easter, a season which will be upon us within a month. It is highly improbable, not to say practically impossible, that the closure should be adopted before Easter, while Whitsuntide is not unlikely to find the House still engaged in discussing the Prime Minister's resolutions. This state of affairs may be very gratifying to Mr. James Lowther and the Parnellites, but it is not, and ought not to be satisfactory to sensible men on either side the House. It certainly concerns the Government to find some method of expediting business. We cannot—we never could regard the motion which was carried on Friday morning, after four nights' debate, as a judicious piece of tactics. The situation created by the Lords was, indeed, a grave one, but its effect might have been counteracted at a less cost to the House of Commons and to the country, than four evenings spent in stale recrimination, and in criticism which was necessarily futile, if only because, it was altogether premature." A clear and decided statement from the Prime Minister of the view taken by the Government on the conduct of the Lords would have done all the good and none of the harm which has resulted from a prolonged, and, under the circumstances, a mischievous controversy. Lord Hartington's contention that such a course would have implied that a vote of the Peers was of no practical value will not be generally regarded as by any means decisive. There comes a time for recognising every notorious fact—even the fact that the Lords represent no one but

themselves." People did well to be alarmed at the prospect of another wasted parliamentary session. It was argued, and argued rightly, that the history of the session of 1862, as far as it had gone, was the utter condemnation of the existing system. On one occasion the Speaker himself had pointed out how motions for the adjournment of the House before the orders of the day were reached, provoked the unrestricted introduction of miscellaneous topics, and showed the necessity for reform. The inadequacy of the present form of procedure to the burden of legislation can only be appreciated by observing the daily work of the legislative machine. It is not necessary that a whole session should be spent in observing what was now a patent fact. Yet there was such a danger of time being wasted, undoubtedly. The Opposition may find, it was remarked, that it is playing a dangerous game, and that its remarkable combination with the Irish nationalists to thwart the Government, and delay public business, will only discredit itself, and demonstrate afresh the necessity of giving the House power to control its own proceedings. But Ministers must be prepared to show that they, on their part, have left nothing undone to promote economy of time and labour, and to bring before the House of Commons the measures promised in the speech from the throne. A great deal, it was said, would depend on the parliamentary history of the next few weeks.

In some quarters it was contended that of the five days set apart for work, the Government ought always to have at least three, and that it might even take four without any serious injustice. To a plain-thinking man it seems absurd that a Government in a country like ours should be expected to get through all the business with only two nights a week at its command. The plan invariably breaks down, and will continue to do so till we are courageous enough to alter it. The recent debate on the Lords, with all its interpolations, was a case in point. It is to be ques-

tioned whether any other assembly in the world would have permitted such interpositions. Equally unsatisfactory was the way in which the debate was suffered to be continued. One night Mr. C. Lewis delivered on Mr. Gladstone's motion against inquiry into the Land Act, a speech of inordinate length, which he did not deny having intended for a debate on the address. Again, there was a fiery colonel who took three hours to relieve himself of what was really a tirade against the policy of a statute passed last session. No one could observe the daily work of the Parliamentary machine, without coming to the conclusion that the present system of procedure was utterly inadequate to the requirements of the case. The question was consequently asked, whether, with an empire so large as ours, and requiring so much care, it is right to restrict the Administration to less time for its business than is allowed to members in no sense responsible for the maintenance of the empire and the improvement of its laws and machinery.

At this time, also, a general feeling seemed to pervade all classes of society as to the failure of coercion. Most notable in this way was the following admission on the part of the *Daily News*, March 10th, a journal which had hitherto stood by the Government in all that it had done. "It is impossible," it said, "to question the fact that many people already begin to ask themselves whether the Coercion Acts are really proving as much of a success as we could all desire. That is assuredly a matter which the Government must take, and indeed already are, we doubt not, taking into very serious consideration. Just twelve months to the day had passed yesterday since the second of the two Coercion Bills was read a third time in the House of Commons. People naturally now begin to inquire into the results. No one proposes to govern Ireland by coercion always. Coercion was allowed in order that tranquillity might be restored to Ireland, and the action of healthful legislation enabled to have an unchecked sway.

Meanwhile the arrests are increasing, and the number of outrages does not seem to be decreasing. A serious and painful question is thus opened up which the House will have to consider very carefully before long." The *Standard* thus summed up the results:—"Here we have, as the results of the Ministerial policy, six hundred Irishmen, well known in their own neighbourhood, arbitrarily imprisoned, general dissatisfaction with the Act, an obstinate refusal to pay rent, an alarming increase in the number and ferocity of agrarian outrages, a complete stultification of the system of justice, a hopeless block in the Land Courts, and universal distrust of the Government. Troops have been poured into the country, and the most extensive powers have been entrusted to resident magistrates. Yet the Chief Secretary is found confessing practically that his remedial and coercive legislation has failed, and making an appeal to the mob of Tullamore for aid and co-operation." In a still more vigorous strain wrote the *Daily Telegraph*:—"The double failure of the Land Act and of the numerous arrests is a new and portentous fact in Irish history. There are five hundred and thirty-seven persons in gaol. The farce of trying agrarian criminals through juries of terrified or sympathetic tenants is still carried on with constant failure of conviction, and because of that glaring result, over five hundred known criminals have to be detained untried in gaol, a mode of punishment which causes great irritation and no awe. The Laodicean policy of the present Ministry will never affect Irish disorder. It does not conciliate enough, while it leaves Mr. Parnell in jail; it does not coerce enough when it retains trial by jury, and leaves unpunished the rural crime that, at any cost for information and increased police, it should long ago have suppressed. The Land Act can take care of itself; it is really a matter of secondary importance compared with the effective administration of an island on which anarchy seems to have set its seal." In the opinion of the *Echo*, "a

great, we had almost said an irreparable blunder, was made when Ministers refused to signalise the passing of the Land Act by releasing the suspects. Is the beggar grateful who, having received a knock-down blow, is thrown a sovereign as amends? Until these men are released there will be no peace in Ireland; every day they remain in jail adds to the difficulties in the way of the restoration of order, strengthens the hold of Mr. Parnell upon the country, and weakens the effect of that legislation which, but for the folly of the Government, might have balked the agitator and given peace to a disturbed country. It was said, when these arrests began, that only in that way could crime be checked, and debts secured. The Land League, it was said, incited to outrage and inveighed against rent. Have outrages ceased? There were more of them reported in February than for any month in thirty years. Are rents being paid? On the contrary, it is the detention of the suspects that has given life to the No Rent movement. The Government say things in Ireland are improving. Those who know the country better say exactly the opposite. The Coercion Act has only intensified the evils it was intended to cure. As an engine for the suppression of crime it has been an absolute failure. It has been at work for twelve months, and the result is what we see. If the Land Act is to have a fair chance, the doors of Kilmainham must be thrown open. "An amnesty, it was argued, would be a bold experiment, but a successful one. Meanwhile, Mr. Forster himself admits that, as to the outrages, there has been no exaggeration. After describing the terrible death-bed scene he had witnessed of a poor farmer whose only crime was that he had paid his rents, Mr. Forster, in his speech at Tullamore, went on to say:—"I do not think we have heard more in Dublin, as to outrages, as to terrible and cruel outrages, than was justified by the facts." The answer of the Irish to this noble speech of Mr. Forster's, was, at any rate, characteristic—an attempt to upset the Irish Mail.

We read in the papers:—"A number of police and railway officials are engaged inquiring into the attempt which was made on Tuesday morning last at Pentre to upset a train on the Chester and Holyhead Railway. It is generally supposed in the neighbourhood that the attempt was made with the view of upsetting the Irish Mail, and the fact that Mr. Forster was expected to travel from Holyhead that night, makes the affair wear a more serious aspect than was at first supposed."

As an illustration of the state of Ireland, it is enough to give the following cutting from the *Daily News* of March 13th:—"At an early hour on Saturday morning a large party of armed and disguised men broke into the house of a farmer, named Thomas Connell, at Knockawinna, county Kerry. Connell's wife came forward to expostulate with the men, but they shot her in the legs. Then they dragged her husband out of bed, and shot him also in the legs. The wounds in both cases are likely to prove fatal. Connell was suspected of having given private information to the police. One arrest has been made."

"The Limerick Grand Jury have been engaged for the last five days in awarding compensation for malicious injuries. Several thousand pounds were awarded, and, in some districts, a rate of one shilling in the pound will be levied to meet the claims. It was stated that the rate would be so high it would interfere with the payment of rent."

"Archbishop McCabe, in a pastoral issued in reference to St. Patrick's Day, and read in all the Roman Catholic churches in the diocese of Dublin to-day, after referring to proselytism and drunkenness, says: 'We dare not remain silent in the face of crimes which are bringing disgrace on the name and religion of our country—a decree which struck at the security of all property, and consequently exposed to serious peril the faith we all so much love, went forth to the country some time ago, and we have seen that decree enforced by the threat of terrible penalties, and its

violation punished by atrocities that make us shudder, even by murders which call aloud to heaven against their perpetrators and abettors. How can God bless a cause, though good in itself, which is sustained by such unholy agencies? If famine again should threaten the land, how can the Church call upon her ministers to offer supplication for their people if that people raise not their voices to execrate these deeds of blood? Silence may mean approval, and approval means parties in guilt, and when

that had they foreseen the awful enforcement of their decree that decree never would have come forth. But this horrid spectre of murder has stalked in the very heart of our city only a few days ago. This barbarous murder, to all appearances planned and arranged with full deliberation in some secret assembly, and committed under the very shadow of the altar of God, gives us a terrible warning of the dangers which threaten the peace of society. The injury that unhappy dupes of these secret



A ROADSIDE CABIN

the prayer for mercy ascends from the altar of religion, "Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people," the terrible answer of an outraged God may speedily come, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the earth." God forbid that we should charge the men who sent forth that manifesto, thus enforced by abominable crimes, with the blood thus wickedly poured out. We are sure their souls revolt as much as ours against those deeds of darkness, and we are persuaded

associations inflict on authority is probably remote and small. The injuries they inflict on themselves are immediate and terrible. They vow obedience to an unknown authority; they convert themselves into instruments for executing the decrees of an invisible and irresponsible tribunal; they become in the worst meaning abject slaves, and from that slavery there is scarcely a chance of escape. Thus they become partners in a thousand crimes which would fill

their souls with horror could they calmly survey them; but with having parted with their liberty by becoming members of a body sold to iniquity they are before God and man partakers in its guilt. Very reverend fathers, in the voice of authority, and with all your zeal and charity, implore your people to keep free from these societies, condemned by all laws, divine, ecclesiastic, and civil; and if already involved in them, at the risk even of life to leave them at once, for they know not the moment they may be called upon to perpetrate some deed of blood, nor are they for an instant secure from the treachery which may hand them over to the vengeance of the laws which they violate by joining such confederations.' At the close of the pastoral there is an expression of horror at the recent attempt on her Majesty's life."

"A man named Corby, whose son had been acting as a bailiff in the Ballylanders district, is reported to have been fired at from behind a hedge on Friday. Edward Curtin, a labourer in the employment of Patrick Sampson, a suspect, has been arrested on suspicion.

"Moonlight outrages are again becoming frequent, and appear to be directed against farmers who have taken farms from which persons have been evicted. One serious case is reported from Coppagh, near Lismore. Shots were fired into the house of a farmer named John Flynn, and two of the bullets lodged in the post of the bed in which the man was lying. Yesterday he received a notice to the effect that 'Moonlight' would not miss him the next time. Flynn had taken a farm from which the previous tenant had been evicted. On Friday night a house was fired into at Knockane, near Mallow. The farm had been purchased at an execution sale by a man named Browne, who evicted the tenant after the sale."

Again the *Daily News* of Wednesday gives the following cases:—

"An attempted assassination is reported from Kerry. It appears that last night, while a farmer named Costello, residing at

Derra, near Dunmanway, was seated at the kitchen fire with his family, a shot was fired through the window, and the contents of the charge lodged in his shoulder. The window was at the back of the house, and Costello was seated with his back towards the assassin. The wound inflicted is of a serious character. Soon after the occurrence a notice was found posted upon the front door stating that Costello had paid his rent, and he would hear from Captain Moonlight. The document, which was written in a rough manner, was taken possession of by the police, who subsequently arrested four young men named Foley, stated to be relatives of the wounded man.

"At Mallow to-day a man named Browne was committed for trial on a charge of attacking the house of a woman named Ellen Roche, who was a caretaker on a farm from which Browne had been evicted.

"At the Cork Police-office to-day John Monaghan, who was arrested a few days ago in the Liverpool boat on suspicion of having committed a crime, was further remanded for the purpose of inquiry. On his person when arrested was a cheque for £17, and the letter in which it was enclosed contained a caution to beware of the Queens-town detectives. He is suspected by the police of being concerned in the murder of a constable of police in the county Galway.

"Michael Donegan, a respectable farmer, and four others, were charged at the police-court with having attacked the house of a man named Callaghan, residing at Ballyduhig, about five miles from Cork. Donegan was recently evicted from a farm, and a cousin of Callaghan was stated to be in treaty for the farm. The defendants were ordered to be summoned to appear at the Douglas petty sessions.

"The Kerry grand jury to-day unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the horror and shame felt by every class of the community at the recent outrages which had stained the country; their belief that they were condemned by every one outside the wretched criminals themselves;

their regret that they had not power to compensate the mangled victims, and urging upon the Government the necessity which demanded that they should extend the Malicious Injuries Act to the protection of human life."

Day by day, week by week, month by month, there came the same sad story from Ireland of crime and murder of the most cowardly and dastardly type. It has ever been so in Ireland. There seems never to have been a time when Ireland was peaceful, contented, and flourishing; never a time when Ireland was not led away by men ready of speech, but slow of performance: men who pandered to their worst passions who too often fattened on the credulity of the masses they professed to lead.

When St. Patrick's Day came in 1882, there were many natural attempts at moralising on the state of the country. Only that morning there appeared in the English newspapers an intimation to the effect that a landlord had been shot. More suggestive still, as to the lawlessness of the country, was the following:—"At the Kerry Assizes Jeremiah Mahoney was indicted for posting a threatening letter calling upon the people not to enter the Land Court. After the jury had been an hour-and-a-half in deliberation, it was announced that there was no chance of an agreement. Mr. Herbert, J.P., who was on the jury, said one juror had stated that he would not agree if they were in for a week. The jury were discharged." At Kerry Mr. Justice Barry, only a day or two previously, had drawn the attention of the Grand Jury to 379 indictments, "showing a lawless and disorganised condition of the country." The Judge particularly noted the cruelties committed on women. One of the most grotesque forms which Irish patriotism took, was the firing slugs at the engine of a goods train near Mallow. The engine driver had a narrow escape, and the common view in the district is that he was fired at for having paid his rent, for it seems he held land near Limerick junction. It is not easy to see how a goods train

could have offended the unwritten law of Ireland, but this sort of thing goes on day by day. The people of Ireland may not enjoy this state of things, but they dare not or will not utter a word or move a finger to remove it. Only in one case did a man attacked ever seem to have the courage to defend himself. At Clonmore, near Ennis, some miscreants began firing shots outside the house of one Dennis Malone. Malone's two sons rushed out and carried the war into the enemy's camp. Peter Malone then fired three shots in the direction where he believed the scoundrels to be lurking, and then four men were seen running away in the Irish way. An instructive story is told of an Irish gentleman not popular among his neighbours. Five hundred of them collected in a town which he had to visit, and waited outside a house where he had some business, with the intention of giving him "a bating." He came out with his hands in his pockets, and no one touched him. When he had gone the crowd indignantly fell upon one another for letting him go free. Malone resisted the enemy, and they ran away. This is what Irish patriots always do. Perhaps it would be wise on the part of Government to institute a new order of merit, and reward Irish peasants who in authenticated cases have shown the unusual courage of daring to defend themselves.

The Irish landlords, such as Bence Jones and others, who were conscious of having done their duty to these people, made, from time to time, repeated attempts to catch the ear of the English people. Volumes might be filled with their letters. By way of illustration, we will allow a Boycotted landlady to speak for herself. "My tenants," she said, "with few exceptions, have been thrifty and prosperous, and paid their rents in a satisfactory manner until the present agitation. Most of them hold under long leases, and those who do not, considered themselves, until the last few years, unfortunate. The greater number of the latter, if not all, were labourers

attached to Milltown House, and got small farms to make them comfortable, with the condition that they continued to be labourers. In former years they settled their rent by labour." The lady remarks:—"The Land Act of 1881 has created a grievance with my tenants, that was previously considered a source of benefit and happiness, and were it not for interference, and the bad advice given them, I believe that they would cheerfully pay their rents, and thankfully accept of the abatement of 25 per cent. offered them on the rent day." She adds "that her tenants who were poor were so in consequence of their own idleness and imprudence, and the interference of the Land League." She adds:—"It is not true that I can get supplies at Spanish Point; there is no shop there except a small retail one kept by the sub-postmaster, and he was boycotted for two days for giving me a shilling's worth of bread last October. Except what I can get through the kindness of friends, I am obliged to procure my supplies from Ennis and other distant towns, and also to have my horses shod there. Tradesmen or labourers will not be allowed to work for me, and my house property is suffering while they are walking about idle, complaining bitterly of the misery and terror they are suffering. Unless Government take some steps to put down Boycotting, and make it a criminal offence for persons to refuse supplies or labour for the current prices, it will drive the lower classes to all kinds of crime, as many of them are in a state bordering on despair. I have always resided here, living on the most friendly terms with my tenants, having received two public marks of esteem from them since 1874." The lady thinks the tenants would be glad to settle with her, if they were out of the Land League, and free to act for themselves. The lady says she has written to Mr. Gladstone. He assured her of his sympathy, and his hope that she would soon share "in the seemingly improved state of things in Ireland." The lady replies, with a broken heart, "My bitter experience has been from bad to worse."

One really sickens of the batch of crimes committed by Irishmen, or connected with that country. In one day in March the public heard of an attempt to set fire to the Victorian Docks, an attempt partly frustrated, as all Irish treason is, by the presence of the informer. On the same day, the Irish news was worse than ever. A Mr. Crawford, of Stirrupstown, had been fired at, and several of his family, who accompanied him, were injured, probably by the shot scattering. A young man, not identified, was found nearly dead struck by a bullet in Tighe-street, Dublin. A sub-inspector of constabulary was wounded by a pistol shot at Tobercory. Many versions were given of the affair. According to one a Miss Courcy was shot, apparently because her sister owned some property. A boy named Gibbons was beaten to death near Clonbur, and his mother was savagely assaulted because she had the folly to attempt to aid the victim. This sort of folly is rare in Ireland, and so apparently is respect for maternal affections near Clonbur. The offence of the boy Gibbons is not stated. "On the whole," observed a paper commenting on the case, "on the whole, the social war seems to be waged pretty briskly, only, as in the fight described by Juvenal, the hitting is all on one side." The next day we read of a daring attempt to destroy with dynamite or some explosive material, the house, No. 10, Nelson street, Dublin, connected with the Royal Irish Constabulary. "It appears," adds the newspaper account, "that the explosion is still involved in mystery. An examination of the premises shows that the force of the concussion was chiefly felt in No. 10, but that the windows of Nos. 9 and 11 were completely blown out. The police are completely in the dark as to the perpetrators of this cowardly act, but they profess little doubt as to the maliciousness of the affair, and that more harm was intended than fortunately was done. The men in No. 10 stated that they could give no information as to the outrage. They felt the house shaken, and saw the windows

smashed and blown in all directions, and that is all that is known about it. Portions of a tin can were picked up by them at the time of the explosion, and this is all the clue obtainable. The house held by the detectives is evidently the one aimed at, as its windows presented a more broken appearance than those of the surrounding houses. No. 9 is a lady's seminary. Of course the perpetrators of the outrage cared little how they damaged a few unoffending girls, so long as they could reap a cowardly revenge on men whose only offence was to put down crime, and to bring to justice, if that were possible, the criminal." The climax was reached in April, when Mr. Herbert, a J.P., was shot, and when Mrs. Smyth, a Dublin lady, was shot as she was driving home with her brother-in-law from church.

In the course of the session, in reply to a motion of Mr. Blennerhasset on the propriety of the State purchasing the Irish railways, Mr. Gladstone said the House must not suppose that this was a question to be passed by, and stand over to a future time, because it had never had sufficient consideration from the Government. That was not the case. It was a question about which nearly twenty years ago, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, under the Government of Lord Palmerston, he, for one, felt a very lively interest, and an extreme desire that some mode should be found of acquiring the Irish railways for the purposes of the State, and with a view to the benefit of Ireland, which he had no doubt, if the objections to it could be got over, would be very materially promoted thereby. With a view in a great degree to a settlement of the question, an important Commission was appointed at that time. It was a very laborious Commission, consisting of very many able men, but he was sorry to say that they came advisedly and deliberately to an adverse report upon the subject of the acquisition of the Irish railways. That was an important fact, and when some further inquiries had been made, and when the matter was brought under the view of

Parliament, by a very general consent of parties, a decision was come to which, he had no doubt, was a very reluctant but still an extremely authoritative decision, declaring against the acquisition of the railways by the State. For his own part, he would only say further that he held it to be absolutely out of the question that in this country the railways should be taken and managed by the State. He would not enter into the details of the objections. Patronage was one of the objections. Incompetency on the part of the State to address itself to a business so exceedingly subtle and manifold as was the conduct of railway traffic, especially of goods traffic, was another objection; and the additional pressure which would be brought upon Parliament through the gratuitous assumption of those vast responsibilities was another head of objection. He believed that under those heads, if there remained no others, would be found topics of the most commanding and conclusive character against the idea of their assumption by the State. If railways were ever to be acquired by the State, it must be by first overcoming a difficulty in another direction. Undoubtedly he thought that in the abstract, it would be a very good ideal system if it were possible for the State to be the proprietor of the fixed works of the railway, and to commit to commercial companies the ownership of the rolling stock, and the management of the business. That would have very great advantages, because it would be much more easy to find capital adequate to a system of that kind than it was to find capitals which, as commercial capitals, were so heavy in consequence of the enormous investments in permanent works. But he was sorry to say that all experience appeared to him, at least in this country, against the practicability of the leasing of railways. Until that problem was solved he was convinced that no progress would be made in the direction of this motion. He said that with great regret, for he owned that his desire, especially as regarded Ireland, tended strongly in

that direction ; but he could see his way through obstacles of so serious a nature. If it were possible to devise by human ingenuity a good system of leasing, then undoubtedly the mere financial operations in Ireland would be within reasonable compass, and in a matter recommended by strong considerations of public policy it might easily be faced. After this speech of Mr. Gladstone's, it is needless to say that the reporters describe the conclusion of the debate as follows :—"The subject then dropped."

In the middle of March matters got worse instead of better, and Mr. Gladstone had to put up with very rough treatment indeed. It was evident that in the Lower House, at any rate, evil communications corrupted good manners and the conduct of the Irish patriots was reaching a point, which it was impossible to stand, Mr. Biggar, as usual, proving himself to be the principal performer. For instance, in the course of a debate on the suspension of the suspects, declared that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland felt a most intense delight in having to administer the Coercion Act, and entertained a feeling of satisfaction at the sufferings of the people. When called on to apologise, Mr. Biggar had the impudence to say that he did not wilfully infringe the rules of the House, and he should be very sorry to impute unworthy motives to the right hon. gentleman. The discussion was continued by Mr. Healy. The latter gentleman referred to the Prime Minister, saying, "If the right hon. gentleman had the heart of a man," when here again the Speaker interposed. As an illustration of the way in which the time of the House was wasted, and the business of the country impeded, it may be mentioned that on that night there were thirty more questions on the paper, very few of them of public interest, and that nearly one-fifth of the whole stood in the name of Mr. O'Donnell. But Mr. O'Donnell was not alone in his efforts to delay business, and embarrass the Government. Mr. Childers had that night for the

army estimates, and it was not till nearly one in the morning that he was allowed to bring them in, all the previous time, from four, when the Speaker took the chair, having been utterly wasted, and this is how it was done. In reply to Mr. A. O'Connor, Mr. Childers stated it was absolutely necessary, in order to comply with the law, that the two votes for the army should be taken the night previous, and that for the navy on Thursday, in order that they might be reported on Monday. Sir Walter Bartelot pressed for some pledges that time should be given to discuss the votes, observing that it was not quite creditable that undue delay should take place in discussing the votes. But, he added, amid loud cheers, the general condition of business in the House is not creditable. Sir Stafford Northcote asked what business had to be taken next week, to which Mr. Gladstone replied, amid loud cheers from the Liberals, that next week the debate on the Procedure Rules would be continued. Mr. Gorst, continuing the cross-examination, asked when opportunity would be given for discussing the amendments on going into Committee of Supply, to which the Premier, still observing great economy of words, answered that due notice would be given. Mr. Cowen asked whether the debate on Procedure could not be adjourned till after Easter, in order to take supply, to which Mr. Gladstone, half rising from his seat, replied, "No, sir, I shall not undertake to do that." "Hereupon," writes a parliamentary sketcher, "a hurried consultation took place between Lord Folkestone, Mr. Gorst, and Sir Walter Bartelot, the two former members leaving their places on the front bench below the gangway to speak to the hon. baronet. The result was seen when Mr. Gorst rose, and, amid ironical cheers from the Liberals, moved the adjournment of the debate. Mr. Warton, who was received with renewed cheers and laughter, seconded the motion. Mr. Labouchere, in a vigorous speech, much cheered from the Liberal benches, nailed this motion as proof of the deliberate purpose of the gentlemen

opposite to obstruct business. Mr. Gladstone said it was the duty of the Government to make progress with the Procedure Rules, except where there was peremptory necessity for taking supply. It was largely with a view for making better arrangements of progress in supply that they desired to press forward the Procedure Rules. Sir Stafford Northcote then advised the withdrawal of the motion for adjournment, and, after Mr. O'Donnell had, amid loud laughter and cheers from the Liberals, defended the Conservative party from the charge of wasting time of the House, the motion was withdrawn." Thus did the little working actors of the parliamentary arena "play their fantastic tricks before high heaven." Thus, to the best of their power did they do all that they could to render Parliamentary Government impossible. It appears that the obstruction which, on that particular night, interposed between Mr. Childers and his legitimate opportunity for making his statement on the Army Estimates, was chiefly due to the failure of the Government to pass this second resolution, by which, in former sessions, amendments on going into committees of supply on Mondays, have been limited to the subject-matter of the estimates. In face of the combined opposition, it was felt to be hopeless to attempt to renew this session the useful order introduced by Sir Stafford Northcote, which proved to be beneficial to the public service during the term of the Conservative Government.

Matters did not improve with the small hours; they never do. As we have said, it was late when Mr. Childers began his statement; it was later still when it was concluded. Between half-past two and four in the morning there were some very lively proceedings in the House of Commons. The Opposition insisted that the votes for men and money for the army should be postponed, till they could be fully discussed, while the Government urged that the law required them to be passed immediately. Lord E. Cecil looking steadily at Mr. Gladstone across the table, and em-

phasizing his statement by repetition, said that only the Premier's will prevented the postponement of the vote for men. The right honourable gentleman had already shown temper and animus that night. Nor, perhaps, will the reader think that is much to be wondered at. With a brief interval for dinner, he had been in his place eleven hours—rather hard work for a gentleman in his seventy-third year. But we must return to the Parliamentary scene as given in the *Daily News* of March 15th.

Mr. Gladstone—I must object to the course taken by the noble lord in introducing personal remarks into this discussion. He says that it is owing to my personal will, or, in other words, to my obstinacy and dictatorial spirit.

Lord E. Cecil—I never said that.

Mr. Gladstone—I expound the words of the noble lord. The meaning is obvious—namely, that I am here to impose my will on the House without reason. (Mr. Warton: Hear, hear.) That would be due to my obstinacy and dictatorial spirit—(Mr. Warton: Hear, hear)—and that is the true meaning of the statement made by the noble lord, to whom I hope I reply in no unbecoming manner. The noble lord says that I have to-night shown temper and animus, which justify him in putting an unfavourable construction on my present proceedings. (Mr. Warton: Hear, hear.) If the noble lord refers to anything that took place earlier in the evening, I say that he has no right to go back to temper, and animus shown at a former time. If he is to make such an observation at all, it ought to be made when the offence is committed. The noble lord may, however, indulge whatever feeling he thinks fit. I shall only make a mild, and I hope respectful, protest against this kind of personal remark.

The discussion was continued with more or less warmth by the Opposition, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers being the only Ministerialists who spoke. So determined were the former that the most distant hints as to the votes being passed without adjournment were always met by loud and

scornful cries of dissent. Mr. O'Donnell having taken up Lord Eustace Cecil's attack on Mr. Gladstone without receiving any notice, Mr. Warton moved to report progress. He was very indignant; but the Committee laughed at his emphatic assertion of such well-known facts as, "This is the 14th of March." The motion having been promptly negatived without a division, the vote for men was agreed to. On the vote of £4,162,000 for army pay and allowances Viscount Folkestone moved that progress should be reported, a proposal rejected by 69 against 33. It thus appeared that about one hundred members were present, and that number was maintained till near the close of the sitting. The result of the division was hailed with Ministerial cheers; but Colonel Alexander, nothing daunted, moved that Mr. Playfair should leave the chair. This being negatived by 69 against 31, Captain Aylmer again brought forward the alternative motion. It was apparent that the vote was to be obstructed, and Mr. Gladstone offered further explanations.

Earl Percy, amid a storm of indignant cries from the Ministerialists, maintained that the Premier's conduct fully justified Lord Eustace Cecil's remarks. It was unseemly.

Mr. Gladstone—I appreciate very much the courtesy of the noble lord. He chooses the moment of my statement that the law compels us to have these reported on Monday next to tell me that he does not believe me. He chooses that moment to tell me in effect that he disbelieves the assertion I have made, and that it is my will and not the reason or necessity of the case that induces the Government to persevere with these votes to-night. I hope the noble lord understands the effect of what I say. That is the kind of relation which the noble lord thinks fit to establish between one member of the House and another. I have nothing to say, sir—

Earl Percy (interrupting amid loud cries of "Order")—I rise to correct what the Premier has erroneously understood. The

Home Secretary says "No," but I am the best judge of what I mean. I say that the right hon. gentleman the Prime Minister erroneously understood me. I regret extremely if I did not express myself clearly. The right hon. gentleman states that it is necessary for the report to be taken on a certain day. That is my understanding of what he said. It is no uncommon thing, allow me to say, for those who conduct public business to believe that what they regard as the best for public business is an absolute necessity—and therefore I have expressed the belief that in the Prime Minister's opinion his view of the public interest is absolutely paramount. Further, I ask the House and the Prime Minister himself to observe that he has not stated why it is necessary that the report should be taken on Monday. In 1872 the vote was taken on March 23rd, nine days later than the present date, and in 1875 it was taken on March 30th.

During this explanation Earl Percy spoke very slowly, and was evidently labouring under considerable excitement. Mr. Gladstone's manner had been full of suppressed fire, and when making his remarks he advanced a step towards Earl Percy, while keeping one hand outstretched to the table. He now "accepted at once" the statement of the noble Earl, and pointed out that the coming visit of the Queen to Mentone made the whole difference between this and former years. This statement instantly rolled away the clouds as far as Liberals and Conservatives were concerned. Earl Percy begged most sincerely to apologise if in the heat of debate he had offended the Premier. The hearty cheers which followed were renewed when Mr. Gladstone replied, "I cordially thank the noble lord," and again when Lord E. Cecil withdrew his strictures upon the right hon. gentleman. Mr. Warton completed the Prime Minister's satisfaction by making his "little explanation," and all would have ended happily had not Mr. O'Donnell sarcastically noted the sudden flight of almost every Conservative from

the House, and Mr. Healy suggested that the Queen should if necessary come back from Mentone. Captain Aylmer's motion to report progress was withdrawn, but Mr. O'Donnell moved the reduction of the vote by the cost of the troops in Ireland. On a division this was negatived by 72 against 9. The vote was then agreed to, and the House adjourned.

The Conservatives, it was clear, had caught the Parliamentary manners of some of their Irish allies, and it was broadly hinted, both in the House and in the Press, that the need for the passing of the Army Estimates, which Mr. Gladstone affirmed, did not in reality exist. The explanation of the reason for urgency was chiefly of importance to the public as illustrating the tendency of all breaches of Parliamentary tradition to repeat themselves. Mr. Gladstone was obliged to explain because a small group of opponents would not take his word. This was only one scandal in a series. The whole of the proceedings of the early morning, from the time when Mr. Childers finished his speech, down to the end of the sitting, was purely obstructive. The Government declared that the vote must be passed, and the Conservatives used the forms of the House to prevent them from passing. There was no discussion of Mr. Childers' statement. There appears to have been no objection to the votes themselves. The object of the obstructives, which was supported by several occupants of the front Opposition bench, was to compel the Government to carry over the debate on the Estimates for another week, and thus render it impossible to bring on the *Clôture* debate at the appointed time. The purpose was frustrated, and Mr. Gladstone sent home Lord Percy, Lord Cecil, and some of their allies, in a penitential mood. Their proceedings once more demonstrated the necessity for Mr. Gladstone's third rule of Procedure, which required that on motions for adjournment of the debate, or of the House during a debate, or that the Chairman report progress or leave the chair,

the speaking shall be only on the motion, and that no member who has spoken to such a motion shall be able to move or second a similar one during the debate. The tenth of the new rules would have been still more applicable. It empowers the Speaker, when such motions are made for the purposes of obstruction, to put them at once. The needless prolongation of the sitting by a small band of obstructives proved that it was of little use to get any business through the House till the full amendment of its Procedure has taken place.

The statement of Mr. Childers was worthy of a good deal more consideration than Parliament were enabled to give it. The growth of this department in the way of spending money requires careful watching. The navy is being furnished with new guns and projectiles, at an increased cost for the year of £247,000. The combined navy and army charge in the present estimate is only 14s. 8d. per head, against 15s. 8d. per head under Lord Russell's Government in 1865-6. The total charge of the two services was £21,300,000 in 1858-9, it has become £22,700,000 in 1865-6, and has risen to £25,940,000 for 1882-3. Mr. Childers put the actual burden of this charge in a very striking light, in pointing out that it represented the produce of an income-tax of fourteen pence in the pound. In the early days of the income-tax, when the yield of each penny was much smaller than it is now, the army and navy expenditure was equal to eighteenpence in the pound. In those days, moreover, and even at the date of Lord Russell's Administration, the yield of the customs and excise was much less than the total of the military and naval expenditure; now these two sources of revenue, though they have not fully recovered from the depression of the past three years, exceed by more than two millions the whole of the estimates for the two defensive services. These facts do not show that the outlay is not even now much too large; they only prove that the increased wealth

and numbers of the people make the present burden relatively lighter than the smaller amount was fifteen, twenty, or thirty years ago. As to the condition of the army itself, the country was perfectly prepared for reassuring statements from Mr. Childers. It had been known for some time past that the new organisation was working well. There has, no doubt, been some ground for the complaint that the short service system, and the passing the veterans into the reserves, was filling the ranks with weedy youths who must of necessity break down at the first serious test. It was to meet this objection that Mr. Childers raised the time last year from six years' service to what is practically eight years' service. These changes have worked well, and though Mr. Childers is obliged to confess that there is still a larger proportion of young troops than is desirable, this evil is curing itself. A sufficient number of recruits is now coming in, and though it is unavoidable that nearly half the rank and file of the home battalions should consist of recruits, this is no longer the case with those destined for service abroad. It is, perhaps, with less sympathy that the public will learn that Mr. Childers is endeavouring, with success, to be in a better state of preparation for small wars. They are too often aggressive and injurious in their results. It is, however, desirable that if they are entered on, it should be with as little dislocation of arrangement and as little as possible in money and time.

In bringing forward the Naval Estimates Mr. Trevelyan was a little more fortunate than Mr. Childers. It is quite right that the right to discuss grievances should precede a discussion of Estimates, but it is unfair that such preliminary discussions should end in the loss of a night. It was known, however, that Ministers had arranged for an all-night sitting, and so Mr. Trevelyan had his say at in what was really reasonable time, and the business of the night was over by two o'clock in the morning. The prospect was formidable.

There were sixteen notices of motion on going into Committee of Supply; only five had any reference to the subject-matter of the vote, while that of one Member, Mr. Wharton, had to deal with the question of patent medicines. As regards the Naval Estimates the total sum required was £10,483,901, but the expenditure is proposed to be £10,724,789. The full amount voted for the current year was £10,945,919, so that the real decrease is £221,130, but the decrease in the actual vote will be £462,018. The reductions, like those on the Army Estimates, were due to the cessation of the special war charges which have swollen our Naval expenditure in preceding years. Apart from this benefit of peace there would have been an increase in both these departments. The saving to the Navy is represented by the absence of any vote for service in connection with the South African war, for which £448,450 has been required in the year now ending. Owing, also, to the receipts for the sale of old stores the Admiralty gets more to spend on shipbuilding, while asking for a smaller vote. Thus there is to be an increased outlay on construction of £231,214. The sum to be expended on labour, stores, ships, and machinery, in the twelve months ending March 31, 1883, is no less than £3,336,911. Of building ships, as of the making of books, there is no end. It is proposed to build next year 15,502 tons in the Royal Dockyards, and 4,640 in private establishments. The addition to the Navy will therefore reach the unusual, and of late years unprecedented, sum of 20,142 tons. The items include twenty-seven unarmed vessels, and fourteen ironclads at the dockyards, and one ironclad, three cruisers, one corvette, seventeen small vessels, and twenty-six torpedo boats at the yards of private firms. In pursuance of the policy which Mr. Trevelyan announced last year, there are to be no new experiments. There will be three new armoured vessels, and eleven which are already on the stocks will be finished. The new vessels are to be of known and

accepted structure, and six of the ironclads are rapidly approaching completion. There are, as regards other matters, considerable increases in some of the votes balanced by decreases in many others. The vote for wages shows a gross decrease of £72,728 but £68,100 is derived from extra receipts so that the net diminution in the expenditure is £4,628. The number of men to be voted remains the same, but there are some reductions in the officers which are counterbalanced by increases in the number of men and boys. The victualling and clothing is to cost more by £11,510, but the vote is for £18,390 less. There are heavy savings under the head of new works, building yard, machinery and repairs, on the miscellaneous services, on the item for half-pay, and of course on the conveyance of troops. It is to be noted that in the Navy as in the Army, the non-effective portion of the service seems to grow more and more costly. The Military Pensions and allowances show, however, a much smaller growth in the Navy Estimates, than is exhibited in the kindred item of the Army Estimates; while there is a decrease under the head of Civil Pensions and Allowances. Mr. Trevelyan deserves credit for the attempt to combine economy with efficiency, and to make additions to the fleet without adding to the cost of the public service. Lord Northbrook and Mr. Trevelyan and his colleagues meet the increased expenditure in one direction by decreased expenditure in another; so that the nation will get a large return for a smaller outlay. Well might Mr. W. H. Smith congratulate Mr. Trevelyan as he did on the clearness and conciseness of his statement.

In connection with this subject it is to be noted that even when there was so little time to spare, and when the subject to be discussed was of such truly national importance, it was necessary for Mr. Gladstone to vindicate a statement which he made in consequence of a question put to him by Mr. Shield. The question was as follows:—"Whether Mr. Gladstone's attention had been called to a letter in yesterday's

Times, impugning the correctness of his statement as to the time necessary for carrying the Ways and Means Bill through its several stages, and whether he adhered to the statement, that it was necessary to take report of Supply on the 20th of March in order to avoid a breach of the peace." For this purpose we quote the Parliamentary report as follows:—

"Mr. Gladstone said he might say that this was the first time in his experience that a statement of the Government with regard to a matter of the kind had been called in question—especially by gentlemen who had held office under former Governments. He would answer his hon. friend's question as if it ended 'in order to make certain compliance with the law.' The Government had not the command of proceedings in another place. All they could do was to form a computation upon reasonable anticipations; and, so doing, he adhered most strictly to his declaration on Monday last. His attention had been called to the letter. The postscript contained the heart of the matter, and it was evident that 'A Conservative M.P.,' whoever he might be, had never served in office, or he could not have said that if the Royal assent was given on Wednesday, March 29th, there would be two days to spare. So far from being to spare the two days would be closely filled with the complex and various proceedings necessary under the new system of audit after the assent, before the actual issues of public money could be made from the Exchequer. On no occasion since 1871, when the new system of audit was hardly in full operation, had a Ways and Means Bill ever passed later than the 29th March, and only twice had it been passed as late as that date. Further, the postscript said that the Bill having been read a first time in the House of Lords on the 24th March could pass through all its stages on March 27th, and the messenger could leave Mentone on that evening. Assuming that the Bill did so pass, and that the House of Lords concluded its business as early as six o'clock, the intelligence of

its passing must be telegraphed to Mentone. Less than four or five hours could not be prudently allowed for this. Well, they might allow time, however irrationally, as short as they liked; but the only express train by which the messenger could leave Mentone in the afternoon left at four o'clock. The assumption in the postscript was that a stage of the Bill could be taken in this House on a Wednesday. The Government would be grossly culpable in taking that for granted, as shown by the fact that the Secretary for War proposed to take the report of a vote last night, and was prevented. The Government, on Wednesdays, were absolutely at the mercy of any single member of Parliament. Having shown how untrustworthy this letter was, though dignified with the largest type, he would give the safe assumption as to progress calculated on the report being delayed till the 20th, and that was an assumption which would imply the putting of the greatest pressure on the departments. Monday, the 20th, report and first reading of the Bill, founded on the resolutions in Committee of Supply; Tuesday, 21st, the Bill read a second time; Thursday, 23rd, the Bill passed through Committee; Friday, the 24th, the Bill read a third time in the Commons, and a first time in the House of Lords; Monday, 27th, its remaining stages in the House of Lords and its passing all stages telegraphed to Mentone. The messenger would arrive on Wednesday evening, the 29th, and the Royal assent could only be given by commission on the 30th. This would put unreasonable pressure on the departments, and the Government hoped to do much better than that. He adhered in the strictest manner to what he had said.

"Mr. Samuelson asked the Prime Minister whether, in his experience, it had ever occurred before that a charge of misrepresentation had been made anonymously against a responsible Minister of the Crown, purporting to come from an hon. member of that House.

"Mr. Gladstone—I am not a great student

of anonymous letters, and I am not aware that I have ever written one in my life, and have no wish to encourage the practice by noticing it. I frankly own that having had a good deal to do I did not dwell so much on the text as I ought to have done. It seemed to me that, like a lady's letter, the virtue of it lay in the postscript. I hope the letter does not charge misrepresentation. If it does, I am very sorry for the writer of it."

To badger and worry the Prime Minister at this time appeared to have become a very favourite game with certain parties in the House. It wasted the public time—well, they wanted that; it degraded the character of the House—well, that was nothing to them, and if it helped to irritate the Premier, so much the better. The conduct of some of these M.P.'s was absolutely scandalous, and amongst them were to be found many Irish representatives. Perhaps on the night in question the most shameful exhibition was that of Mr. Sexton, who took in hand to find fault with Mr. Forster for going to Tullamore and making a manly, honest appeal to the Irish people, to their good sense and good feeling, if they had any left. Fair criticism of what Mr. Forster said, of course, no one could object to, though perhaps the House of Commons was hardly the proper place for it. But suggestions that the police had prevented a crowd from groaning; that a reporter had been suborned, and that cheers had been interpolated, are unworthy of the House, of the country, of even Mr. Sexton himself. Such excessive irritation betrays, as Mr. Forster said, an unwillingness that the Government side of the question should be heard in Ireland. Audacity, misrepresentation, false insinuation, the suppression of the truth, all were unscrupulously resorted to by the Opposition—at any rate some of the most active members of it—to damage Mr. Gladstone and his Government with the people.

Already we have referred to the North Borneo Charter. In the early part of March it came before the House of Com-



THE LATE LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH,
Assassinated May 6, 1862

mons. The subject was introduced by Mr. Gorst, who said, according to Lord Granville's own description of it, it was a piece of safe and cheap filibustering, and an attempt to extend British territory in an irresponsible way under the pretext of a trading company, but Mr. Gladstone defended the argument in a way which served to satisfy his hearers.

Let us turn to a theme, in connection with which Mr. Gladstone's conduct can in no way be open to censure, not even by his bitterest foe. The meeting, which was held in Mr. Gladstone's official residence, on Monday, March 22nd, to establish a Scarlet Fever Convalescent Home, was worthy of the time and place. Few legislative measures could do more to promote the comfort and welfare of great masses of the people than the establishment of such a home. Such a home would differ from all the rest in some very important respects. The convalescent stage of this terrible disease of childhood is the most dangerous. It is a time when the patients themselves need the most care, and when they should be most cautiously isolated. Scarlet fever is probably the most infectious of diseases. Its most communicable stage apparently is not that in which the patients must necessarily be confined to bed or to the house, but is that in which they are quite able and anxious to be moving about among other people. The disease could probably be stamped out by isolating every patient, or keeping him under careful antiseptic treatment till the danger of infection is past. This can be done in the homes of the rich and well-to-do, but is quite out of the question in the homes of the poor. Well, for his purpose there was a drawing-room meeting at the Premier's official residence, for which the application for tickets was far in excess of the supply. The Bishop of London presided, and amongst those present were the Princess Louise (Marchioness of Lorne), and the Princess Mary (Duchess of Teck), the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, the Lord Mayor, and other leading personages.

One of the speakers at the meeting was

the Earl of Rosebery, who drew a striking and partly humorous picture of the miseries of isolation, as experienced by himself during an attack of scarlet fever. In the course of his speech he said that he did not remember any friend who had the courage to visit him during that painful ordeal, except the Prime Minister, who had, he said, given so many other proofs of his courage.

An animated discussion took place on March 23rd, when Mr. Gladstone, according to notice, moved the usual grant to Prince Leopold in prospect of his intended marriage. Mr. Labouchere having moved an amendment in a speech of great skill, the discussion lasted some time. In reply, Mr. Gladstone stated that he must enter his protest against certain expressions used which he was sure would be reprobated by the majority of that House. He continued:—"The hon. gentleman who has just sat down has made a suggestion, and it is that by the abolition of the number of noble lords and gentlemen who form the household of her Majesty we should save the money that it is now desired to obtain from the taxpayer. The opinion of the hon. member is that the maintenance of these noble lords and gentlemen is no part of the dignity of the Court, and contributes nothing to the comfort of the Sovereign. Well, Sir, I won't say whether the view of the hon. gentleman is an original view, nor whether it would deserve consideration at the commencement of a reign. But I would point out to him that by a positive engagement contained in the Civil List the whole of this royal State, the whole of these court and household establishments are distinctly recognised, and that we are not free to touch them during the lifetime of her Majesty without a distinct breach of faith. I will pass to some observations that were made by my hon. friend the member for Northampton. He stated, not with perfect accuracy, that these grants have been invariably opposed. I have not gone over the list, but I happen to have in my hand one of these cases, when it was my duty

to propose the grant of a marriage portion to her Royal Highness the Princess Louise, and when the grant was made without any opposition whatever. So far as I can recollect, I believe there are other instances."

Mr. P. A. Taylor, who rose from under the gallery amid cries of "Order," said:—"Perhaps the right hon. gentleman will allow me to say that I opposed the vote on that occasion, and that I was supported by two members of the present Government."

Mr. Gladstone (handing a volume of "Hansard" over the benches to the hon. member)—"Here is the Parliamentary record, and I think I have accurately stated its contents. Sir, my hon. friend has founded his argument and his opposition mainly upon a reference to the declarations of Mr. Fox and the cases which occurred in the reign of George III., cases with which I am or have been familiar, and with regard to which I venture to state that in any reasonable view of this case they have not the smallest application to the proposal that is now before us. At that time the whole basis of the Civil List was completely different. My hon. friend did not refer to the amount of the Civil List of George III. What was that amount? If I remember aright—for I have no opportunity of referring—it was about a million—and the fact of itself might serve to indicate to him that it was a grant on a totally different basis, and entailed totally different obligations. No doubt Mr. Fox was quite right in saying that at that time before any demand was made in Parliament it was right to inquire whether the Civil List was insufficient. But our contention is that upon the accession of William IV. to the Throne we passed into an entirely different state of arrangements, that since that time the amount of the Civil List has been regulated and its purposes defined by Committees of Parliament, and that the bulk of the money is necessary for these purposes. My hon. friend said that every description of expenditure was provided for by the Civil List. Sir, that is as far as possible from being accurate. My hon.

friend said that the charities of her Majesty were provided for in the Civil List. Now that small branch of the Civil List to which he refers, of about £8,000, has no connection or concern whatever with the charities of the Queen, and is applied only in a charitable sense, but for purposes essentially public, and moreover not even within the ordinary personal discretion of her Majesty. Why, sir, my hon. friend says that her Majesty has £100,000 a year after every branch of possible expenditure has been provided for. No, sir; this is entirely wrong. There are very large branches of expenditure that are totally unprovided for; there are the three offices of the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse. It would not be becoming in me to enter into detail upon this subject, but I will point to one branch of the expenditure, with regard to which my hon. friend will feel the force of what I say. The entire expense of the education of every member of the Royal Family, of the staff connected with that education, and the whole personal expenditure of every one of the Royal children, except the Prince of Wales, has been provided for by the Queen from her own personal resources until the time when, in the event of marriage or the case of Princesses and the coming of age in the case of Princes, application has been made to Parliament for a grant. My hon. friend says that the savings of the Sovereign ought to provide for these endowments. Sir, it is totally impossible. There are no savings, and never have been, and never could be, that would be adequate to provide the tenth part of this. The savings of the Sovereign have never amounted to any enormous sum. They have never been considered a matter of Parliamentary investigation. I have had some knowledge of them in various contingencies of official life, but never have they appeared to me to amount to more than might be well called for by many domestic purposes connected with the position and duties of the Queen. Were it only the very considerable in-

equality in the position of the various children of the Sovereign with respect to wealth, it is quite obvious that it would be most undesirable that her Majesty should be wholly deprived of the means of mitigating, should she think fit, those inequalities. But my hon. friend said that they were not bound by the proceedings of previous Parliaments—the Parliament of Lord Palmerston might have been £15,000 a year, but

well that all the pleas which tend to govern these decisions are pleas which, sometimes extravagantly, sometimes reasonably urged, would go to make it very doubtful indeed whether it is desirable for us to begin this matter as if it were a matter that had never been decided at all, or on the contrary whether we shall not do much more wisely to adhere to and to tread in the footsteps of those who have gone before us. But



THE PRINCESS HELEN OF WALDECK-PIRDMONT.

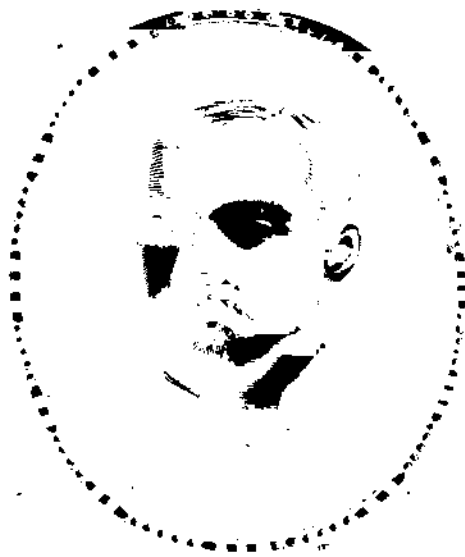
From a Photograph by Messrs. Downey, London.

that is no reason why we, under altered circumstances, should not reconsider the amount. Well, sir, but what is the force of that argument, taken in connection with the analogy of the times? We have been reconsidering a great many things since that time, and our reconsideration goes to the augmentation of the expenditure of public money, and not to the diminution. My hon. friend knows quite

that upon which most of all dwell is this:—I claim that the cases quoted by my hon. friend of the Duke of York, the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Cumberland, and particularly Mr. Fox, are wholly excluded from our view, because they applied to a Civil List of comparatively very large amount, and perfectly undefined and free as to its application, whereas the Civil List we are now dealing with is distinctly de-

voted, and defined, and applied under the authority of Parliament, and the margin that would remain to the Queen is a narrow one, out of which it would be absolutely impossible to draw means necessary for the purpose. I admit my hon. friend did not misunderstand my meaning when I stated that there was an honourable understanding that provision for these purposes should fall upon Parliament. Undoubtedly in my

binding, by the course of proceeding on many different occasions when Parliament has had to deal with proposals either identical or analogous to this; and the proposal of my hon. friend amounts exactly to this—that in the case of the Duke of Albany, Prince Leopold, the last of the royal princes, Parliament shall, by refusing this vote of £10,000 a year, place him in a position essentially different from that of the other young



PRINCE LEOPOLD.

From a Photograph by Messrs. Downey, London.

opinion it is impossible to settle that question from the whole history of the fixing of the Civil List on the two great classical occasions of the accession of her Majesty and of William IV. Then, I say again, the honourable understanding has become much more definite, and I think even more

princes, and make for him little more than half the provision that other Parliaments have made." At the conclusion, the votes were—for the resolution, 347; against it, 42.

About this time we find Mr. Gladstone making a capital speech to the Eton boys, by whom he was cordially received.

CHAPTER LII.

MR GLADSTONE'S LAST BUDGET.



HERE is something melancholy in this title—yet we must write it nevertheless. The time has come, and the man arrives; the time has come when he has done his work and taken his wages, and he goes. Such is the law of human life, such are

the conditions of existence, and it was felt by all that when Mr. Gladstone rose on the 24th March, 1882, to introduce his Budget, that would be the last associated with his name and fame. As to the character of the Budget, little was to be expected. It could offer no heroic relief, it could illustrate no new principle, it could mark no new point of departure, was felt by all. Such had been predicted alike by Tory and Liberal papers. It was clear, though trade had been improving for two years and a half, it had not restored the old elasticity to the revenue. The receipts last year exceeded the estimates by somewhat less than three-quarters of a million, and, although they exceeded the receipts of the year before by a million and three-quarters, that was due to the substitution of a beer tax to the malt duty, not to any growth in the productiveness of those taxes themselves. It was clear that no reduction of taxation could be looked for unless there could be a decrease of expenditure. And, alas! that was clearly out of the question. The charge of the debt of course could not be diminished, nor could the other charges on the consolidated fund. Practically, then, no decrease in the expenditure was possible. Mr. Gladstone himself, in former administrations, had enforced retrenchment as far as it could be carried, and with the growth of population the new demands that are daily made upon

the State for additional services, and more particularly the increasing cost of elementary education, the expenditure of the Government is more likely to grow than to diminish. Hence it was argued that the conditions of the problem imposed upon Mr. Gladstone a very humdrum Budget.

Of course, as soon as the Speaker took the chair, the House was crammed. The late comers, who had strolled leisurely down from the clubs, were surprised to find every seat taken, and were compelled to seek shelter in the galleries. There were fifty-one questions to be disposed of, and some of them seemed likely to lead to a stormy debate. It was to be doubted whether after all Mr. Gladstone would be permitted to bring in his Budget, even on a Budget night. But all went on smoothly till Mr. Sexton asked for information respecting a famous circular issued by a too zealous official, and Mr. Forster replied that it was withdrawn, though his cautious saving clause, that no proper precautions for the protection of Mr. Clifford would be neglected, seemed, from the ironical cheers and interjections, to take off the gilt from the gingerbread in the eyes of the Home Rulers. Then followed a pretty piece of colloquial sword-play, sharp and hot while it lasted. The Irish Secretary gave what seemed to be an evasive reply to Mr. Sexton's question concerning the huts for evicted tenants. Mr. Sexton felt compelled reluctantly to move the adjournment of the House. Sir John Mowbray rose to order, and protested against his action as an outrageous license. Mr. Healy put in a word, the Speaker gave his opinion, and Mr. Sexton, feeling the pulse of the House, wisely gave in though he ominously re-

marked that he would seize an available opportunity of again raising the question. Oil having been thus thrown upon the troubled waters, the House breathed freely once more. The remaining questions were hurried through at a great rate. Ministerial replies were terse and to the point. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett bowed politely to Mr. Courtney, and promised to call attention to Cyprus at some more convenient time. Mr. Lewis followed his example, and Mr. A. O'Connor, with unusual blandness, abstained from detaining the House. The Home Secretary put every one in good humour by his answering the question as to the Camborne riots, and at half-past five, much to every one's astonishment, the way was clear, and Mr. Gladstone rose amidst much cheering to make his financial statement. His voice was pitched in a low tone, growing a trifle husky as he proceeded, as if he were still suffering from a cold. At times it was most difficult to catch the figures, even the words. But in a speech bristling with dry facts and figures and numerals, much of it read from notes, and with no party cheering to infuse animation, it was difficult to create much enthusiasm. There was a groan when the Premier announced that £90,000 would be required for Cyprus. At times there was a sound of cheers, or a burst of laughter, as when he alluded to the falling off in the receipts from probate duties, and attributed it partly to the extreme mildness of the winter. The member for Carlisle too, and the Irish members, smiled sardonically at the bill for Ireland. When the extra duties on carriages were announced, honourable members started up in blank dismay, looked in each other's faces, smiled, then gave way to a roar of laughter, as if the whole thing was a huge joke. Note-books had long since fallen down, and pencils were at rest, and at half-past seven, after having been up for two hours, Mr. Gladstone resumed his seat, looking weary and haggard. No great enthusiasm seems to have been created in the minds of the public. No great personages seem to have occupied

the Peers' galleries. We hear of no distinguished strangers present; the whole proceedings seem to have been very quiet. All that the descriptive writer of the *Daily News* sent down to make a graphic account could say of the affair, was that at no moment did the fixed attention of the House fail, and that towards the end the Premier's voice showed some signs of giving way, but these were very slight, and did not interfere with the business of the speech. The knowing ones, said a society journal, were well aware that no brilliant speech was to be expected, as there was no sign of the little bottle with an egg beaten up in sherry, with which it is the habit of Mr. Gladstone to provide himself when he has to make one of his grand orations.

Mr. Gladstone began by referring to the financial condition of the country, of which he remarked:—"I can only say that essentially the position of the expenditure is this—that it is a somewhat growing expenditure; and with respect to the revenue—that the revenue is a sluggish revenue. It is much as it has been for the last two years—this being the third occasion on which I have had the duty during the existence of the present Government of making the financial statement to the House. It is very remarkable that although employment is generally active, and although the condition of trade cannot be said to be generally unsatisfactory, yet the recovery from the point of extreme depression has been a slow and languid recovery, especially so far as regards the action of the recovery on the revenue of the country. No doubt there is a natural explanation of this circumstance in the extreme excitement, the unnatural and unhealthy excitement of prices during the period of prosperity which preceded the depression, and it is to that cause, I think, that we are to look for the means of the recovery to which I have referred and not to any diminution whatsoever in the resources of the country or any deterioration of its industrial progress. I go then at once to lay before the Committee the par-

particulars which they are accustomed to receive on this occasion, and to deal, of course, in the first instance with the financial year 1881-2, of which we reached the close on the 31st of March. The expenditure of that year was estimated at £86,190,000, but the actual expenditure was £85,472,000, showing that the expenditure fell short of the estimate by £718,000. The comparison of the expenditure with the expenditure of the preceding year is a more serious matter. Of course it is well that it should be within the estimate, but the topic to which I next pass—namely, the comparison with the preceding year—requires a little closer investigation. The expenditure of 1880-1 was £83,180,000; the expenditure of 1881-2 was £85,472,000, showing an augmentation of £2,365,000. But in order that the House may understand the position of these two years relatively to other years, and of the second year relatively to the first, it is right that I should mention what is the amount of special war charges connected with various subjects of policy which have been repeatedly before the House, and which it came on both these years to bear. I will give the particulars first of 1880-1, and secondly for 1881-2. In 1880-1 the charge on account of the Transvaal was £656,000, in connection with the warlike operations in that country; £446,000 of that amount was on account of the army, and £210,000 on account of the navy. The charge imposed upon those years in respect of the debt created by an arrangement shortly before we came into office for the purpose of getting rid in a small number of years of the debt of £6,000,000, contracted a few years ago for purposes connected with the war between Russia and Turkey—that charge, namely, the charge on the annuity by which the debt was to be extinguished, was in 1880-1 £1,129,000. There was also a loan of £2,000,000 contracted by my predecessor in office, and advanced without interest to India. The charge in respect to that loan in 1880-81 was £62,000. Besides this there was a vote of £500,000 asked by

the present Government from the House in aid of Indian finance, and voted before the expiration of the financial year to which I now refer. The whole of those special charges in 1880-1 was £2,347,000. In 1881-2 those charges underwent a considerable increase. The Transvaal army charge was £1,066,000; the Transvaal navy charge was £303,000; and the Transvaal civil charge—the expenses it was necessary to contract in connection with the retransfer of the civil government—was £400,000; or in all, on account of the Transvaal, £1,769,000. The charge in respect to the £6,000,000 vote of 1878 was for the year 1881-2, £1,350,000. The charge for the Indian loan was £88,000. The charge for the grant in aid of Indian finance on account of the Afghan war was, as before, £500,000. There was also a small special vote for the Zulu war, to liquidate that account, of £135,000—making the total amount of these special war charges for the year 1881-2 £3,842,000, instead of £2,347,000. There was thus an excess in the war charges of that year over those of 1880-1 of £1,495,000. That, however, still leaves an increase of expenditure of between £800,000 and £900,000, I think about £870,000. I will not attempt minutely to explain that excess. The House is aware that some classes of increase in our expenditure may be called normal—some classes of increase even represent a corresponding profit. Among what are commonly considered normal augmentations are such augmentations as those in the education vote. Among those which are usually connected with a corresponding increase of profit are the very heavy and large augmentations for the cost of establishments and buildings in connection with the postal and telegraphic service. In the particular case I refer to, the increase in the postal and telegraphic service in 1881-2 over the former year was £317,000. The cost of the census was £140,000. The cost of the increased education vote was £140,000. The special cost connected with the state

of Ireland, partly for the increase of constabulary, was £190,000. That accounts for nearly £800,000 of the augmentation I have pointed out to the House. It is not necessary to pursue the matter into more minute details. Thus, having compared the expenditure with the estimate, I have next to compare it with the revenue of the year, and perhaps it will not be found to give a very brilliant result. But it is so far a satisfactory result that the balance is on the right side. The income of the year was £85,822,000; the expenditure of the year was £85,472,000; so that there is a small surplus of £350,000 of income over expenditure." Mr. Gladstone proceeded to remark "that comparing the revenue with the estimate of the year, I find that the Customs, which were estimated to yield £10,180,000, yielded £19,287,000; the Excise, estimated to yield £27,440,000, yielded £27,240,000; Stamps, estimated at £12,290,000, yielded £12,260,000; the Taxes, estimated at £2,760,000, yielded £2,725,000; and the Income tax, estimated at £9,540,000, yielded the unexpectedly large amount of £9,945,000. The taxed revenue of the country, estimated at £71,210,000, thus yielded £71,457,000, an excess, although a very small one. Those portions of the revenue not derived from taxes stand more favourably on the whole. The Post-office, estimated to yield £6,860,000 yielded £7,000,000; Telegraphs, estimated at £1,600,000, yielded £1,630,000; the Crown Lands, estimated at £399,000, yielded £380,000; the interest on advances and other moneys included under the same head, estimated at £1,200,000, yielded £1,219,000; and the miscellaneous, estimated at £3,900,000, yielded £4,136,000. Upon the whole, the non-taxed revenue, estimated at £13,890,000, yielded £14,365,000; and the total revenue of the country, estimated at £85,100,000, yielded £85,822,000, or an excess of £722,000. In order, however, to give in a practical form a view of the real augmentation of revenue I have been accustomed to compare the financial year under review with that which preceded

it. The taxed revenue of 1880-1 stood at £69,814,000, but then there was a sum of no less than £1,320,000 which was arrested on the way to the Exchequer, being part of the receipt of malt duty employed in discharging the claim of the maltsters for drawback. Adding that sum, the revenue would amount to £71,134,000; but now I have to make a deduction for the purpose of comparison, because that year received a very large sum from the imposition of an additional penny upon the income tax, a sum estimated at £1,460,000. I do not, however, take the whole of that sum, because about £400,000 may be considered to have been also enjoyed by the year just expired. I therefore deduct, £1,060,000, and that leaves the revenue of 1880-1, for the purpose of comparison, at the figure of £70,074,000. The taxed revenue of 1881-2 stands at £71,457,000, but then it was augmented by two sums, one connected with the change in the spirit duty, and one connected with the change in the probate and legacy duties, which were estimated to add to revenue £575,000. That left the taxed revenue of 1881-2 at £70,887,000. Deducting that from the revenue of 1880-1 I have a residue of £813,000, which indicates the true increase in the revenue of the country from the same sources in two years respectively. It is remarkable how closely that increase corresponds with the increase of population. The increase of population is something over one per cent., and this augmentation upon the taxed revenue is also something over one per cent. I must not part from this part of the subject without adverting to those points on which changes have been introduced into the law. First, I will mention a subject upon which no change has been introduced into the law, though I have been exceedingly desirous to introduce a change; that is the question of the duty upon silver plate. There are two reasons which would recommend the abolition of that duty. The first is the very great anxiety entertained by the Indian Government that that duty should, if possible, be removed, they

believing it to be a very serious hindrance to the introduction of silver goods from India, and that a large trade would probably take place if the duty were abolished. But a more general reason undoubtedly recommends the abolition of this duty, and that is that this duty perplexes the market and places transactions in new and old plate upon an embarrassed footing relatively to one another, and inflicts much greater mischief in the limitation of industry, and possibly tends to lower the standard of our manufacture of silver goods, while obstructing the progress of taste in design, than would at all correspond with any benefit derived from that source of revenue. But then the abolition of the duty raises the formidable question of drawback, and it is far more difficult, and, I should venture to say, far more questionable, than it is with regard to any other excise commodity. However, whenever this duty is abolished, if no drawback is given, at least the users of silver goods in this country must be heard and their arguments considered. I am not prepared to make any proposal at the present time. The claim for drawback is one which in this instance alone is made on behalf of retail dealers. I am inclined to think that the consideration of the drawback is not applicable to the subject at all. I should not in the least degree grudge parting with the revenue, but I am not prepared to deal with the drawback. The change introduced into the legacy and probate duties was a very important change. It did not dispose of the whole subject, but circumscribed that subject, got rid of most of the collateral points relating to it, and left for the consideration of the House a grave and serious question which no doubt will some day engage attention, whether what is known as the consanguinity scale—that which makes the State distribute the tax upon successions and legacies according to the degree of proximity of the testator or predecessor—is a sound system, or whether the business of the State is to take an equal tax and leave it to testators to regulate their own proceedings and distribute their property

with full knowledge of what the law requires of them. The change of last year failed to produce the whole revenue expected from it. Instead of £390,000, it has only produced £305,000. These duties vary extremely, and, though it seems paradoxical to say so, they are greatly affected by the accident that in one year there may be perhaps two or three enormous fortunes falling in, and in another none at all. That makes a sensible difference in the revenue. When I called upon the revenue department to say why we had not got the whole product we expected, they gave me a variety of causes; and among them was the extremely mild character of the season—in consequence of which the grim monster Death had got an indifferent harvest, and probate duty and legacy duty had suffered. There was also some rush to pay probate duty before the change came into operation, and there is no reason to suppose there was really any fault in the estimate made. I can report very favourably of the changes made in the law. The barbarous system under which estates were estimated without any deduction for debts, and the confusion of the system for the return of a deduction, affording abundant pickings for the legal profession, were now entirely got rid of, and debts were at once allowed. Not long ago a gentleman died whose real estate was worth £900,000; but he was not so rich as would seem from this, for his debts were £900,000 also. Under the old law £21,250 would have been paid on this estate, and held for a certain time, until the question of the total debts in respect of the estate were ascertained. In this case nothing was paid whatever, and the parties were relieved from much expense. Another important change was that by which we not only imposed a low duty on small estates, but undertook to manage the whole transaction through the officers of the Inland Revenue. On a payment of 30s. every person having to deal with an estate under £300 in value, may now put the matter into the hands of a revenue officer and receive the whole pro-

ceeds without further charge. It used to be common for persons in that predicament to have to pay £10 or £20, or £30 and more, for the necessary expenses connected with the settlement of an estate; and this charge I am justified in describing as a great boon indeed. Another change told in another way. From it the gains were insignificant, but undoubtedly just. We abolished the apparent absurdity of exempting legacies under £20, from which, as the House knows, there has grown up the practice of making a multitude of bequests of £19 19s. Now these bequests, be it known to all and sundry-whom it may concern, will not pass now without paying probate duty. One of these bequests recently caught was left by a man whose estate reached several hundreds of thousands to one of the wealthiest men in the country. There was no reason why he should not be called upon to submit to the ordinary deduction, and he had to submit, and did it, I hope, without making a wry face on the subject. No difficulty has been felt in the working of the new system of payment. A more important change was the change of beer duty. The difficulties of that change, which used at one time to be considered almost insurmountable, have entirely vanished. Great credit is due to the skilful department which conducts the business on the part of the State, but the highest credit is also due to the members of the trade, who, so far from opposing themselves, through a blind adherence to past tradition, to an exceedingly important and drastic change, have entered into the spirit of it fully, and given every assistance to the officers of the Revenue. The consequence is that the beer duty is universally levied with certainty and with facility, and I believe with general satisfaction to the trade themselves so far as the mere levying of the duty is concerned. The change has also worked favourably with regard to the practice of private brewing. It has not discouraged that practice. The number of licences taken out has been large indeed. The sum of £46,000 has been received

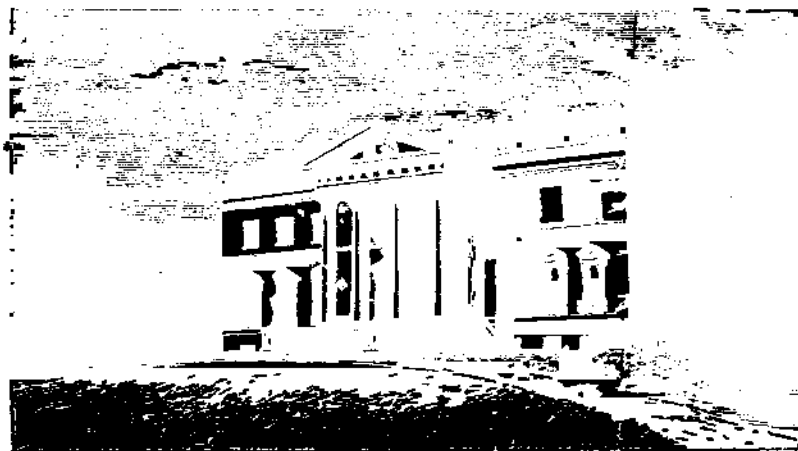
from these licences, the majority of which are only 6s. apiece; so that the House will see what a large number of persons there are who avail themselves of the privilege of private brewing. The estimated production of the beer duty for the year—the first complete year of the beer duty—was £8,800,000. It was taken rather high in partial deference to the estimates made by gentlemen connected with the trade who felt great confidence in the result of the change. The actual yield has been £8,580,000, including the £46,000 for private brewing licences. That is £220,000 short of the estimates." After showing that, as compared with the malt tax, the Government got an advantage of two shillings a quarter. But as £90,000 had been lost, which would have been received from the old duty, Mr. Gladstone argued there had been a collapse somewhere. "According to the Board of Inland Revenue they do not exclude that supposition, but they do not look to it as the main cause. They say that although employment in the country is general, wages have not yet reached the full average level, and undoubtedly have not reached anything near the level to which they went in the years of prosperity between 1873 and 1879. They also observe that last year, in the cider counties, there was a very great abundance of fruit and a very large consumption of cider. Then comes another fact—the great increase of coffee-houses and clubs, which leads to the supposition that the more temperate habits of the people are at the root of this deficiency of the revenue. We have now a group of simultaneous facts, which, taken together, are very curious, and do not run quite in the same direction. In the first place there is a very decided decline in the drink revenue proper. I hope my hon. friend, the member for Carlisle, approves of the term which I use. It is somewhat disparaging, and in that way agreeable in a measure to his feelings. The revenue derived from spirits, wine, malt, and attendant license duty, and beer at three separate periods, has been as follows:—In

1867-8, before the great rise of price, it was £23,001,000. In 1874-5, when the rise in price was still in operation, the revenue had sprung to £31,029,000, but in 1881-2 it had gone back to £28,444,000. A most curious circumstance is that the wine revenue advanced from the time of the important change in the duties in 1860 in a steady manner for a great number of years, and in 1874-5 it was £1,719,000, but ever since that time the revenue from duty on wine has been receding in a much larger proportion than the revenue from alcoholic liquors. I put on one side the taxation derived from alcoholic liquors and the taxation derived from all sources of revenue except income-tax, and taking the percentage on that basis, we stand as follows:—In six years, 1859 to 1865, we levied 37½ per cent. of our taxation from alcoholic and 62 per cent. from non-alcoholic. In three years, from 1866 to 1868, we levied 42 per cent. from alcoholic liquors, and 57½ from all other sources. In the five years from 1869 to 1875 we levied 46½ per cent. from alcoholic liquors, and 53 per cent. from all other sources. From 1874-5 to 1879-80 we levied 51 per cent. of our whole taxation except income-tax from alcoholic liquors, and 49 per cent. from all other sources. That is a very curious state of facts. Since then has come a reaction. The alcoholic revenue has gone down to 46½ per cent., and the non-alcoholic has risen to 53 per cent., showing a real and curious diminution in the consumption of alcoholic liquor. But then you will say, if this diminution is going on, and you have shown it to be so considerable, and if the main cause of this diminution is the foundation of those useful and valuable institutions known all over the country as coffee and cocoa-houses, we ought to see a large increase in the revenue from other than alcoholic sources. That increase we do not find. That is a curious state of facts. I do not include tea. When I do include tea the committee will perceive what a difference it makes, because tea is not much used in these public institutions. ("Oh.") No, not so

largely as coffee and cocoa. However, the revenue derived in 1867-8 jointly for chicory, cocoa, and coffee was £523,000. The revenue from the same sources in 1874-5 had fallen to £310,000; but then, in the first place, the movement adverse to alcoholic liquor had not commenced, and, in the second place, a very large reduction had been made in the coffee duty, which in 1867 yielded £390,000, and which was reduced in 1872 from 3d. to 1½d. per pound, and which in 1874 only yielded £207,000. But whereas the great movement adverse to alcohol, and so eminently favourable to coffee and cocoa, has been at work since 1874-5, it has not produced the slightest rally in the revenue from coffee, but, on the contrary, during these last seven years there has been a further diminution in the revenue from coffee. In 1874 the coffee duty yielded £207,000. In 1881 it was only £189,000. The chicory duty had slightly increased, but only by £8,000, which did not make up the whole difference. The cocoa duty had increased from £40,000 to £46,000. Jointly, those three duties yielded £310,000 in 1874, and only £306,000 in 1881. When we turn to tea the case is very different. The domestic use of tea is advancing at such a rate that there undoubtedly is a powerful champion able to encounter alcohol in a fair field and to throw him in a fair fight. The revenue from tea, which in 1867 was £3,350,000, had risen in 1874 to £3,878,000, and in 1881 to £4,280,000. The increase of population during those fourteen years was no less than 4,000,000; but, as you will observe, there is no corresponding augmentation in the revenue from coffee and chicory. I am bound to say that there is a peculiar state of the law to which we ought to invite the House to apply a remedy, and I shall lay a resolution on the table this very evening with that view. At present every description of mixture of coffee is permitted. We have long proceeded on the principle that a mixture of chicory and coffee was not an adulteration, but that it was rooted in the habits of many countries,

so much so that the people would not drink their coffee without chicory. In France and Belgium that is largely the case. But of late a practice has grown up of producing all kinds of substitutes under the name of coffee. That I cannot but think must account for the very strange state of figures which I have laid before you. We shall not interfere with the mixture of chicory and coffee, but propose that it shall not be lawful to introduce other and miscellaneous mixtures. There is one other

under the cognisance of the Government. That I hope is a very small portion of those savings. I took first to the old savings banks. In 1846 the deposits in those banks were 31½ millions. In 1861 they had risen to 41½ millions. In 1867 perhaps owing to the competition of the Post-office banks, they had fallen to 36½ millions. Since that time they had been advancing, not rapidly, but pretty steadily. In 1874 the deposits were 41½ millions. In 1881 they were £44,175,000, showing an



CLAREMONT HOUSE—RESIDENCE OF PRINCE LEOPOLD.

circumstance in connection with this state of facts, and that is the great diminution in the alcoholic drinks, which I am anxious to lay before the House, for certainly I don't hesitate to say, and I think the Committee will agree with me, that we can trace the operation of this diminution in the use of alcoholic drinks precisely where we should wish to trace it—that is, in the augmented savings of the people. I will show what those savings are, so far as they come

annual increment of about £350,000. The Post-office banks, as the House is aware, were founded in 1861. They had advanced, on the whole, with very great regularity. Even the most unfavourable circumstances among the labouring classes have never done more than reduce, not inconsiderably, but still not vitally, not the amount of deposits, but the increment upon the previous year. The ordinary increment in the Post-office banks has been from

£1,600,000 to £1,800,000. The lowest in any year in the first decade of the banks which have now existed for twenty years was £1,533,000. The highest in the first decade was £1,926,000. The lowest year in the second decade was 1879, when there was great distress; and in that year there was still £1,600,000. In the highest of the prosperity years, 1872, the savings rose to £2,293,000. There is no doubt the wages of the labouring classes are much lower at this moment than in 1872, and yet the deposits in the Post-office banks have risen even higher than in that year. I take them thus. Of deposits made and remaining in the banks this year there have been £2,449,000, besides which we have invested for depositors three-quarters of a million; so that the whole sum placed in our hands by depositors in 1881-2, notwithstanding the great diminution of means on the part of the labouring classes, has risen to £3,189,000."

Turning to other matters, Mr. Gladstone said:—"The debt was returned on the 31st March, 1881, as £768,703,000; but there was an item existing at that time which had never been valued and never reduced to figures. That was the deficiency in the funds of the savings banks, a deficiency which the Government were bound to make good. Since the 31st March, 1881, that deficiency has been ascertained, and an annuity adequate to the gradual extinction of it has been created. We now therefore reckon that annuity as part of the debt, just like any other annuity, and of course we must add it to the debt of March 31, 1881, for the purpose of comparing it with the debt of March 31, 1882. The value of the annuity is £1,622,000. Adding that sum to the debt as it stood in March, 1881, the total was £770,325,000. The total to March 31st was £763,166,000, so that the reduction of debt in the year was £7,159,000."

Stating that there was a small deficiency in the Friendly Societies' account, Mr. Gladstone went on to give his estimate of expenditure. "The total charge for

debt, including interest on local loans—sewers, loan charge—and also adding to those charges the consolidated fund charges, will be £31,415,000. The charges for the army are £15,458,000; the India home charges, £1,100,000; the navy, £10,484,000. We shall again ask the House to vote a grant to India as last year, which will entail a further charge of £500,000. The expenses of the Civil Service will be £16,503,000. I am now going by the estimates as they have been presented to the House. The charges of collecting the customs and inland revenue will be £2,901,000. The post office, telegraphs, and packet estimate is £5,889,000. These make a total of £84,250,000. I am sorry to say that does not quite close the account. The House will readily understand that in Ireland, under the circumstances of the last two or three years, the extra duties of the constabulary have been extremely heavy. I cannot refer to that subject without stating my belief that the experience of that period has tended even to raise the high character of that force. I am aware that there are different opinions as to the description of the force, but of its efficiency and fidelity on the footing on which it is now organised, it is impossible to speak too highly. However, it is a fact, according to the examination we have made, that for the great amount of extra duty entailed on it, the extra allowances have been decidedly insufficient, and that it will be an obligation on us to ask Parliament, besides the large sum laid on the table for the constabulary estimate, to vote further sums in order to make up the deficiencies in those allowances. The amount has been pretty closely investigated by representatives of the Irish Government and of the Treasury, and they are agreed that it must be about £180,000. Then we have unfortunately to ask for a vote of £100,000 in connection with the Prisons Act, passed a few years ago. I believe that when the Act was passed it was intended that the cost of conveying prisoners should be a charge on the counties, but it

appears that in the opinion of the courts of justice the Act does not give effect to that intention; and the consequence is that we are called upon to pay a sum for the arrears of three years, together with the vote for the prisons. Another subject of serious addition is one that will not sound over-musical in the ears of the House—it is the vote for the civil government of Cyprus. The question of the civil government of Cyprus has never yet been settled. A large sum was taken for it last year, but the season has been an extremely bad one, and the House is aware that in Cyprus, just as it used to be in Corfu, if there came a very bad olive year, the decline in the revenue of the year was ruinous. Consequently the deficiency this year is even greater than usual. We have had the matter carefully examined, and to provide for squaring the account, more especially as my noble friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, has been engaged in framing a scheme of local government for Cyprus which will introduce something like local influence in that government, and give something like regularity and efficiency to it, we shall have to ask the House to vote £90,000. Out of that sum about £12,000 is due to former years; but between £70,000 and £80,000 is the charge which we find actually existing and inevitable for the present year. I am bound to say I think that about £30,000 is due to the peculiarly unfavourable character of the seasons. The Committee will naturally ask if they are to be solicited for a corresponding sum from year to year. My noble friend has made the closest investigation in his power into the subject, and has ordered what, so far as he can judge, is a most stringent system of economy and retrenchment in the Government, and what he hopes to do is, next year, to get the vote down to perhaps £40,000. Well, I do not indulge in optimism, my duty is to tell an unvarnished tale, and let the Committee know how the case stands. Together with minor charges, this makes an increase of £380,000, and raises the total estimate of expenditure to

£84,630,000. The expenditure of last year, according to the estimate, was £86,190,000, so that there is now an apparent reduction of £1,560,000. But a large portion of that reduction is only apparent, because the Military and Naval Estimates this year are presented in a form in which credit is at once taken for their extra receipts. The disturbance thus introduced into the account is £809,000, and the real reduction in the estimates is thus reduced to £750,000. But the relief from war charges has been much larger than that. The war charges are still very considerable. We have still the £1,460,000, I think, on account of the five years' annuities for the six million vote. We have £500,000 for the Afghan vote, and I think about £120,000 this year on account of Indian loan. Still the year's relief in respect of special war charge amounts, on the whole, to £2,276,000. Against that I am only able to state a reduction upon the estimates of £761,000. Therefore, I must tell you what becomes of the £1,515,000 which represents the difference between those amounts. Some part of that represents permanent increase, some represents normal increase; but undoubtedly there are portions of it which I am not able to bring under one or other of those heads. The augmentation of the two votes connected with the government of Ireland this year will be £430,000. The constabulary estimate is £139,000; the constabulary further estimate, £180,000; and resident magistrates, £12,000. The Land Court which we have offered to landlords and tenants—not free of all expense; for I am afraid legal expenses cannot be annulled by us, but almost entirely free of expense so far as the Exchequer is concerned, but at the inconvenience of imposing a tax upon the ratepayers of the three kingdoms—is down for the heavy charge of £93,000. That accounts for £429,000 on account of the Irish vote. There is an increase of about £90,000 on the non-effective votes for the army and navy. That is an increase which may be

contemplated by the House without great dissatisfaction, because it belongs, as the Committee is aware, to an essentially transition period between the old system of general pensions for long service and the new system based on reserves. We are at present in the unfortunate position of having to pay all the charges connected with the new reserve system, and of having also approached the maximum charge connected with the old system of pensions for long service. In the course of two years that process will be reversed, and a very considerable, though gradual, relief will commence to be felt. The charge for postal and telegraph service has largely increased, and in justice to all parties it is right to say that great care appears to have been taken by the Post Office department in the time of the late Government in keeping down the extension of establishments, and the pressure when we came into office had become almost irresistible, and though the Post-office revenue goes on increasing, yet the percentage of cost of collecting the revenues has also somewhat increased. There is this year an increase of £207,000 on the Post-office charge. There is a charge of £100,000, to which I have already referred, for the conveyance of prisoners, and there is also a charge, which may be contemplated with unmixed satisfaction, of £85,000 in the increased payment for the liquidation of the national debt. That accounts for £900,000 out of a sum somewhat exceeding £1,500,000, which I have represented as the increase to be accounted for. The great bulk of that increase is under the navy heads, and it is represented by demands with which this House is familiar. The change in armaments causes an augmentation of £250,000 in the vote for guns; and there is another sum of £100,000 in the vote for shipbuilding. Whatever the amount for shipbuilding may be, I look forward with considerable confidence to greater economy being secured, and better results obtained for our money, in consequence of the arrangement sanctioned

by my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty, in placing a gentleman of the highest skill and character, and well acquainted with all the practical details of engineering, on the Board of Admiralty. I shall not further refer to the other items of augmentation which together amount to about £500,000, and I hope I have now made clear the manner in which this increase of £1,500,000 is to be accounted for. Now, if I am asked whether the state of our expenditure is satisfactory, I must answer that I am too old-fashioned to view it with as much complacency as that with which it is viewed by some persons. I wish to state the case impartially. A considerable proportion of that increase I hope will be got rid of as being unconnected with causes of a permanent character. More than half of it is either in itself good or normal, or of a character purely temporary. But I do not see in the country that great desire for the restriction of expenditure which characterised this country and all parties in this country forty or fifty years ago. It is an evil that public vigilance on this subject should have diminished and that the attitude of the House of Commons should have so sensibly changed. I confess I have great doubts in my own mind—I have not yet arrived at a conclusion on the subject—whether the system under which our estimates are now framed—namely, upon the exclusive responsibility of the Government and without any responsibility from the House of Commons—is a good one. It is a great deal too important a subject for precipitate judgment, and I do not indicate that I have arrived at any absolute conclusion, but I am extremely dissatisfied with the system as it now works, and as it has worked during the last 20 or 25 years. There are three points on which all good finance is based. First of all, there should always be a surplus income, and that whatever the charges the people should pay them. The second is, that in time of peace and comparative prosperity a country should reduce its debt—and the third point

is that they should reduce their expenditure. With regard to the first, we have at any rate no deficit. With regard to the second, we ought to do more in reduction of debt than is actually done—but we are doing a little more than has been usually done upon a long series of years. With regard to the diminution of expenditure, I sorrowfully admit that the contagion and sympathy of other countries necessarily affects us, and I should arrive at very different conclusions according to the standard of comparison I take. If I am to look to American ideas and institutions, and the extraordinary vigour and determination and forethought which the people have shown, though a democracy, in providing for the future—in reducing their debt, and in resolutely enduring the most painful taxation—I do not now refer to protective duties—in order to set free their hands and to relieve those who come after them, it is impossible to praise them too highly. Our expenditure becomes insignificant, if not contemptible, when compared with the almost portentous scale which expenditure has reached in a neighbouring country not more wealthy than our own." As to the revenue of the year, Mr. Gladstone continued:—"The taxable revenue of the year would amount to £69,850,000, and the untaxable to £14,595,000, or a total of £84,445,000. As there were some items of expenditure not yet before the House, so there were some items of revenue which it is not yet in our power to bring to account, but which are yet so closely in prospect that it is my duty to state them to the House, and to take credit for them, as I have already done in setting out the general finances of the year. There are two payments from South Africa, both of which I have already reckoned when I spoke of the comparative relief from war charges which the coming year would enjoy. There is a sum of £150,000 which the responsible Government of the Cape will propose on the estimates of the Cape Colony in liquidation of their liability in the Transkei war. That is a most moderate

estimate of its liabilities, but an estimate which there is not the least doubt will readily be voted by the Parliament of the Cape. The sum of £250,000 is virtually raised in Natal on account of the Zulu War, and there is a sum of £90,000 in connection with the revenue of Cyprus. But lest I should obtain upon false pretences any cheers from the quarter where recently there was some dissatisfaction, I must explain that this is nothing in the nature of a Cyprus receipt. We owe the Porte a certain sum of money on account of the Cyprus revenue. The Porte owes to us and the French payment of the dividends on the Guaranteed Turkish Loan of 1855. It has not been in the power of the Porte to supply all this out of the money collected from her own resources, and consequently it falls to her to pay money in the shape of a deduction or stoppage of Cyprus revenue. Here we are collectors for the benefit of France not less than for our own, and one half of the sum we collect will pass through the British Exchequer and go across the Straits of Dover into the treasury of Paris. The grand total of revenue is made up to £84,935,000, against a grand total of expenditure of £84,630,000. There is thus a surplus of £305,000. That is a small and modest surplus, but one with which, in the circumstances, we might be content to move onwards, provided only it were to be subjected to no deduction; but the House will recollect the pledge given to the hon. member for the county of Oxford (Mr. Harcourt) at the beginning of the session, when I engaged without committing myself to detail to conform to the spirit of his resolution in favour of some relief being given to county ratepayers in respect of the charge which has been transferred to the highway rates through the abolition of turnpikes. The surplus of £305,000 will not bear diminution. It was my hope when I gave the pledge that we should be able to deal with this subject in a definitive way, and as part of a considerable settlement. I no longer am able to cherish the expectation. The prospect of carrying

through the House a Bill for the establishment of county boards, and of appending to it an important financial readjustment has become hopeless. We no longer hope to be able to introduce it. I engaged, however, that I would endeavour, if possible, to detach that subject from any general scheme of legislation, and there remains open to us as a mode of honourably redeeming our promise, and, at the same time, of, as I think, doing nothing to perplex future operations to resort to some plan which, while partial in itself, and provisional in its general character, would be such as to fit in with any more enlarged scheme that may be considered hereafter. We have felt it our duty to ask the House to supply us, for the purpose of the present year, with £250,000 in relief of the rates with reference to highways; and after considering the various modes in which that money may be raised, we think that, upon the whole, considering what is the nature of the grievance, and how it has arisen, and how, in the main, it turns upon the large use of the roads by those who do not contribute to them, the best course we can take is to ask the House to authorise a moderate addition to the duty upon carriages."

Other speakers followed, leading to a stout discussion and the adjournment of the debate. The Budget was not certainly a striking one. "It is the third," wrote the *Daily News*, "for which Mr. Gladstone

has been responsible during his present administration, and his inability to make any remission of taxation marks the difference between the slow return of prosperity in these days and the rapid bounds with which it advanced in the last years of his former Ministry." The comments of the Press on the Budget on the whole were not flattering, and the people who had hoped against hope for something effective were not a little disappointed.

As time passed there was a new departure in Irish policy. Mr. Forster resigned the Secretaryship of Ireland, and Lord Cowper ceased to be Lord Lieutenant. They were succeeded by the hon. Frederick Cavendish and Lord Spencer. The Conservatives were indignant, and endeavoured by means of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach to get a vote of censure, in the beginning of May, carried in the House of Commons. Once more Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and Kelly took their seats in Parliament. Michael Davitt was released. The Government made up its mind to deal with the pressing question of the arrears of rent. The Land Bill is to be modified and amended, the Lion and the Lamb are to lie down together. Old things will pass away, all things will become new. But the terrible assassination of a man so blameless and virtuous as Lord F. Cavendish, on the day of his landing in Ireland, makes all men despair of that illstarred and unhappy land.



CHAPTER LIII.

CONCLUSION.



At length the end has been reached, and the Life and Times of Mr. Gladstone have been brought down to the middle of the year 1882, when we leave him hale and hearty in spite of the many—we might have written overwhelming—cares of office: cares which it is not possible he can long retain; cares which, however, he has undertaken to the immense delight of the nation at large. A few personal anecdotes which have recently come to light may acceptably close this voluminous sketch. A little while ago, Mr. Gladstone is reported to have said that he began every day with Homer. The announcement was startling, but then we remembered Charles James Fox and Virgil, and Lord Brougham and Demosthenes, and as we knew the Premier had written much on Homer, were forced to believe that in spite of the laborious duties of his position, he can still study the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle. Mr. Gladstone explained, in the *Spectator*, that he said nothing of the kind. "As to my beginning every day with Homer," he writes, "as such a phrase conveys to the world a very untrue impression of the demands of my present office, I think it right to mention that, so far as my memory serves me, I have not read Homer for fifty lines, or a quarter of an hour consecutively, during the last four years, and any dealings of mine with Homeric subjects have been confined to a number of days which could readily be counted on the fingers."

In an interesting article in *Harper's Monthly*, we have the following account of the various portraits of Mr. Gladstone:—

"A glance over the tables in the drawing-room at Hawarden Castle leads one to the conviction that Mr. Gladstone is the most photographed man in the world. The tables are literally covered with photographs, presenting the well-known face and figure in all habitual circumstances and attitudes. Mr. Gladstone submits to the photographer much upon the same principle that he endures many other of the experiences that sadden life." He recognises a certain amount of possession that the public have in him, and if they insist on taking it out in photography, that is their affair. It would be impossible to count the number of times he has marched unflinchingly up to the lens' mouth. He is not only photographed often, but happily, having, indeed, by this time acquired so much skill that he always 'comes out well.' In proof of his trained endurance, it may be mentioned that when he visited the studio of Mr. Walker, the artist whose admirable photograph is reproduced in the portrait illustrating the *Harper* article, the Premier gave him fifteen minutes, during which space of time he stood unflinchingly before the camera, whilst fifteen several negatives were taken. 'More' serious efforts in higher art are not less successful. Mr. Millais's oil painting, exhibited in the Academy a year or two ago, and subsequently sent on a tour through the country, is one of the most beautiful paintings, and most successful works of the great artist. But perhaps it will be thought that no photograph, and scarcely this great work of Millais, comes up to the interest possessed by a little ivory painting which lies in the drawing-room at Hawarden. This represents a chubby little boy, some two years of age, sitting at the

knee of a little girl in nymph-like costume, and fondly supposed to be learning his letters. He has, in truth, one chubby little finger pointed toward the book, which rests on his sister's knees; but his face is raised, and two great brown eyes look inquiringly into those of the beholder. This is the child the father of the man who sits in the other room, though beyond the measurement of the floor there stretches between them the long span of seventy years. The little girl is Mr. Gladstone's 'sister who died.' The portrait was taken in Liverpool whilst Mr. John Gladstone lived in Rodney-street. It was even before the time when Canning stood for Lancashire town, and being carried through the streets by his enthusiastic supporters, halted before Mr. Gladstone's house, and from the balcony addressed the throng, whilst from an upper window, held in the nurse's arms, the chubby little boy with the big brown eyes looked out with pleased wonder at the throng, the first political gathering he had prominently been present at. It is rarely that Youth and Age are brought together in so striking a manner as they are here—the dumb yet speaking child in the ivory miniature, and the eloquent old man sitting reading in the next room, drawing somewhat close to the fire, feeling that the days are growing chill. To see Mr. Gladstone holding the brass-framed miniature in his hand, and looking down at the chubby

face with a smile, half amused, half critical, and wholly sad, there comes back the memory of Coleridge's most musical plaint, 'When I was young!—ah, woful when!' etc."

A writer in the *Daily News* a little while ago called attention to a now forgotten work, which appeared in Oxford in 1834, under the title of "Black Gowns and Red Coats." In it occurs the following passage:—

Yet on one form, whose ear can ne'er refuse
The Muse's tribute, for he loved the Muse,
And when the soul the gen'rous virtues raise
A friendly Whig may chant a Tory's praise,
Full many a fond expectant eye is bent
Where Newark's towers are mirror'd in the Trent.
Perchance ere long to shine in Senates first,
If manhood echo what his youth rehear'd,
Soon Gladstone's brows will bloom with greener
bays.

Then twine the chaplet of a minstrel's lays,
Nor heed, while poring o'er each grave's line,
The far faint music of a lute like mine.
His was no head contentedly which press'd
The downy pillow in obedient rest,
Where lazy pilots, with their canvas fur'd,
Set up the Gades of their mental world;
His was no tongue which meanly stoop'd to wear
The guise of virtue, while his heart was bare,
But all he thought through ev'ry action ran;
God's noblest work—I've known one honest man.

Let us end with an expression of the hope that the Government may long retain the services of its trusted and honoured head.





INDEX TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

	PAGE		PAGE
Adam, the Hon. W. P.	385	Childers, Right Hon. H. C. E.	469
Afghan campaign, the	328	China, English rule in	339
Afghanistan, affairs in	288	— Opium traffic in.	340
Anglo-French treaty	304	"Church, the Ideal of a Christian"	72
Anglo-Turkish convention	318	Closure, "be	606
Argyll, Duke of, resignation of the	109	— Mr. Bright on	625
Army reform	503	Corcoran Bell, the	335
Austrian foreign policy	45	Colley, Sir George	289
		Colonial bishoprics	78
Bamaca, progress of the	297	Colonial Church Bill	83
Beaconsfield's, Lord, letter to the Duke of Marlborough	16	Commercial treaty with France	304
— Portrait of	237	Commons, House of, statistics	67
— Earl Granville's rem. inascensous of	277	— Lobby of the	145
— Sketch of, by the Marquis of Salisbury	280	Compensation for Disturbance Bill	151
— Dean Stanley on	283	— Mr. Flenket's speech	153
Berlin Congress, Lord Beaconsfield's return from the	264	— Mr. Gladstone on the	154
Berlin, the treaty of	122	— Mr. Parnell on	159
Birmingham caucus, the	63	— Rejected in the House of Lords	159
Blessington, Lady	239	Connaught, the Duke and Duchess of	361
Boers, grievances of the	290	Consort, the Prince, Mr. Martin's life of	204
Bradlaugh, Mr. Charles	116	— And Prince Leopold	212
— Select committee	133	"Contarini Fleming"	238
— Incident, the	375	"Count Alarcon"	251
— Again	682	Cowper, the Countess	433
Bribery at elections	506	Cranbrook, Lord	449
Bright's, Mr., birthplace	437	Gaddesdon College	95
British North Borneo Company, the	587	Cyprus, petition from the natives of	326
Burke, Duke of, and the trustees of Dalkeith	29	— Mosque at Nilkasia	341
Burials Bill, the	169	Dalkeith, Mr. Gladstone's visit to	29
— Defects in	173	Davitt, Michael	187
Burmah, difficulties in	336	Denison, Archdeacon	90
		Dilke, Sir Charles	107
Candahar, march to	288	Dillon, Mr.	359
— Evacuation of	332	Disraeli, Mr., his ancestry	234
Cardwell, Right Hon. E.	328	— His career	235
Carlingford, Lord, as Lord Privy Seal	111	— His literary works	235
Carlyle, Mr., on Mr. Gladstone	532	— "Vivian Grey"	235
Cavendish, Lord Frederick, murder of	666	— "Contarini-Fleming"	238
Cawwayo	297	— At Lady Blessington's	239
— Account of, by Miss Coleman	298	— At High Wycombe	241
Chamberlain, Mr.	107	— "Alroy, the Prince of the Captivity"	241
		— Enters on political life.	242
		— And O'Connell ..	243

	PAGE		PAGE
Disraeli, Mr., rejected for Tsautna	244	Gladstone, Mr. W. E., the guest of Lord Rosebery	55
— As member for Maldstone	244	— Elected for Leeds	56
— Sketch of, in 1869	245	— Correspondence with Bishop Wilberforce	70
— "Count Alarcon"	250	— "The Ideal of a Christian Church"	72
— And Sir Robert Peel	251	— On the Irish Church	76
— His later works	252	— And Dr. Hampden	77
— And the Jews	253	— And the colonial bishops	78
— Member for Buckinghamshire	254	— And Archdeacon Manning	79
— On the death of the Prince Consort	255	— And the Bishop of Oxford	80
— As Chancellor of Exchequer	257	— The Colonial Church Bill	83
— The Reform Bill	257	— And Archdeacon Denison	90
— Death of his wife	259	— And Cuddesdon College	95
— In the House of Lords	259	— Prime Minister	106
— "Endymion"	260	— And the Duke of Argyll	109
— Death of	263	— Prospectus of Gladstone & Co.	113
— The funeral of	271	— Defends the Queen's speech	119
Disraeli, the elder	234	— On the Treaty of Berlin	120
Disturbance Bill, compensation for	185	— Meeting at her Majesty's Opera House	125
Doddridge, Dr.	149	— On the Bradlaugh case	132
Edinburgh, Mr. Gladstone's visit to	32, 42	— On the Compensation for Disturbance Bill	154
— St. Giles's church	261	— History of Irish legislation	156
— University, the	492	— The malt tax	160
— St. Mary's Cathedral	505	— The Ground Game Act	161
Education department, the	518	— Local Option Act	164
Egypt and the Khedive	212	— Abuse of	178
— Irrigation in	313	— And Mr. Boarke	181
— Slavery in	318	— Correspondence with Captain Boycott	183
— In a state of anarchy	323	— And Earl Grey	195
— Weakness of the Khedive	323	— And the Prince Consort	204
Ellis, Alderman	545	— On the Fortification Bill	207
Employers' Liability Bill	162	— At the Guildhall	219
"Endymion"	260	— Addresses from Nonconformist bodies	225
England's place in the councils of Europe	22	— As a financier	227
Erlington's, Mr., mission to Rome	507	— And his hat	230
Fielder, Major-General, speech of	60	— Presented with a chair	230
Flintshire magistrates, the	565	— On Lord Beaconsfield	273
Forster, Mr., on Mr. Gladstone	125	— And the Boers	292
— And the Coercion Bill	355	— Address to, by the Boers	292
— Resignation of	666	— And the commercial treaty with France	306
France, commercial treaty with	304	— On the Anglo-Turkish convention	319
Galashells, visit to	43	— Letter to Mrs. Garfield	327
Garfield, death of President	327	— And Indian affairs	337
General election of 1879	71	— The budget of 1880	344
— The first day's poll	27	— On Indian finance	351
Germany the Emperor of	217	— On Irish obstruction	360, 379
Gladstone, Mr. W. E., his capacity for work	2	— And the Nihilists	376
— "The Friends of Russia"	8	— At the Guildhall	440
— "Cleanings from Past Years"	10	— His foreign policy	459
— Address to his constituents	83	— Banquet to, at Leeds	472
— England's place in the councils of Europe	24	— And fair trade	479
— The Midlothian campaign	28	— And Sir Bartle Frere	523
— His speech at Dalkeith	29	— And Mr. Carlyle	532
— Visit to Hawick	33	— His correspondence	540
— To Galashells	33	— And the Lord Mayor	542
— To Edinburgh	35, 43	— His seventy-second birthday	550
— To Chester	40	— At Mr. Spurgeon's tabernacle	556
— On the Austrian foreign policy	45	— And his tenantry	573
— In the pulpit of Gilmerton	51	— On small culture	579
— Result of the election	54	— And Earl Grey	586
		— And Lord Claude Hamilton	592
		— The session of 1882	598
		— The closure	606
		— Rules of procedure	606

	PAGE		PAGE
Gladstone, Mr. W. E., and the Irish railways ...	641	Kensley, Dr., death of ...	59
— And Earl Percy ...	644	Kimberley, Earl of ...	293
— And Prince Leopold's marriage ...	649		
— On the finances ...	655	Land Bill, the Irish ...	365
— American sketch of ...	667	— Amendments of the House of Lords ...	383
Gladstone, Mr. Herbert, elected for Leeds ...	56	Land League, the Irish ...	399
— Address of the Middlesex Liberals ...	125	Land question in England, the ...	573
Gladstone, Mrs., and Lady Lytton ...	215	Langholm, presentation from the working men of ...	34
Gladstone & Co. in "Punch" ...	113	Lanyon, Sir Owen, on the Tamar ...	202
Gordon, Colonel ...	316	Lay, Mr., letter on the optian question ...	340
Gosham controversy, the ...	81	Leopold, Prince, marriage of ...	649
Goschen, Mr., mission to Constantinople ...	307	Local Option Act ...	164
Government, shifts on the ...	178	Londonderry election, the ...	511
Granville, Earl, on Egyptian Navy ...	318	Lowe's, Mr., election address ...	25
— Or Lord Beaconsfield ...	277		
— On Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy ...	459	Macmahon, Marshal ...	87
— Lord, circular on brigandage ...	303	Maldstone, Mr. Darnell as member for ...	245
Greece, the claims of ...	572	Malgarni, Mr., at Chester ...	59
— Scene in ...	571	Malt duty, the ...	345
Greenwich electors present Mr. Gladstone with a chair ...	230	Manning, Archbishop ...	79
Grey, Earl, on the Anglo-French treaty ...	305	Marlborough, Duke of, Lord Beaconsfield's letter to the ...	17
— On the Liberal policy ...	48	— Letter ...	491
— Letter on the land question ...	568	McLarn, Mr. Dunstan, testimonial to ...	64
Ground Game Act ...	161	Miall, Mr. Edward ...	225
		Middleton campaign ...	28
		— Mr. Gladstone's visit to Dalkith ...	29
Haines, General, vote of thanks to ...	363	— Faggot votes ...	31
Hampden, Dr. ...	77	— At Carlisle ...	32
Hartington's, Lord, election address of ...	19	— At Hawick ...	33
— On Home Rule ...	19	— At Galashiels ...	33
— His contrast of Liberal and Conservative government ...	22	— At Edinburgh ...	35, 42
Hawick, visit to ...	23	— Result of the election ...	54
Heckling, instances of ...	50	— Statistics of the election ...	57
Home rule, Lord Hartington on ...	19	Ministry, forming a ...	106
— Oratory ...	166, 197		
Home Rules, suspension of the ...	359	Nileometer, the ...	313
Horsman, Right Hon. E. ...	389	Nonconformists' addresses to Mr. Gladstone ...	225
House of Lords' inquiry into working of the Land Act ...	612	Northampton ...	146
Hughes, Mr. Thomas ...	484	Northcote, Sir Stafford, and the dissolution ...	13
		North Riding election ...	595
Imperial, the Prince ...	164		
Income-tax, the ...	344	Oath, the parliamentary ...	139
Irvine, the condition of ...	330	Obstruction, parliamentary ...	168
Ireland, Compensation for Disturbance Bill ...	151	— Irish ...	357
— Crime in ...	192	O'Connell, Mr., and Mr. Digswell ...	343
Irish Church, letter to Bishop Wilberforce on the ...	76	Opium traffic in China ...	340
Irish distress, measures to relieve ...	189	— Letter from Mr. Lay ...	340
— Evictions ...	151	Osborne House, Isle of Wight ...	213
— Legislation ...	195	Oxford, the Bishop of, and Mr. Gladstone ...	80
— Politics ...	65		
— Land Act, benefits of the ...	405	Pacha, Midhat ...	321
— Land Commission, working of the ...	432	Parnell's, Mr., opposition to the Compensation for Disturbance Bill ...	159
— University Act ...	397	Parnell, Mr., popularity of ...	412
— Americans ...	519	— Career of ...	417
— Outrages ...	622	— Arrest of ...	452
— Railways and the State ...	641	Pease, Mr. Henry ...	317
		Peelism, the ...	209
Jones, Sir Henry ...	485	Pius IX., the pope ...	415
Jones, policy of the ...	330	Plunkett's, Mr., speech on the Compensation for Disturbance Bill ...	153
Josiah, the Bow leader ...	301	Post-office savings banks ...	163
		Procedure, rules of ...	609

	PAGE		PAGE
"Punch" on Gladstone & Co.	113	"The Friends and Foes of Russia"	8
Pusey's, Dr., sermon on the Eucharist	72	Transvaal, affairs in the	290
Reform Bill, the Disraeli	257	Trinity College, Dublin	373
Richard, Mr. Henry	425	Take, Mr., on the distress in Ireland	189
Ripon, the Marquis of	333	Tunis, under French protection	307
Rosebery, Lord, and his guest	35	Turkey and the powers	307
		— The state of	311
Salisbury's, Lord, attack on the Liberal policy	489	Victoria, Queen, in church	93
— On Lord Beaconsfield	150	— Address of the Basuto chiefs to	238
— Marquis of	121, 224	— Maclean's attack on	630
Sendall, Mr., and the Earl of Kimberley	501	"Vivian Grey"	235
Sokol, view of, in Serbia	224		
South African politics	302	Water Bill, Mr. Cross's	12
South Pacific, French annexations in the	558	Wellington, Duke of, at Stanthorpe House	24
Spencer, Earl	404	Widdin, the fortress at	308
Spruce beer	349	Widderforce, Bishop, memoirs of	68
Spurgeon, Mr., and Mr. Gladstone	556	— And ritualism	69
Stanhope, the Hon. E.	228	— And Dr. Pusey	70
Stanley, Dean, and the Prince Imperial ..	200	— Sketch of	99
— On Lord Beaconsfield	283	— His public life	103
Storks, Sir Henry	513	Wilks, Mr. N. P., sketch of Mr. Disraeli by ...	239
Strahan, Sir George, and President Brand	296	Wolsley's, Sir Gabriel, report on the Transvaal ..	294
Tennyson, Mr., and the Lord-mayorship of Glasgow	156	Wright, Mr. J. S., of Nottingham	58



